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WESLEY HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

REPORT FOR 1900.

NUMERICAL AND FINANCIAL.

During the year the number of members of the Society has fallen from 205 to 198. The particulars will be seen in the following table—

	Life.	Working.	Honorary.
1900.....	6	45	154
Deaths.....			4
Retirements.....		5	20
	6	40	130
Additions.....		1	21
Totals.....	6	41	151

Balance sheets, showing the financial position of the Society, are printed on the next page.

The members of the Society are urged to procure a few additional members, and to promote as far as possible the sale of the various publications. Copies may be obtained by them on the special terms stated on the second page of the cover.

PROCEEDINGS.

SIDELIGHTS ON METHODISM AND
NATIONAL LIFE.

METHODISM AND JACOBINISM AT THE DAWN OF
THE NINETEENTH CENTURY.

Bishop Horsley's Charge to the Clergy of Rochester, 1800.

Christian Patriotism. A sermon preached at Rotherham, Feb. 10, 1810, the day appointed for a National Fast. Published, by request, by John Stephens. Rotherham. Printed by John Plumbe. 1810.

The mutual Relations, Claims, and Duties of the Rich and Poor. A sermon by John Stephens. Manchester. 1819.

Remarks on the Sermon preached by the Rev. J. Stephens in the Methodist Chapel, Oldham Street, Manchester, by James Scholefield, Minister of Christ Church, Hulme. Manchester. 1819.

The tremor of the French Revolution was influencing all political and ecclesiastical movements when the XIXth century dawned. 'A dreadful but salutary experiment,' says the *Annual Register*, 1800, 'in the course of the last ten years, has been made by the nations. The rulers of States and Kingdoms have been taught the danger of tyranny; the people that of anarchy.'¹ Maurice once told his son that 'England escaped a political revolution because she had undergone a religious revolution'—in the evangelical revival.² Something must also be attributed, as Overton and Lecky note, to the reaction of feeling among cultured men—who had, at first, sympathised with the Revolution—when the rising spirit of liberty in France degenerated into license. 'But the refined writings and feelings of such men as Coleridge,

1. Preface, i.

2. *Life of F. D. Maurice*, by his son, Col. Maurice, vol. II., 1884.

Southey, Wordsworth and others did not in the least affect the masses. And it was of incalculable benefit to the nation that such a power as Methodism existed just at the time when otherwise the revolutionary torrent would have swept away multitudes in its course Many a man, who, under different circumstances, would have been haranguing about the rights of man, was happily preoccupied with a far more noble subject—the love of God.¹

But the extreme revolutionary doctrines proclaimed by popular orators, the seditious pamphlets, the bread-riots, the association of principles of liberty with anarchy and infidelity, the reaction against reform, the hysterical fears of the comfortable classes, the efforts of nervous authorities to suppress by force expressions of popular opinion, the Napoleonic terror from 1801 to 1815, and the general national feverishness, made the work of Methodist church-builders anxious and critical.

Among the seventy thousand British Methodists were many who had been reclaimed from the very class who had recruited the dangerous mobs of an earlier period. But these could not be indifferent to the tragic lessons of the revolution, both for the aristocracy and the democracy of Britain. A quickened intelligence, a new sense of human equality, of manhood's rights and duties, and of the advantage of social organisation, had been awakened in them. Their lay-workers had found voice and vote in their church meetings. They were members of a growing community, with representatives in most of the large centres of population. Yet the majority of them had no Parliamentary vote, and, as citizens, 'had nothing to do with the laws but to obey them,'—as a favourite phrase of the time expressed it. The newspaper was abroad. Statesmen were changing their opinions and policy every month. The air was charged with thunder. And it is not surprising that some of the Methodist leaders of the first half-century showed a tendency to reactionary Conservatism, and a few others to extreme Radicalism.

A striking and pathetic illustration of this cleavage may be found in the careers of the Rev. John Stephens (1784-1841) and his two sons. Dr. Gregory describes the father as one of the most unbending champions of authority that the Methodist Church could produce. His eldest son was 'that pugnacious notoriety, the editor of the *Christian Advocate*, whose dissonant and threatening pibroch thrilled through every circuit in the land.'

1. Overton: *The Evangelical Revival in the 18th Centy.*, p. 141.

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The younger son, Joseph Rayner Stephens, 'by temperament and habit, hot, heady, hazardous, restless and intractable,' honourably withdrew from the ministry after the Conference proceedings of 1834, so fully described by Smith and Gregory.¹ He became a leader of the physical force section of the Chartists, giving the Government more trouble than he ever gave the Conference, and, in 1839, suffered eighteen months' imprisonment. Later he greatly modified his Jacobinism, and it is pleasant to find him kindly received as an old boy at the Woodhouse Grove School Jubilee, 1862.² He was of fascinating personality, an able linguist, a friend of Harrison Ainsworth and his circle, and an honourable man; but his erratic career brought his father 'more than a martyrdom of grief.'

The term *Jacobin* has almost passed out of common usage as the century closes, and, probably, it has not been heard in a Methodist pulpit for half-a-hundred years. But on the lips of John Stephens, who was a man of mark in his day, and President of the Conference in 1827, it was a term of terrible significance. Applied first to the club of violent Republicans which met in the hall of the Jacobin friars in the Rue St. Jacques, in Paris, in 1789,³ it became the symbol of all that was revolutionary and demagogical in public movements. We find it exploding like a shrapnell shell through the pages of John Stephens' sermon on Christian Patriotism, published at Rotherham in 1810. We read in the preface: 'If, when the delirium of Jacobinism overspread a great part of Europe like an epidemical distemper, and seized some individuals of all classes of men in our own country, from the Islands of Scilly to the farthest shores of the Hebrides—if, in that unhappy moment, a few Methodist Preachers yielded to the fatal dereliction,—their sin has found them out—they have been driven from a Connection to which they were a disgrace—and our renovated body has become sound in all its numbers.'

'Perhaps you have often heard of *Jacobinism*,' says the preacher, 'it may be you have often used the term, without being

1. Smith's *His. Methodism*, vol. 3: Gregory's *Sidelights on the Conflicts of Methodism*, p. 150.

2. Slugg's *Woodhouse Grove School*, pp. 222-309.

3. 'Gone are the Jacobins; into invisibility; in a storm of laughter and howls. Their place is made a Normal School, the first of the kind seen; it then vanishes into a Market of Thermidor Ninth; into a Market of Saint-Honoré, where is now peaceable chaffering for poultry and greens.'—Carlyle, *French Revolution*, bk. vii., ch. iv.

able to affix to it any precise idea. The fact is, this term is hardly capable of a definition; the only method by which I can convey to you a just sense of its import is by description. *A Jacobin is a political madman.* In madness the mind is wholly filled with and employed upon one object, to which the thoughts adhere, and by which the passions are kept in constant agitation. In like manner the *Jacobin* thinks—feels—converses—dreams—only of one subject—politicks. No Secretary of State is more eager than he is to receive intelligence. His shelves groan under a load of anti-ministerial newspapers—speeches delivered at Sporting Clubs—and libellous pamphlets. Should the news of the day be favourable to his country, he lets fall his eyebrows, pouts his lips, insults his wife, beats his children, scolds his servants, eats but little through the day, and rests not through the night. Should the tidings of the next day be disastrous, he recovers his health, regains his spirits—is remarkably good-humoured, eats well, and sleeps soundly. In short the influence of politicks is that by which he directs and disposes of his business, his family, his friendships, his enmities, his health, his comfort, his body—and his soul!

The preacher is indignant that, just as the Wesleys had been wrongly suspected of being *Jacobites*,¹ so now the even more odious term *Jacobin* is flung at Methodists. 'I know that Methodists and Dissenters—and even the pious part of our brethren in the Establishment—are branded with the odious name of Jacobins. But we will repel, nay, we will retort the charge. Who are they that bring this charge against those that are pious in the land? They are the strumpets and pickpockets, the drunkards and swearers, the liars and Sabbath-breakers, the gamblers and seducers,—the people who set all laws at defiance, human and divine. And these are the Jacobins—who are hastening to fill up the measure of our national guilt—who are provoking against us the wrath of God—and whom we have more reason to fear than all the armed slaves of the French Despot.'

John Stephens shared the popular horror of Napoleon, and applied a variety of epithets to the 'Corsican ogre.' 'What,' he exclaims, 'has given to *The Tyrant of Europe* such rapidity in the progress of his arms, and such success in his schemes of revolution and spoliation? We answer *Ignorance*. The rulers of the Continental nations were defective in the science of government

1. Jackson's *Charles Wesley*, i. 372. Jno. Wesley's *Journal*, Apr. 2, 1755.

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—the people were not well-informed in the duties and obligations of obedience and subordination.' He therefore pleads for education, moral and religious, and commends the work of the Sunday Schools.¹ It is curious to find Bishop Horsley, on the other hand, asserting that Sunday Schools were in danger of being made nurseries of Jacobinism. They 'have been mostly formed,' says the Bishop, 'since the Jacobins have been laid under restraint of two most salutary statutes known by the names of the Sedition and Treason Bill; a circumstance which gives much ground for suspicion that sedition and atheism are the real objects of these institutions, rather than religion!'² The great ecclesiastic's dread of the lay element in the institution deepened his suspicions. The Methodist preacher, Stephens, conservative though he was, had no such fear; and a still more 'unbending champion of authority,' Dr. Bunting, three years later, introduced laymen into the Conference Committee 'to guard our religious privileges in these perilous times.'

In the year of the lamentable Peterloo Massacre at Manchester, 1819, John Stephens preached a sermon in Oldham Street Chapel on *The mutual Relations, Claims, and Duties of the Rich and Poor*, and exposed himself to some vigorous attacks from the excited champions of 'popular liberty.' 'The word Independence,' said he, 'as it has been commonly used in this country during the last thirty years, is not, I believe, to be found in the whole Bible; it has been borrowed from the vocabulary of Satan.' 'This haughty spirit of lawless independence expelled the angels from heaven, and man from Paradise.' 'He who cannot conduct himself is safe when he is conducted by others; and a blind man would be mad who should choose to show his independency by refusing the assistance of a guide. It is often an advantage to be in a state of dependence, as under a *good* parent, or a *good* master; and the days which are spent in that condition are frequently the happiest days of our life.' In 1865 John Ruskin wrote to the

1. *The Leek Sunday School Report*, of 1809, refers to this 'crisis of public alarm,' and rejoices, magniloquently, that "we have sheltered the stranger, and provided an asylum for the oppressed who have fled from the tyranny of usurped power. While British valour hath appalled the enemy, British bounty hath extended the hand of mercy to alleviate their sufferings. The public charity of a nation hath many times proved its best safeguard and shield. 'It shall fight for thee,' saith the Son of Sirach, 'against the enemy more than a mighty shield or a strong spear.'"

2. Bishop Horsley's *Charge to the Clergy*, 1800.

same effect, and no pamphleteers arose to stay him;¹ but to utter such opinions in the electrical atmosphere of Manchester in 1819 was dangerous, especially as Mr. Stephens says in his preface that 'he felt himself superior to all party politics; but when the contest was between a vile demagogue and his venerable King, between anarchy and social order . . . he coveted not the ignoble slumbers of neutrality.' Orator Hunt was the demagogue referred to, and one of his supporters, James Scholefield, published able but virulent *Remarks* on the sermon, in which he thought he found passages 'more like the Corybantic effusions of a Bacchanalian, than the serious conclusions and sober reflections of a Christian Minister.' But John Stephens was a particularly serious man—'a noble person; fine temper; a superior mind; fond of epithet; address, grave and lingering.'² Thomas Jackson, who was his colleague at Manchester, tells us that at this time his life was in peril. Jackson himself was forced by the magistrates, even after the Sunday services, to walk the streets through the night as a special constable. Every week the proceedings of the Leaders' Meetings were reported in the 'revolutionary' newspapers, and the worst construction was put upon everything the preachers said or did.³

Canon Overton, in his *History of the English Church in the XIXth Century* (p. 2), observes, that the French Revolution affected the work of the Church in two diametrically opposite ways. His remarks may be applied less forcibly, but with some measure of truth, to the Methodist Church. 'On the one hand, it acted as a sort of drag upon her, by rendering men suspicious of any improvement which was apt to be regarded as a dangerous innovation, savouring of that dreaded thing, Jacobinism. 'On the other hand, it indirectly, but very really stimulated her to increased activity' in the work of instilling 'sound principles, which might prevent them from becoming the prey of the first charlatan who promised them liberty, equality, and fraternity.'

John Stephens, evidently, held the view of Burke, who, through the whole of his criticisms on the French Revolution, regards it as an attack upon the fundamental doctrines of Christianity, in whatever special forms those doctrines might be expressed. 'To a certain extent,' says Sir J. F. Stephen, 'this

1. *The Art Journal*, 1865, p. 197.

2. Everett's *Wesleyan Takings*, i. 342. Stevenson's *City Road Chapel*. 424.

3. Jackson's *Recollections*, chap. x.

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was undoubtedly true.¹ The Methodist preacher therefore felt justified in dealing with the topic in the pulpit, and he may be forgiven for his opinion of the dependent condition of the masses of his time when we find Burke writing, 'In England and Scotland I compute that those of adult age . . . and who are above menial dependence (or what virtually is such) may amount to about 400,000. This is the British public. Of these political citizens I look upon one-fifth, or about 80,000, to be pure Jacobins, utterly incapable of amendment, objects of eternal vigilance, and, when they break out, of legal constraint.'²

T. E. BRIGDEN.

1. *Horæ Sabbatica*, iii. p. 149: see also, *Minutes of Conference*, 1798, 1800, 1803, 1814, and the *Circular Letter to Superintendents*, 1817, signed by Jos. Entwistle on behalf of the Committee of Privileges (*W.M. Mag.*, 1817, p. 301).

2 *Letter on a Regicide Peace*, 1796.

ON THE ORIGIN OF THE NAME METHODIST.

Of all the names, or nicknames, by which John Wesley and his followers were called, only one can claim to have stood the test of time. "The Holy Club," "Bible Moths," "Enthusiasts," "Sacramentarians," and a host of others are buried in forgotten pamphlets, or only recorded in the pages of our historians. With the one exception, all these terms of reproach or derision were disused and became obsolete almost as soon as they were bestowed. The exception, however, lives and is destined to live for ages to come; for the latest as well as the earliest followers of Wesley are "the people called Methodists."

What was the origin of the name, and why was it given to the Oxford students and their companions? These are interesting questions, to which some attempt at an answer may be made. Wesley says, "It was given in allusion to an ancient sect of physicians, of the time of the Emperor Nero, who taught that almost all diseases might be cured by a specific *method* of diet and exercise" (*Works*, vol. ix., p. 124). The following quotation from an old writer refers more explicitly to these *earliest* Methodists: "Themiston and his old sect of *Methodists* resolved that the laxum and strictum . . . were the principles and originals of all diseases in the world."—Hammond, *Works*, iv., 577. There was such a sect of physicians then; but are we justified, even on the authority of Wesley, in supposing that our Church has derived its name immediately from them? This is the commonly accepted explanation, and there is nothing inconceivable, or unusual, in University wits going to classical times for a name wherewith to brand a new religious community, and finding that name in some technical term of medical science. Wesley's statement necessarily carries great weight, and one would not lightly dispute his opinion on the subject. Yet there is certain evidence leading to the conclusion that the name was only *indirectly* derived from "an

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ancient sect of physicians"; and that it was *directly* transferred to the Fathers of our Church from some other group or association of *religious* persons, by whom it had been previously borne.

The word has been used at different times in our language to describe sects and parties, religious and philosophical, as well as medical. A quotation in the *Encyclopædic Dictionary* informs us, "The finest *Methodists*, according to Aristotle's golden rule of artificial bounds, condemn geometrical precepts in arithmetic, or arithmetical precepts in geometry, as irregular and absurd."

Coming to its use in the theological world we find that it has had both a religious and an ecclesiastical meaning; but it will be a surprise to many to learn that in both senses it was used many years before Wesley was born. "A *Methodist*," says Wesley in *The Complete English Dictionary*, published in 1753, is "one that lives according to the method laid down in the Bible"; but many years before that it is found with a meaning not altogether dissimilar. In the early half of the 17th Century it is used by Jackson (*Justifying Faith*, book iv., ch. v.) as the equivalent of one who practises self-examination: "All of us have some or other tender parts of our souls, which we cannot endure should be ungently touched; every man must be his own *methodist* to find them out." In its ecclesiastical sense, as the badge of a sect or party, it is generally supposed that Wesley and his followers were the first to whom it was given. The date of its bestowal is fixed by him at 1729. But the word with this meaning was then well nigh a century old. Let us trace it back.

In *Everett's Life*, by R. Chew, p. 216, there is a conversation reported, in which Joseph Hunter, the historian of *Hallamshire* and *South Yorkshire*, makes the following statement: "I met with five tracts, when a student at York, written by John Wesley's father, on a controversy which he had with Mr. Palmer on Dissenting Academies. These tracts were in the library of the Academy, formerly the Warrington Academy under Dr. Priestley. I may add that I met with a singular coincidence, which has not, to the best of my recollection, been noticed by anyone. It was a sect to which the name of *Methodist* was given in 1727, which is two years before it was given to the students at Oxford, as stated by Mr. Wesley. Through that revival of the name I have no doubt that it was transferred to the students."

This carries us back to 1727, but a pamphlet quoted by Tyerman (vol. i. p. 67) takes us back a further period of thirty-four years, or *ten years before Wesley was born*. This pamphlet, which, through the kindness of my friend, Mr. R. Thursfield

Smith, I have lately had an opportunity of examining, is dated 1693, and has a very long title-page, of which the following is a part: "A War among the Angels of the Churches. Wherein is shewed the Principles of the *New Methodists* in the great Point of Justification. Also a form of Prayer according to those Principles, &c. . . . London . . . MDCXCIII." The title of the pamphlet describes its contents sufficiently for our purpose. It is only necessary to add that the designation, the "New Methodists," is several times repeated in the body of the pamphlet.

We have at least one more use of the word *Methodist* in the 17th century; for, according to Mosheim, it was the name given to certain Roman Catholics, who, in their controversies with Protestant writers, required that their opponents should prove all their doctrines by explicit declarations of Holy Scripture, and refrain from supporting any position by inferences, necessary consequences, or argumentation. "These," he says, "have usually been called Methodists" (*Ecclesiastical History*, 12 ed. p. 748). Other curious examples of the use of the word are:—

"As many more,

As *Methodist* Musus killed with helibore

In autumn last."—Marston, *Scourge of Villany*, 1599.

"He teacheth us how we shall fear rectâ methods; he teacheth us to be perfect *methodists* in fear, and that we misplace not our fear."—Farrindon, *Sermons*, 1647.

"I dance little after method, because no *methodist*."—*Hermetical Banquet*, 1652.

"Our wariest physicians, not only chemists, but *methodists*, give it inwardly in several constitutions and distempers."—Boyle, *cir.* 1670.

"One of a new kind of puritans lately arisen, so called from their profession to live by rules and constant method" (Dr. Johnson.) Dr. Johnson's 'lately arisen' must be referred to the year 1729, when the term was applied to certain young men at Oxford of very methodical conduct. . . . But we see that the word is at least nearly a century and a half older in our language, in the medical sense, and nearly a century in a general sense." Todd. See Latham's *English Dictionary*, *s.v.*

From the above quotations it is evident that for the name *Methodist* to be applied to a religious sect or party was no new thing when the Wesleys were at Oxford. Its use in this way was indeed rather widespread. How the name came to be so applied we can only conjecture. That it was the name borne by certain physicians of ancient times is true enough; and it is probable —

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but hardly more than probable—that from them it was originally derived and bestowed upon one or other of the religious bodies whom it was supposed to describe. That it was transferred *direct* to the Oxford students appears hardly so probable. The likelihood seems greater that the name, applied generally and indiscriminately (as indeed it has often been applied in later times) to characterise certain religious professors whose doctrines or practices differed from those who opposed them, was given to various men and parties who have dropped altogether out of remembrance ; but finally it was bestowed upon “ a people,” to whom it fastened itself, and by whom it has been changed from a contemptuous nickname into a title of honour.

In connection with the curious and rather startling fact that the name *Methodist* was, about a century before Wesley's college days, borne by a party in the Roman Church, one cannot help inquiring whether the senseless but repeated charge of after years, that Wesley was a Papist, had anything to do with this. The thing is possible. He was called a Methodist. People were constantly asking, “ Who are the Methodists ? ” For his clerical critics it would not have been a difficult task to find out something about the continental Roman Methodists of the previous century. “ The Methodists of a hundred years ago,” they would say, “ were Papists. Therefore ‘ the people called Methodists ’ of to-day are Papists.” Clerical logic in the middle of the eighteenth century was quite equal to drawing such a conclusion from such premises.

FRED. C. WRIGHT.

THE BELOVED PHYSICIAN.

“ Honour a physician with the honours due unto him for the uses which ye may have of him : for the Lord hath created him.”—Ecclus. xxxviii. 1.

In the first sentence of his *Religio Medici* Sir Thomas Browne declares that he dare, without usurpation, assume the honourable style of a Christian, despite the “general scandal” of his profession, and the natural course of his studies. If the learned knight does not exaggerate the scandal of his calling, Methodism has indeed been fortunate from the beginning in having on its rolls so many worthy followers of St. Luke. Samuel Mather, surgeon, was a member of the first class-meeting; and, not long after, another Bristol doctor became a friend of the Wesleys; a man whose saintliness was honoured in the lay entitled *The Physician's Hymn*, and whose death was mourned in an elegy which moved to tears the loving soul of Fletcher.

Dr. Middleton and Charles Wesley first met at the bedside of the latter in September, 1740, when the more abundant labours of the evangelist had so enfeebled his health that, “for ten days there was no hope of his recovery, and it was reported in the public papers that he was actually dead.” The grateful patient afterwards made this entry in his journal, “He attended me constantly, as the divine blessing did his prescriptions;” and gave further proof of his appreciation of the doctor's generous services in the hymn already mentioned. Fourteen days after the close of the wedding festivities at Garth, the poet was compelled, a second time, to seek the skilled attention of the good physician, and happily survived the sickness and the drastic treatment. After an accident in the spring of 1758—one so serious as to dispel all hope of perfect recovery—Charles Wesley wrote to his medical friend, William Perronet: “I expected to have seen you before this time; but a severe fall has stopped me for a season. Mr. Ford blooded me the next day; and Dr. Middleton, and a troop of female surgeons, joined in consultation about me.” In

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1760 one of the doctor's prescriptions was followed by almost fatal results to his patient, then in London. A physician, who was hastily summoned, pronounced the dose of camphor to be enough for four doses. It is not for the present writer to explain this; but it should be remembered that it was eleven years since Charles Wesley had consulted his medical adviser, and that before taking the unfortunate potion he said to J. Downes, "The most kind and skilful physician could not, at one hundred miles distance [between Bristol and London] know whether his medicine would kill or cure."

Of the kindness of his physician the sufferer had received full proof, inasmuch as Mrs. Wesley and the family were attended, as well as the poet himself, without any payment beyond their gratitude. When Mrs. C. Wesley was "loaded with the worst kind of the worst disease" (small-pox), her husband wrote in his journal, "Dr. Middleton has been a father to her." Of the skill of the good doctor—despite this contretemps—we have sufficient evidence in the position and reputation he gained in Bristol, and his success as a scientific writer. The Rev. H. J. Foster has rendered much appreciated service by making extracts from the Richard Smith MS. in the library of the Bristol Infirmary. The first tells us that Dr. Middleton was elected in July, 1737, assistant on the staff of the Infirmary, but for some unknown reason resigned in a fortnight. The second is more interesting, "I can obtain no information except that he resided at the large house, No. 2, College Green, near St. Augustine's Church, rendered somewhat famous by being subsequently the dwelling of Sir Jarrett Smyth, with whom Sir Duisley Goodeare had been spending the fatal day when he was seized by his brother, the Captain, and, being taken to the Ruby man-of-war in Kingsroad, was there strangled; for which the parties were executed." Smith continues, "The doctor was the first Physician who kept his carriage in Bristol. Clarke, the present coachmaker, tells me that he remembered it well: that it was a great lumbering thing without springs, with two small glasses in the doors, and that the horses never went beyond a footpace; that it was in fact a sort of genteel waggon." The chronicler also adds that, in 1727, Dr. Middleton published a quarto volume on a new method of lithotomy. "In this he confesses that he disliked and despised the new method, until inquiry and observation solved his objections with great clearness. He says, 'It is better to yield to conviction than to struggle against it, as was said by the learned Plempius,'" author of *Fundamental Medicine*.

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If the fact, that the most striking miracles of the New Testament were wrought on the young, emphasises the importance now so wisely attached to early conversions, it is well sometimes to remember that there is at any rate one miracle which encourages hope for the adult: "For the man was above forty years old on whom this miracle of healing was showed." Though always upright and honourable, and from the time when he first knew Charles Wesley a religious man, Dr. Middleton was seventy years old before he fully attained to the righteousness of faith. John Wesley's argument, "Our people die well," though now considered precarious by some, was deeply felt by the doctor, who, in the presence of gainsayers, was wont to say, "A people who live and die so well must be good." The strength of this apology, which he had abundant opportunities of proving, probably impressed him more as the shadows of age gathered round him; but it was not without many a conflict that he reached the full assurance of faith. His science and profession became more than ever a part of his religion.

The friendly properties that flow
Through nature's various works, I know
The Fountain whence they came;
And every plant, and every flower
Medicinal, derives its power
From Jesu's balmy name.

I come, not like the sordid herd,
Who, mad for honour or reward,
Abuse the healing art:
Nor thirst of praise, nor lust of gain,
But kind concern at human pain,
And love constrains my heart.

Though the good doctor would never have used the language here put upon his lips, the poet's praise was well deserved—for he never accepted a fee from any of the poor Methodists, but always asked their prayers. In the Elegy, which Fletcher describes as "pathetic and truly Christian," the private virtues of the worthy physician are fully recognised:

The pious *son*, the *husband* kind,
The *father* good, the *friend* sincere.

A pleasant peep into the home-life of College Green is given in Charles Wesley's *Journal*: "I passed two hours in Christian conference and prayer with Dr. M., and the church in his house." To such a life of faith unfeigned, rigid virtue and strict integrity,

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the words of the old poet¹ might fitly apply :

Life that dare send
A challenge to his end,
And when it comes, say, " Welcome Friend !"

His death-bed, however, was the scene of fierce temptation before it came to be " quite on the verge of heaven."

Mercy prolong'd his dying hours,
That, wrestling with the hellish foe,
With principalities and powers,
He might his utmost Saviour know.

But, as in the case of his dying Lord, the sad " Sabachthani " was followed by the calm of the final resignation. He blessed his weeping household, and then breathed his last in the arms of his devoted friend, Dr. Robertson. In the *Bristol Chronicle*, January 5, 1760, was the following notice:—" Died at his house in College Green, greatly regretted, John Middleton, M.D. A gentleman of great natural and acquired abilities in his Profession, —of unaffected Piety, diffusive Benevolence and untainted Morals. 20 Decr., 1760."²

In concluding this imperfect sketch the writer thereof begs to use the apology of an ancient historian: " If we have spoken slenderly and barely, we have done what we could"—2 Macc. xv. 38.

R. BUTTERWORTH.

1 R. Crawshaw's *Wishes*.

2 This is four days later than the date given in the Elegy.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

138. FRAGMENT OF AN INTERESTING METHODIST MANUSCRIPT.—Some time ago, through the kindness of a friend, an interesting collection of autograph letters came into my possession. Among them were two leaves of Fletcher's Second Check to Antinomianism. They are folio leaves and written fairly closely on each side of the paper, making altogether about five pages of the edition printed by Strahan, in 1771. The title page is given exactly as it appears in Strahan's edition, with one exception, viz., that the motto for the title page only contains the passage of Scripture taken from *2 Timothy* iv. 2, 3. In the printed edition however the following passages are added, "*Wherefore rebuke them sharply, that they may be found in the faith*"; but "*let brotherly love continue*"—*Tit.* i. 13, *Heb.* xiii. 1. The two passages are joined together as one, the word *but* being the only word not printed in italics.

The following note "to the printer" is clearly written at the top of page one, "§, though in the middle of a line, marks the beginning of a paragraph. The words underlined once are to be printed in italics. Those that are underlined twice in capitals. Be exact in printing in different characters just so many words as are underlined, and no more. Mind the greater and smaller divisions, and the stops." At the side of this note to the printer these divisions are indicated. Fletcher writes, "The great divisions are marked thus, I, II, III, &c., the small ones (1), (2), (3)." In these manuscript leaves there are a number of erasures, and it is interesting to note that some of the passages crossed out appear in the printed edition from which I have quoted; thus showing that during the printing of the book Mr. Fletcher changed his mind, and put back passages which at one time he intended to omit.

It is greatly to be regretted that many of the early Methodist manuscripts have been lost or destroyed. Though

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I have made careful enquiries I have not been able to discover whether the other leaves of this manuscript are still in existence. Perhaps some members of the Wesley Historical Society may be able to give me further information. If so, I shall be greatly obliged.—*Rev. J. Alfred Sharp.*

[It is hardly likely that the MS., being "copy" sent to the printer, is preserved anywhere. There were no keen relic-hunters in Methodism at that time.—R.G.]

139. A FEW FACTS ADDITIONAL TO THOSE RECORDED IN THE JOURNAL OF JOHN WESLEY.—It is well known that, marvellous as the *Journals* shew the activity of Wesley to have been, they do not tell the whole story of his work. Not only are there gaps in the records themselves, but many visits are summed up in a few words, that give us little idea of the amount of work actually done at the places mentioned. Perhaps the most valuable means of supplying additional information is the careful comparison of references in contemporary diaries. In connection with my work on Chester Methodism I have read with great interest the diary of Miss Mary Gilbert, 1768. (See *Journal*, April 2, 1768; and Green's *Bibliography*, § 250). In this are given the texts of at least ten sermons not mentioned in the *Journal*. For instance, Wesley writes:—"April 11, 1765, We rode on to Francis Gilbert's at Kendal, where there is now a real work of God." Mary Gilbert, writing under the same date, says:—"At noon, we had the pleasure of the Rev. Mr. Jno. Wesley's Company to Dinner; and in the Evening he preached on *Jer. viii. 22*—'Is there no balm in Gilead, etc.' His conversation was very edifying, and God blest it to my poor Soul." Of the next day she records:—"At Five, in the Morning, Mr. Wesley preached on *Psalms, lxxxiv. 1*—'How Amiable, etc.'" When the Gilbert family had removed to Chester, they were again privileged to entertain the great evangelist. Friday, Aug. 16, 1765 (just before the Manchester Conference), Miss Gilbert says:—"We had the pleasure of the Rev. Mr. John Wesley's Company to Tea, and in the evening he preached on *2 Cor. vi. 2*—'Now is the accepted time: now is the day of salvation.' Sunday 18. In the morning Mr. Wesley preached on *Mark ix. 23* My Soul was exceedingly blest. He seemed to speak as exactly to my State, as if I had mentioned it to him." This visit is very briefly described by the great evangelist himself. The same applies to a visit he paid to Chester in

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the spring of 1766, in connection with which he makes no mention of preaching at all. From Miss Gilbert we learn that he preached six sermons, administered the sacrament, and held a love-feast. Her words are:—"Wednesday, April 2, 1766. The Rev. Mr. Wesley gave us his Company to Tea, and afterwards preached on *Romans* viii. 33, 34. I found my mind very wandering. The next evening he preached again on *John* v. 8, 9. I found a Blessing this Evening though I sought it not as I ought. O what a Good God is ours! Friday, 4. I was also much blessed in the Evening while Mr. Wesley was preaching on these words, *Isaiah* xvii. 9—"This is life eternal, etc." [Should be *John* xvii. 3.—F.F.B.] Saturday, 5. I found the word very sweet in the Evening while Mr. Wesley was enforcing the words, *Matt.* ix. 5. Sunday, 6. I found my desires very earnest for the blessing while Mr. Wesley was preaching on *Isaiah* xxxv. 8—"And a highway shall be there, and a way," etc. In the evening, I was again encouraged to come to the Lord while Mr. Wesley was inviting us to come and drink of the water of life freely, but still I had not power to accept the invitation. We had afterwards a comfortable Lovefeast."—*Rev. F. F. Bretherton.*

140. A CURIOUS RELIC AND PANEGYRIC OF JOHN WESLEY, IN VERSE, WORKED IN CANVAS WITH A LADY'S HAIR.—In my visitations the other day I unearthed the above relic, the discovery of which made my Methodist blood flow faster. This strange relic is an old sampler, about fifteen inches by twelve, wrought on canvas with human hair. The genealogical history of it is as follows,—The present owner received it from his mother. She received it from her mother, who received it from Miss Knapp, of Worcester,—the lady who worked it with her own hair. The sampler is exquisitely done, the only unfortunate feature being that in some parts it is moth-eaten, and here and there undecipherable. It was wrought on the day of John Wesley's funeral. The following is a transcript so far as I can make it out.

"Hail brightest orator, our Nation boasts!
 Hail veteran soldier, of the Lord of Hosts!
 Hail bright resemblance! in whose nervous lines
 The Saint sublime, the finished Christian shines,
 Than whom appears to each discerning eye
 The depth of learning, wisdom, piety.

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All graces human and divine are there,
 Soft tempered with the pensive mourner's air.
 Mild, heavenly, meek, but to the world unknown,
 Unto the Lord devoted

* * * * *

The Rev. John Wesley—died March 2nd, 1791,
 Aged 88.

—*Rev. W. H. Coradine.*

141. *The Minutes of Conference, 1753, and Wesley's MS. Journal.*—These appear in the appendix of the 8vo. edn of the *Minutes*, and Dr. Smith also gives them from a MS. by Jacob Rowel, a preacher who was present at Leeds. Was this the MS. to which Dr. Hoole refers in the *W.M. Magazine*, 1855, p. 429, in the following words: "The Committee of the Connexional Depository for Wesleyan MSS., &c., present thanks to Mr. A. Steele, of Barnard Castle, for a copy of the Minutes of the Conference held at Leeds, May 22nd, 1753, and for copies of unpublished letters of Mr. Wesley. To a Friend, for several autograph letters of the Rev. J. Wesley, and some of his more distinguished correspondents, from the year 1742 to 1788. Also for a MS. vol. of Mr. Wesley's *Journal*, and other valuable documents. To Mrs. Clough, for the original Letters of Ordination of Dr. Coke. To the Rev. Jas. Lynch for the original Letters of Ordination given him by Dr. Coke."

I have recently found printed copies of the following:—The *Large Minutes*, 1753 (?), 1770, 1780, 1791, 1797. The *Annual Minutes*, 1774, 1783, 1784, 1786, 1787, 1789, 1791 to 1801.—*Rev. Thos. E. Brigden.*

142. REPLY TO Q. 83. CIRCUIT PLANS: when were they first used?—From John Wesley's letter to Christopher Hopper (*Proceedings*, vol. ii. p. 63), it appears that Mr. Hopper claimed to be "the very person who introduced plans among us." Wesley does not discuss the question, but simply remarks, "Very good: but you send me no plan still: and till this comes everything else is wide of the mark." But was Mr. Hopper right? Dr. Hoole gives what he describes as "an exact copy of the oldest extant plan," in the *W. M. Mag.* 1855. It was in Wesley's handwriting, for the London Circuit, for the week commencing Easter Monday, April 15th, 1754. Dr. Hoole says, "It appears to have been the first ever made, and with it commences a

series of seventeen consecutive weekly plans." The last of the series is not in Wesley's handwriting, but appears to have been prepared by Mr. Jas. Deaves, whose appointments to West Street are indicated by his initials in flourishing capitals. On the first of the series the places are, The Foundery, Spitalfields, Snowsfields, Wapping, Sadler's Wells, "The Chapel" (West Street), and Westminster. The preachers are John Wesley, W. Shent, T. Maxfield, S. Larwood, C. Skelton, Rev. Mr. R. [John Richardson], J. Fenwick, J. Green and C. Perronet. [Where are these old plans?]

Mr. Hopper's name first appears on the *Minutes* for 1747, but he was not appointed as 'Assistant' until 1768. He attended the London Conferences in 1754, 1761, and later, but he does not appear to have 'travelled' in London. He says, in 1782, "I had a kind invitation to the Metropolis, but I preferred a country circuit." May he have been ignorant of Wesley's early London Circuit plans? One of Wesley's London Conference plans he must have seen, for his name appears on one, in Wesley's handwriting, for 1754, on which he is appointed to preach at four places during the week. A copy of this plan, and of Wesley's last Circuit plan (1791), is given in Stevenson's *H. City Road Chapel*.

Other plans, of the eighteenth century, are given in the following local histories:—

1777. Leeds Circuit. Smith's *H. Meth*, vol. i.

1782. Grimsby. Thomas Wride's Round. Facsimile in *Meth. Recorder*. 1898.

1786. Colne Circuit. Jessop's *Rosendale*. Stott's *Haslingden*. Hargreaves' *Accrington*.

1792, 1798, and later. Lyth's *York*.

I have a copy of the following, by Christopher Hopper. 'The substance of a discourse on *Hag. ii. 9*, delivered at the opening of the New Preaching-house at Woodhouse, near Leeds. Leeds, printed by Griffith Wright, 1770.' It is a model of homiletical arrangement and powerful appeal, and confirms all that is said in Jackson's *Lives*, of Hopper's ability as a preacher.—*Rev. T. E. Brigden*.

143. REPLY TO Q. 116. FISH'S EDITION OF CHARLES WESLEY'S VERSION OF THE PSALMS.—Trevecca College.—Since the Rev. R. Green wrote his query, he will have read that Miss Fish has presented C. Wesley's MS. to the Conference Office: (see *Meth. Rec.* Dec. 12th, 1900). Mr.

Fish wrote mysteriously in his preface, 1854, that the MS. found its way, with duplicates of books, into the London Market "from the shelves of a College; but what College shall be nameless." G. J. Stevenson says, "the name of Trevecca College, Wales, is stamped upon the cover."—*Meth. H. Bk.* p. 337. It formerly belonged to Lady Huntingdon, and contains her book-plate. It is a generous and timely gift, in view of the revision of the Hymn Book. In 1864 Trevecca was described by I.E.P. in the *Christian Miscellany*. He says, "Among the books we noticed Charles Wesley's *Hymns on Scriptural Subjects*, in two volumes; Wesley's *Appeals*, and some ponderous tomes. We were permitted to look at an original letter of the Countess."—*Rev. T. E. Brigden*.

144. REPLY TO Q. 118.—LAVINGTON'S *Enthusiasm of Methodists and Papists compared*. Who assisted in writing it?—In Wesley's first letter to Lavington, Feb. 1, 1749-50, he says: "Have a care! or you (I should say, the gentleman that assists you) will speak a little too plain, and betray the *real* motive of his *sincere* antipathy to the people called Methodists," (p. 8). In *The Bishop of Exeter's Answer to Mr. J. Wesley's late letter to His Lordship; London: Printed for John and Paul Knapton in Ludgate-street, MDCCLII*, there appears a long story about Wesley's enquiry of a woman as to "whether or no she was sure of her salvation." This story is formally "attested" by John Fursman, Chancellor, and Wm. Hole, Archdeacon. These dignitaries had accompanied the Bishop in his visitation to Cornwall, and evidently busied themselves in collecting the garbled tales about the Methodists and their sayings, of which Lavington made such scurrilous use. The name of Dr. Sykes, mentioned by Edward Perronet, does not occur. He was of the school of Clarke and Hoadley. For many years he held the living of Rayleigh, Essex; obtained a prebend at Winchester in 1740, and died in 1756. He was the author of 63 publications, chiefly controversial pamphlets!—*Rev. T. E. Brigden*.

145. REPLY TO Q. 120. *The Methodist*: attempted in plain metre. Printed by G. Burbage. Nottingham. 1780.—Tyerman says that this was written by James Kershaw: (see vol. iii. p. 362). It is not named in Osborn's Bibliography. My copy was once in "Sand's Circulating Library, Newcastle-on-Tyne." An anti-Methodist critic has written satirical remarks in the

margin. Another hand has written on the fly-leaf :—

“Ye must be born again”: how so, they cry,
 This ne'er can be at least before we die,
 What other birth do baptised Christians need?
 When we're baptised, we're born again indeed.
 How can we know on earth our sins forgiven,
 'Tis time enough when we arrive at heaven,
 In vain we seek it on this earth below,
 'Tis knowledge far too high for man to know.

This is in Kershaw's style, and may be his writing. Kershaw took part in the controversy with Hervey (see Tyerman and Osborn). He ceased travelling in 1767, and settled at Gainsborough, where he became famous for his medicines. He continued in connection with the Methodists, and occasionally preached. His last residence was at Ashby-de-la-Zouch, where he died. I have a note of what was, probably, his last work: *The grand extensive Plan of Human Redemption, &c., in 12 Familiar Dialogues*. Louth. 1797. 12mo. pp. 289. Atmore says, “He certainly possessed considerable talents, and, as a preacher, was generally respected . . . Had he been stable, and had he devoted himself *wholly* to God and to the service of His sanctuary, he would no doubt have been a burning and shining light.” He was with Wesley in Scotland in 1764 and 1765, (see *Journal*).—*Rev. T. E. Brigden.*

146. REPLY TO Q. 121. THE MARRIAGE OF JOHN HORTON (WESLEY'S EXOR.) TO MARY DURBIN.—We get a glimpse of Mr. Horton's domestic sorrows from an inscription on a square tomb near Wesley's grave at City Road.—“Here lies the body of Mary Horton, wife of John Horton, of Canonbury Place, who departed this life May 16th, 1786, aged 34 years. Also, the bodies of their children, Harris Horton, died December 7th, 1782, aged 4 days; John Durbin Horton, died Jan. 31st, 1784, aged 3 months.”

Charles Wesley's elegy of 35 verses (*Journal and Poetry, vol. ii.*) gives many interesting details of Mrs. Horton's life and character. Jackson also gives an epitaph in his *Life of C. W., vol. ii.* Wm. Myles, Jos. Benson, and a dissenting minister who was with Mr. Horton when he died, contributed notices of the Methodist merchant, and exor. of Wesley's wills, to the *Theo. Mag., 1802*, and *Meth. Mag., 1803*. He removed to Bristol in 1800, and died in 1802, aged 63.—*Rev. T. E. Brigden.*