



THE OLD BETHESDA CHAPEL, DORSET STREET, DUBLIN.

(From an old print.)

THE HYMN BOOK OF THE OLD BETHESDA CHAPEL, DUBLIN

As Wesley preached so frequently in the Bethesda, he doubtless had the opportunity of noticing certain features of the Hymn Book which would have aroused the interest of any Methodist.

To begin with, the titles of some of the sections into which the book is divided are so reminiscent of the wording in Wesley's large collection (1780) that there can be little doubt as to the source whence they were derived. Such, for example, are the Sections :

Inviting and exhorting sinners to repent and believe the Gospel.

Hymns for Mourners seeking the salvation of God.

Hymns for Believers longing to be dissolved and be with Christ.

Hymns for Believers who are hungering and thirsting after righteousness and going on to perfection.

Hymns for Backsliders restored to the joys of God's salvation.

These are certainly not the type of classification one would expect to find in a Church Hymn Book, and in this connection they are probably unique of their kind.

The Hymn Book begins characteristically with the verse :

" Here at *Bethesda's* pool, the poor,
The withered, halt and blind,
With waiting hearts expect a cure,
And free admittance find."

No indication is given of the authorship of the hymns, and where lines and verses have been altered—sometimes very arbitrarily—the attempt to ascertain their origin has been made more difficult. John Wesley's well known objection to the emendation of his own and his brother's hymns finds here an ample justification, and it is evident from Edward Smyth's introductory remarks that

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Wesley's famous Preface was present to his mind. The relevant passages may be placed side by side :

John Wesley (1780) :

Many gentlemen have done my brother and me (though without naming us) the honour to reprint many of our hymns. Now they are perfectly welcome so to do, provided they print them just as they are. But I desire they would not attempt to mend them ; for they really are not able. None of them is able to mend either the sense or the verse. Therefore I must beg of them one of these two favours : either to let them stand just as they are, or take them for better for worse ; or to add the true reading in the margin, or at the bottom of the page ; that we may no longer be accountable for the nonsense or for the doggerel of other men.

Edward Smyth (1786)

Many Hymns and Anthems which the Editor borrowed from other Authors, he judged it necessary to put in another dress ; so that they may be almost accounted new. Some of them being too long for public service, in order to shorten them he was obliged to alter many of the lines, that the connexion which was broken off by the verses left out might be preserved. Others again containing too *strong meat* could not properly be sung by any but those who had attained the highest summit of perfection ; these therefore he has turned into prayers.

Now he trusts that none will be offended at the liberty he has thus taken, as he cheerfully allows them the same. If, therefore, any imagine that they can mend either the sense or the verse of these Hymns they are not only welcome to do so, but I should rejoice to see them improved by *their* revisal.

Smyth's cheerful extension of liberty to alter hymns, many of them admittedly "borrowed from other authors," may pass without further comment ; but two examples may be given of his own procedure.

In one of Charles Wesley's hymns, where, in the original, alternate lines rhyme, in this book the lines are transposed by bringing the lines that rhyme together so that they read in the order, one, three, two and four, an irritating and senseless alteration of sequence.

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The opening verse of John Wesley's translation from Terteegen, in addition to two verbal changes, drops in the last two lines of the Bethesda rendering to a quite pedestrian level instead of moving to its natural climax as in the original :

Lo ! God is here ; let us adore
And say " How dreadful is this place !"
Let all within us feel his power
And lowly bow before his face !
A broken heart's a sacrifice
Which he, by no means, will despise.

If these lines should have caught John Wesley's eye he might well repeat : " I desire they would not attempt to mend them ; for they really are not able " !

Such writers as Watts, Cowper, Newton, Thomas Olivers and Anne Steele are occasionally represented in the Hymn Book ; but a careful examination shows that out of a total of 479 hymns at least 209 are the composition of the Wesleys. In fact, relative to the total contents, this Irish Church Hymn Book of a century and a half ago contains a decidedly larger proportion of Wesley hymns than the proportion of such hymns admitted into the present *Methodist Hymn Book*. The Wesley hymns strongly reinforce the evangelical character of the Bethesda Hymn Book, hymns beginning with the name " Jesu," for example, and also hymns beginning with the word "Come" are often suggestive of the gospel invitation and appeal ; and it is significant that out of 45 of the former and 24 of the latter, 31 and 17 respectively, are by the Wesleys.

Most of these Methodist Hymns are found in Wesley's large *Collection* of 1780, but other sources are drawn upon for certain hymns not contained in that work. For instance, four out of the five hymns in that section " Hymns to be used in times of persecution " are taken from *Hymns for Times of Trouble and Persecution*. Others are found in the *Redemption Hymns*, *Hymns of Petition and Thanksgiving*, *Select Hymns with Tunes Annexed*, and *Hymns to the Trinity* (*Gloria Patri*, &c.).

As John Wesley must frequently have had the *Bethesda Hymn Book* in his hand while officiating at services there, it seems fitting to enumerate his translations from the German which find a place in the book. The numbers prefixed correspond to the numbers in Bishop Nuelsen's *John Wesley und das deutsche Kirchenlied*, where both the original text and Wesley's rendering are given in full.

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2. "Jesu, to Thee my heart I bow," (Zinzendorf).
Verse 4 omitted and some verbal changes in most of the other verses. Hymn omitted from the 1904 and 1933 *Methodist Hymn Books*.
3. "O Jesu, source of calm repose," (Freylinghausen)
5 verses included out of 6. Hymn omitted from *M.H.B.* 1933.
4. "Thou Lamb of God, Thou Prince of Peace." (Richter).
Full text given without alteration. Included in *M.H.B.* 1904; omitted from 1933 Book.
8. "O Thou to whose all searching sight." (Zinzendorf).
The first verse in the Bethesda Book begins: "Lord search my heart, wash out its stains," and is an amalgam of verses 1 and 2 of Wesley's translation.
14. "Give to the winds thy fears." (Gerhardt).
Contains the 8 verses of the second part of the hymn "Commit thou all thy griefs."
19. "Lo! God is here, let us adore." (Tersteegen).
4 verses out of 6.
22. "Thee will I love, my strength, my tower." (Scheffler).
Begins with the second verse, the first line of which, "Ah! why did I so late Thee know!" is altered to "Tis life eternal Thee to know."
24. "I thirst, thou wounded Lamb of God."
(Zinzendorf and I. Nitschmann).
6 verses included out of 8, and one verse weakly altered. The first and third verses are unaccountably omitted from *M.H.B.* 1933, and the second relegated to the verses section therein.
25. "Now I have found the ground wherein." (Rothe.)
Complete.
28. "Jesu, Thy blood and righteousness." (Zinzendorf.)
Contains 5 verses out of 24. Two verses included which are not in either the 1904 or 1933 *M.H.B.*
29. "Regardless now of things below." (Böhmer).
3 verses out of 4. Not in either the 1904 or 1933 *M.H.B.*

D. B. BRADSHAW

THE BELSHAW PAPERS AND WESLEY

(Mr. Robert Redman Belshaw of Dublin was great-grandson of Mr. James Freeman (1749-1771), a founder of the old Gravel Walk Chapel, Dublin, and Mrs. Jane Esther Freeman née Lee, who is said to have been a cousin of the Earl of Ormonde, and of the Earl of Shelbourne.¹ For Mr. & Mrs. Freeman Wesley had a high regard, as evidenced by his letters to Mrs. Freeman. Their family consisted of Miss Elizabeth Freeman, who married Mr. George Stacey; Miss Charity Freeman, who married Rev. William Stewart; and Mr. James Freeman, the second, regarding whom a biographical sketch by his son, Mr. James Freeman, the third, will be found in the *Primitive Wesleyan Magazine* for 1832. When Mr. Belshaw died in 1912 his books and manuscripts were bequeathed to the Governors of the Linen Hall Library at Belfast, in whose custody they have since remained. Many papers and letters of the Freeman family are amongst the Belshaw MSS., and the following extracts have been copied from them.)

FROM THE JOURNAL OF MISS ELIZABETH FREEMAN
OF DUBLIN

Sunday, July 10th, 1785. Mr. Wesley preached in the morning from John iv, 24. "God is a Spirit and they that worship Him must worship Him in spirit and in truth." In the evening from Psalm I, 23. "And to him that ordereth his conversation aright will I show my salvation." I was very happy but felt a great deal when he gave the parting blessing. The house was filled with sighs and tears.

Wednesday, August 24th. At night I got the melancholy news of Mr. Fletcher's death. My spirits were very much sunk yet I found an earnest desire to copy after him in all things. It brought to my mind the morning he breakfasted with us; his Heavenly conversation though at the time I did not understand him. When he was going away he took my brother and me by the hand and gave us a fine exhortation. At first I felt very much affected but fearing any should perceive it looked aside, and appeared quite careless. No doubt at that time he prayed for the careless sinner which hath availed. Indeed everything coming to mind almost broke my heart. I loved his sweet drawing way and in spite of nature he forced me to come as I was to a tender hearted Saviour."

FROM THE JOURNAL OF MISS CHARITY FREEMAN
OF DUBLIN

Sunday, July 12th, 1789. Conference began Friday the 3rd and

1. See *Christian Fellowship*, published by Baker & Goodwin, New York, 1859.

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continued till Wednesday the 8th. On Sunday the 5th Mr. Wesley, the Preachers, and very many of the Society went to St. Patrick's Church (St. Patrick's Cathedral). Mr. Wesley was placed near the Dean, Mr. Rogers and Mr. Boon near himself; all the rest of the Preachers in the most conspicuous seats. Hymn tunes were sung in which the Preachers and congregation joined and many other marks of respect were shown. It is very observable the *Observer's* pains to prejudice the clergy against Mr. Wesley is quite useless.² I trust his glory will not depart from him till he lays the body down. Then let the wicked rage he is far out of their reach. Far far above all grief and pain. Sweetly lodged in Jesu's breast.

The Love Feast was held the evening of the same day, at which time many of the Preachers spoke very lively. Mr. Wesley preached every evening in the week and sometimes in the morning of the week. How highly favoured is Dublin to have this year nearly six weeks of his company. When I awoke this morning it rained most violently and I found by a cold I had got I might be disappointed of hearing Mr. Wesley at Marlboro' House. The text in the forenoon was "Behold I make all things new". After administering the Sacrament he committed us to God's most gracious protection and about 3 o'clock went aboard with the prayers and good wishes of many of his dear flock. April, 1790. Dr. Coke has visited us again. He is still the same lively animated soul..

In the *Standard Journal* at 5th July, 1789 Vol. VII. page 516, a Quotation, altered from the above, is attributed to Mr. Stewart, but this is obviously a misprint for Mrs. Stewart, and the alteration was probably in the nature of a little editing done by Mr. Belshaw.

Mr. James Freeman the second born 1766 died 1832, served his apprenticeship to the printing business with Mr. Bennet Dugdale, the Dublin Methodist printer. In 1789 and 1790 he spent some time in London gaining a further insight into that business, during which he corresponded regularly with his mother and sisters. He married a Miss Beddy and for a time resided in Aungier St., Dublin, in the house next the old home of Thomas Moore the poet. At the division of 1816 in Irish Methodism, he joined the Primitive Wesleyan Society and his second daughter married Rev. John Stevenson, a well known minister of the Society. The following are portions of his letters from London.

J. F. TO MISS C. FREEMAN, 20 WHITE FRIAR ST., DUBLIN.

London, Novr. 23, 1789.

I think Mr. Wesley still exerts himself as much as ever, he

2. This entry relates to the attacks made on Wesley in the *Dublin Observer* because he asked William Myles to assist in the Administration of the Sacrament. See Wesley's letter to Dr. Coke, June 2, 1789 in *Standard Letters*.

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seems to be like a flame of fire full of light. At West St. he seems to have particular liberty. I have heard some of the greatest sermons (I believe preached by anyone) from him in this Chapel, here I would inform you that this house was built originally for the French protestants, but has since fallen into the Methodist hands. It is situated about 3 or 4 miles from the New Chapel. It is no unusual thing for Mr. Wesley to preach in the parish churches in London, the Sunday before last I heard him preach a Charity Sermon in one of the best churches in London, there was an amazing congregation present and all ranks of people seem to listen with the greatest attention. That day he preached three times, besides meeting the Society. I would not take up so much room here on the subject were I not persuaded you will all be glad to hear how Mr. Wesley goes on. I would just add that he has met all the Classes in London and its environs. As I believe it will not be unacceptable I will mention the hours for preaching on Sundays in the New Chapel and West St. At the New Chapel at 5 in the morning, again at half past 9, and at 5 in the evening; at West St. at 5 in the morning, again at half past 9, again at half past 3, and at 7 in the evening; this is the unchangeable plan winter and summer.

J. F. TO MISS C. FREEMAN, 20 WHITE FRIAR St., DUBLIN.

London, Decr. 16. 1789.

We had a Love Feast at West St. last Sunday but did not like it near as well as the Dublin ones, the whole lasted about $\frac{3}{4}$ hour, so that there was scarce time for half a dozen people to speak. On Monday morning at 4 o'clock Mr. Wesley set off for Dover; he is seemingly in good health and spirits. As I have said a good deal about Mr. Wesley's Connexion I believe it will not be unacceptable to speak a little on some other sects. That founded by Mr. Whitfield are very numerous, their two chapels viz —The Tabernacle and Tottenham Court Road are two of the largest in London. In Tottenham Court Road Chapel they read the Church service; this Chapel is computed to hold, I think 9 or 10 thousand souls. In the Tabernacle they omit the Church Service except at the Sacrament; this Chapel is about 2 minutes walk from the New Chapel City Road—it would amaze you to see what vast congregations attend these two places. Lady Huntingdon's Connexion (which is quite distinct from Whitfields) is also very large, she has several Chapels through the City but the principal one is that at Spa Fields, adjoining which her house stands; this was formerly a pantheon, it is quite circular has 2

rows of galleries one above the other and a large glass dome in the centre, this place is also attended by a large concourse of people, they also read the Church Service. To give an account of what I know of the different Sects in London would take up more room than this sheet would contain. Here are added to all the sects and parties you have heard of—Sandimanians, New Jerusalemites, Restorationists, &c., &c., &c., besides a vast quantity of Jews, I suppose many thousands, I have met at one time 3 of their chief priests together dressed in their robes. In general they all wear their beards by which they are universally known and as universally hated by all sorts of people; In short London is filled with places of worship, scarce a street but there are 2, 3 or 4 in; but I see or hear none that I like equal to Mr. Wesley's Connexion indeed I seldom go to any other place especially as he is in town every Sunday.

J. F. TO HIS MOTHER: MRS. FREEMAN AT MR. GEORGE STACY'S,
20 WHITE FRIAR ST., DUBLIN.

London, Jany., 5, 1790.

Mr. Wesley and Dr. Coke are both in town now. Last Sunday was the annual Covenant, and indeed since I came to London I never saw the Chapel so crowded, the form was read as in Dublin, and afterwards the Sacrament administered to I suppose at the very least computation to above two thousand communicants; it began at 3 o'clock and lasted till about half past six, there were 5 clergymen assisting on the occasion. The Chapel on Christmas morning was but thinly attended, the service was over about half past five. I would add that last Sunday was a week Mr. Wesley preached in St. Luke's Church, I think it was as much crowded as I almost ever remember to have seen in St. Peter's when Kirwan [the celebrated Dean of Killala] preached.

F. J. COLE

(To be continued).

WESLEYANA IN HEADINGLEY COLLEGE LIBRARY.

(Concluded).

(PART 3)

225. *Add*, "A New Edition. Nottingham: Printed at C. Sutton's Office, Bridlesmith-Gate, 1797", 12mo, pp. 36.

Add, Another, London: Whitfield, 1798, (Price Three-Pence.)

246. The Headingley copy of this ("Hymns on the Trinity") is bound up after 245 ("Hymns for the Use of Families"). This confirms Green's order, and possibly suggests a reason why no author's name was printed on 246, as had been on 245. Both volumes were printed by William Pine of Bristol, and if they were issued at the same time, many would probably be bound and sold in pairs, in which case the author's name might be understood to refer to the second, as well as to the first, volume. To substantiate this hypothesis, however, it would be necessary to produce many more instances of the two volumes being bound together in this order.
255. *Add*, "The Family Physician; or, Advices with respect to Health. Including Directions for the Prevention and Cure of Acute Diseases. Extracted from Dr. Tissot. The Sixth Edition. Corrected. London: Printed for G. Whitfield, New-Chapel, City-Road; and sold at the Methodist-Preaching Houses in Town and Country. 1797. (Price 1s. 6d. unbound.)" pp. 212 + 3 pp. Index. This is bound up after the 24th edition of "Primitive Physick", London: Paramore, 1792.
- Add*, "The Family Physician: or Advice with Regard to Health . . . The Ninth Edition, corrected.", Cordeux, 1815. This is bound up with "Primitive Physick", 28th ed. (see above, under 101). (K.S.)
259. *Add*, Another Edition: "Printed in the Year MDCCCLXXI", with the scripture passages and the two hymns, and the date of death printed correctly.
- "Bristol: Printed by W. Pine . . . 1772. (Green has Bristol; 1772.)"
- 295-6. *Add*, Third Edition, "London: Printed and sold at the New Chapel, City-Road. M,DCC, LXXXIX"
- Add*, Ninth Edition, London: G. Paramore, 1793, "(Price 1s or neatly bound in calf 1s. 6d.)"
305. "London: Printed by R. Hawes, in Dorset-Street, Spital-fields, And Sold at the Foundry, Moorfields.", 12mo, pp. 23. (Green has Hawes, n.d." Hawes had just begun to use the Dorset-Street address in 1775, and continued to print for Wesley from the same works until at least 1780.)
308. Green says "I have not seen a copy of the first edition" and apparently takes the title-page which, with slight alterations, he prints from Osborn's *Outlines of Wesleyan Bibliography*. The Headingley Library contains a copy of the first edition,

and from this the entry in Green should be amended to "The Important Question : A Sermon, Preached in Taunton, Somersetshire, on Monday, Sept. 12, 1775. By John Wesley, M.A.. Published at the Request of many of the Hearers, for the Benefit of a Public Charity. London : Printed by I. Moore & Co. in Queen Street, near Upper-Moorfields. (Price Six-Pence)" n.d. 12mo, pp. 36.

The confusion between "I" and "J" in which Green follows Osborn is an easy mistake for anyone to make to whom "J. Moore" means just as little as "I. Moore". (In the eighteenth century, in fact, there are many instances of the two letters being used interchangeably). Isaac Moore, type-founder and printer, of Bristol and London, was, however, important enough to gain mention in D. B. Updike's "Printing Types : Their History, Forms and Use", as well as in Plomer's "Dictionary of Booksellers and Printers. He did not issue much work under his own imprint, however, and this is the only specimen of his printing amongst Wesley's publications so far noted, although it also occurs on No. 1 of a set of Scripture Cards - see *Proceedings* i : 17.

The printing of this pamphlet undoubtedly does credit to the type-founding of Moore's firm, and the type is much larger and more distinctive than was usual in Wesley's publications.

315. *Add*, Another Edition, London : R. Hawes, 1777. The title-page is practically the same as in that of the first edition, although the misprint "Deliverence" has been corrected.
Add, Another Edition, London : G. Paramore, 1791.
332. Fourth, "London : Printed by R. Hawes, and sold at the New-Chapel, City-Road ; and at the Rev. Mr. Wesley's Preaching-Houses, in Town and Country, 1779. (Price Three-pence.)" (Green has "4th, 1779.")
345. Fourth Edition, "Printed and sold at the New Chapel, City-Road . . . 1787." (Green has "Fourth, 1787.")
Add, Fifth Edition. London, Paramore, 1794.
348. Second Edition, "London : Printed by J. Paramore, at the Foundry, Upper-Moorfields. M.DCC.LXXXI." (Green has "Second edition. London, 1781.")
351. *Add*, Another Edition : "The Fool of Quality ; or, the History of Henry Earl of Moreland. Edited by the Rev. John Wesley, M.A. . . . Chiswick : Printed by C. Whittingham. Sold by Thomas Tegg, 73, Cheapside . . . 1829."

- 16mo, 2 vols, pp. 288, 300. Price 6/- for the two vols. bound in one.
358. Green describes two cheap editions of "Sacred Harmony," one published at 4/- and the other at 2/6, both without a date. The title-page to the second of these reads as follows: "Sacred Harmony: or a choice Collection, of Psalm and Hymn Tunes. In two or three Parts, For the Voice, Harpsichord, & Organ. Price Two Shillings & Six Pence." In the Headingley copy, at any rate, the four pages of "Contents" come at the beginning, whilst page 1 is blank, the tunes commencing on page 2.
359. *Add*, Second Edition: Green mentions only the first edition. On the back of Thomas Taylor's sermon on the death of Wesley, 1791, however, is the following advertisement:—"Likewise in the press, to come out in May. (*The Second Edition*). A Concordance to the Holy Scriptures, Price Four-Shillings and Six-Pence. By Thomas Taylor." *Add*, Third Edition: On p. (32) of the 2nd ed. of Taylor's "Britannia's Mercies", 1802, is the following advertisement—"Published, A Concordance and Scripture Dictionary, Third Edition, Price in Boards, Six Shillings and Six-pence, by T. Taylor." This is probably the edition which is possessed by the Book Room, and included in the *Catalogue of Wesleyana* published in 1921 as being printed in 1801.
362. See under 396.
382. There was apparently another 1785 edition of this sermon on the death of Fletcher, as the title-page of the Kingswood copy differs in several details from that given by Green, reading "By John Wesley, A.M. London: Printed by John Paramore, at the Foundery, Upper-Moorfields, 1785" omitting the "(Price Six-pence)". This shows the demand to have been very big, as the first edition had only come out in November, and yet another edition was to follow in 1786. Perhaps this is some indication of the great popularity of John Fletcher. (K.S.)
396. "A Pocket Hymn Book, for the use of Christians of all Denominations. The Fourth Edition. London: Printed for the Author, and sold at the New Chapel, City-Road; and at the Rev. Mr. Wesley's Preaching Houses in Town and Country. 1790." (Green has "4th, London, 1790.") This was, of course, Wesley's drastic revision of Robert Spence's *Pocket Hymn Book*, and was intended to replace that book, which had become popular in spite of its failings. An

interesting fact is that in the Headingley volume Spence's book is bound up with Wesley's revision of it, and even takes precedence over it! A description of this book may prove useful. The title reads, "A Pocket Hymn Book designed as a constant Companion for the Pious, collected from Various Authors . . . York: Printed for R. Spence, in Ouse-gate, M,DCC, LXXXIII." 24mo, pp 266, Index. and 2 pages advertisements. The latter include "An Admonition to Unconverted Sinners . . . To which are added, prayers for Families. Price 1/- bound." An examination of the description shows that this is Alleine's *Alarm to Unconverted Sinners* (Green 362), under a new title.

Seventeenth Edition. "London: Printed at the Conference-Office, 14, City-Road; By John Jones, Agent. . . 1809." This has 246 pp, Index and Contents. and contains 256 hymns. Like many similar volumes, it is fitted with a clasp. (Green has "17th, London, 1809.")

FRANK BAKER.

CIRCUIT FINANCE IN EARLY METHODISM.

Part III

CHILDREN'S ALLOWANCES.

The quarterly children's allowance of £1 per child (later increased to £1:11:6) was comparatively a generous one. It can be seen why the charge became connexionally spread, for in 1800 when the circuit carried 9 children, the amount required was more than the personal allowance of the two preachers to whom they belonged.

REMOVAL EXPENSES AND EXPENSES TO CONFERENCE.

These were sometimes paid by the Circuit Stewards and sometimes by the Town Stewards. They varied very much in amount and were of more frequent occurrence than in our days. During the period we cover only in three years was there no change of preacher. The Superintendents with one exception never stayed more than two years and the second man rarely more than one year. When the circuit carried three preachers the third man never stayed more than a year. The circuit paid heavily for its devotion to itinerancy, for removal expenses could

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be considerable in those early days. In 1794 we find the items, "Mr. Gates to carry him to Leicester £3:3:0. Mr. Wood to carry him to Hull £3:3:0."

The expenses of attending Conference often worked out at about £6.

The proportionately large expense on horse keep is to be noted. Joseph Field seems to have been groom and handyman at £4:4:0 a year. Every so often a horse was bought by the circuit or town. There was the cost of grass, corn and hay, also shoeing and harness and repairs, besides a considerable amount of "horse hire."

These are temporal anxieties which changed methods of transit have much reduced in modern times.

This also applies to "letters." We can be glad we did not live when letters were paid for on delivery, when distance increased the cost, when charges were doubled if more than one sheet was used and further increased if a covering envelope was added. When the Conference of 1798 could enact "Let the postage of all letters sent to the Conference on public business be paid by the Stewards of the Society from which they are sent," and eight years later complaint could be made that Conference cannot afford to pay the postage of the immense quantity of letters which are annually sent, it is evident that postal burdens were heavy.

QUARTERLY MEETING DINNER.

The Quarterly Meeting dinner is an interesting entry. The £2:7:7 it cost in 1787 included 1/- a quarter for a servant maid and the Quarterly Meeting appetite seems to have slowly and consistently increased for by 1804 the servant had become servants and the cost for the year £11:12:6.

Among the expenses entered against the December quarter 1792 are the following "Mr. Wood for what he paid for the tablecloth for Quarter Meeting 9/4½, and for more 'do' for the house 13/7."

Had a wily Superintendent persuaded the Quarterly Meeting to dine above a tablecloth when his ulterior motive was to procure one for the Manse. and did he count on the fact that it could not be considered a luxury for him if it was a necessity for them?

WESLEY'S VISITS.

Very interesting are the entries relating to the visits of John Wesley. They illustrate the way in which his needs were provided for by the Societies among which he moved.

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In July 1784 the Trustees book has an entry "To Sheffield, journey to fetch Mr. Wesley £1:12:6." A chaise was waiting for him at Sheffield at 7-0 a.m. He stayed at Barnsley for a meal. He preached in a new house at Dawgreen (*Proceedings* iv, 129) and reached Wakefield in good time for dinner.

On 1st May 1786 the Trustees pay "Contingencies attending Mr. Wesley's call £1:4:8." Wesley had just come from Birstall and went on to Leeds next day.

In 1788 the Circuit Stewards claimed the honour of looking after his needs:—

" Mr. Hodgson's horse hire (Mr. Wesley about)	10 : 6
Mr. Wesley's Expenses	13 : 8
Turnpikes for do.	2 : 2
To the servant attending on Mr. Wesley	1 : 6 "

In July 1790, following the preacher's allowances, is the entry " Travelling expenses when attending the Rev. Mr. Wesley in Scotland and journey to and from Bristol Conference £4:4:0.

In 1788 we find, " Dr. Cokes expences 10 : 6."

1790, "Dr. Coke's journey to Pontefract and washing 16:3."

1791, "Dr. Coke's postage, paper, barber etc. 3 : 6."

These payments on behalf of 'Connexional' visitors, reveal that the same principle was in operation in regard to them as to the stationed preachers. Their needs were supplied.

BAD MONEY.

There are reminders in the accounts that both men and money were not incorruptible in those early days:

1798 Circuit Account, " Bad money 6 "

" The 4:10 bad money in the Kingswood Collection is copper and is left in the Book Cupboard."

1799 " " " Bad money 5/3."

1780 Loss by light guinea 6d.

1793 " Deficiency in cash found on table 11/9."

There are indications that the Wakefield Methodists were not unmindful of the Methodists without the gates, besides collections and grants towards the building of new preaching places occasional disbursements of the following types were made.

To a person who called to beg for a tryal 13/-

Gave Sister Dent (a person on her journey) 2/-

To help a stranger from Wales for losses sustained in the Cause of the order by Conference. 10/6.

WIG WASHING.

We will close our survey of early Methodist circuit finance by looking at the intriguing item "Wig washing 5/-", as it only occurs in the first year's accounts. One's imagination, nourished on plates in early copies of the *Arminian Magazine*, pictures the preachers with a straight fringe of natural hair on the forehead; but now and then one finds a wig. John Allen (1766-1810), the senior preacher at this time, is likely to have worn one. What kind of a wig it was can be gathered from Sutcliffe's account of the Conference, 1790. (*Proceedings* xv, 57).

A long table being placed across the Chapel, which had no pews, Mr. Wesley sat in a chair at the head of the table, and about 20 venerable men on the benches, 10 on each side, distinguished by bushy or cauliflower wigs. Aged men that had borne the heat of the day."

It is true we are left in delicious uncertainty as to whether some wigs were *bushy* and some were *cauliflower*. Or whether every wig was both *bushy* and *cauliflower*. But this insoluble uncertainty increases the fascination of the phrase.

The late F. H. MILLS.

This concludes Mr. Mills' notes on Early Methodist finance in the Wakefield Circuit. We hope to print in our next issue an interesting description which he appended of a remarkable character among the first Methodists in the town, whom he calls "one of the men behind the money."

WESLEYANA AT KEIGHLEY

The Temple Street Church, Keighley, is one of the historic churches of Methodism. In 1942 will be celebrated the bicentenary of the introduction of Methodism into the town by John Nelson. Many will regret that Mr. J. W. Laycock, of Temple Street Church, is no longer alive to record the history of these two hundred years, as he has so admirably portrayed the years 1734-1784 in his book *Methodist Heroes in the Great Haworth Round*.

Mr. Laycock was a great student of Methodist history, and most of the materials which he used in the compilation of his book, as well as many other items of interest, are preserved in the safe and strongroom at Keighley. The writer felt that it would be a valuable thing to have some kind of an inventory of these documents made available to all students of Methodist history, and with the kind collaboration of the Rev. W. B. Mattinson he has been able to prepare the following account.

A. *In the Vestry.*

1. Letter from Wesley to Thomas Rankin, from Bristol, March 20, 1762. This is included in *Standard Letters* iv 180, although the transcription there is modernised in several particulars, including, of course, the use of capital letters. Wesley also used the ampersand (&) on the two occasions when "and" is printed: the reference to his well-known book is to *Primitive Physic*, with the "k" omitted: the letter is addressed "To Mr. Tho Ranken . . .". Below the seal is written by Wesley "Nuntia / She that tells news". The letter was presented to the church by Rev. John Laycock, in memory of his father, Mr. J. W. Laycock.

2. Various bills and photographs illustrating the early history of Methodism in Keighley.

B. *In the Safe*

3. Circuit Account Book. 1748-1794. Vellum-bound, measuring six inches by 15. On the fly-leaf is written:

Oct. 18th 1748. / At a Meeting then held at Major Marshall's at Todmorden Edge in the Parish of Rochdale and County of Lancaster of the Leaders of several Classes in several Religious Societies (to wit). Rosindale—Rough Lee—Hepponstal—Todmorden &c. The following Persons were chosen Stewards of the s^d Societies, and intrusted to transact the temporal Affairs /

James Greenwood.
John Parker
John Madi.
James Dyson.

Memorandum. It was then agreed That if there be any just Cause to Exchange any of the above Stewards It shall be done at the next Quarterly Meeting held for the s^d Societies by the Approbation of the Leaders then present.

Note If any Dispute arise touching the choosing of a Steward, the greater Number of Voices shall have the Choice, to elect a fresh Steward. This shall be mentioned to our Minister M^r. John Wesley or his Successor who shall end any Dispute of this kind "

Then follows, in a different hand

"Stewards for the Year 1757

Thomas Colbeck
W^m. Greenwood
Sam^l. Fielden
Geo: Ramsbottom
Parson Greenwood
Tho: Holdworth
Jam: Hunter

Mr. W^m. Grimshaw died April 7. 1767. (should be 1763?) [The query in another writing, about Grimshaw's death, is of course correct.]

The next few pages, which had originally been left blank, were later used up to give (1) the dates of the Quarterdays, from Jan. 19th, 1758, to Oct. 13, 1763. (2) the circuit accounts from July 1793-July 1794.

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Then follow the main entries of the account-book. The left-hand pages deal with "Cash received" and the right-hand with "Cash paid." The top left corner of the first page is dated "Oct. 18th 1748. / Todmorden Edge Acct.", and is followed by details of money received from the societies at Todmorden, "Hepponstal", Rough Lee, "Rosindale", and Rochdale. These accounts are in the same strong, dignified hand as the first inscription in the book. The next opening, dated "Jan. 10th, 1748" (which should be "1749") adds returns from "Goodshaw Chappel" to those from the original five. Among the disbursements are

To William Darney's Wife	1 10 0
A pair of Boots for Wm. Darney	14 0

The next opening, dated "April 10th, 1749" adds to the societies contributing Higham, Padiam &c, items amongst the expenses being

To Wm. Darney's Wife	2 2 0
To Wm. Greenwood of Hepponstal	5 0
To Mr. Uttley 1st. Vol. Sermon's	3 1

Lodge and Midgley societies are added in the next entry, for "July 11th, 1749", expenditure items including

Given to Halifax Society towards defraying the Law-charge	1 10 6
Pd. for a Quarters Rent for ye preach ^s Room at Milners Barn	5 0
To Wm. Darney's Wife	1 10 0

On "Oct. 31st, 1749" "Millerbarn" is added to the list of societies contributing, whilst Padiam, Rosindale, and Midgley are omitted. At the foot of the right-hand page, in a different hand (Grimshaw's), is the following note :

Whereas it appears from this book yt. no Accounts are therein inserted from October 31st. 1749 to this present Day July the 25 1754 - Be it know yt. the Reason of it is the Discontinuing Quarter : Meetings from that to this Day.

The accounts from this date onward until 1762 are in William Grimshaw's hand. They are briefer as far as details are concerned, though fuller use is made of the space available, instead of one page being reserved for one quarter's accounts, as by the previous entrant. In 1754 Keighley and Haworth appear among the contributing societies, as well as Mixenden, Haslingden, Simonstone, Burley, Otley, & Ludenden in 1755. Giving the balance in hand, on Oct. 23, 1755, he enters

"Remains in Wm Grimshaw's Hand 04 00 6 $\frac{3}{4}$ "

whilst on Oct. 21, 1756 the balance was "07 15 1 $\frac{3}{4}$ ". Out of the balance of £8-3-11 on April 21st 1757, £4 was "Given Jonathan Maskew towards buying an Horse on April 21st 1757"

In 1759 the balance was put to still another use, and the minute authorising such was signed by six members of the Quarterly Meeting:

Jan: 18th. 1759. It was this day agreed by the preachers and Stewards of this Round that the Sum of 2*£*:16*s* 9*d*:½ at the Foot of this Quarter's Account and lodged in the hand of Wm. Grimshaw Minr. of Haworth shall be disposed of by the said Wm. Grimshaw in defraying the charges of Building the preaching House at Haworth as witness our Hands this Day and year above said. -

Alex Coute (? Alexander Coates)
James Oddie
Thos Colbeck
Willm. Greenwood
Parson Greenwood
Saml. Fielden

The first appearance of Bacup in these accounts is under the date "Jan: 14th, 1762", which contains the entry

"Of Bacup and Mr. Barn Cl.[ass] by Ditto [= William Rodd] 1 1 6". The expenditure at the same Quarter Day includes

"To Bro' Rodd towards paying for an Horse 1 10 0"
in addition to

"To Wm. Rodd. Qr. Sal. & Charges 3 5 0."

Bacup's next entry is for Oct. 14, 1762, when 17/- from that society was brought by W. Darney.

On the page following this last entry, and under the same date, Grimshaw wrote "Nothing remains in Arrear. —". This ends his connection with the account-book, which was taken over by William Fugill.

3a. "Keighley Wesleyan Quarter Day Book", 1797-1882.

4. "The Register of Kighley Society July 1777." Calf-bound book, measuring four inches by thirteen, containing a list of the members in the Keighley Circuit, 1008 in number. Then follows a list of the 1280 members attached to the circuit in June, 1779, compiled by J. Allen, the 1395 members in June, 1780, compiled by J. Hindmarsh, and the 1221 members in July, 1781, compiled by S. Bradburn. (One notices the remarkable likeness of Bradburn's writing to that of John Wesley). Last of all comes the list for 1782, unnumbered and unsigned, with some pages at the back torn out. (This item should really come amongst the "Roll-Books," between Nos. 7 and 8.)

C. *In an unlabelled deed-box.*

5. The Keighley Society Account Book, giving the income and expenditure from Feb. 13. 1766 to October 14, 1779. It is well-kept, with full details. After the last entries of accounts there follows in another contemporary hand,

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"The Entries in this book from its commencement to this date were written by Mr. Thos. Colbeck the Society Steward. He died on the fifth day of November 1779—from the effects of a fever which he caught while visiting and praying with a person who died of that infection." The books show a balance owing to Colbeck of £4-13-6½, which was straightened out by the end of the year, so that at the end of the book could be inscribed

"all this Book Ball^d Jy. 5 1780.

Wm. Illingworth."

Later pages in the same book, however, show that other money had been owing to Colbeck in addition to the adverse balance on the Society Funds

6. A manuscript book of J. W. Laycock's notes, with an index.

F. BAKER.

(To be Continued).

THE NEW ZEALAND BRANCH RE-ORGANIZATION

The New Zealand Branch of the W.H.S. was founded in 1930, with the Rev. Dr. C. H. Laws as President, and the Rev. Geo. Frost as Secretary and Treasurer, some fifty members being enrolled. Vice-Presidents, according to the latest lists we have seen, are Rev. Percy R. Paris (Wellington), Rev. M. A. Rugby Pratt, F. R. Hist. Soc. (Christchurch), Rev. A. B. Chappell M.A., Auckland. Mr. Frost has served throughout the existence of the Branch except for a short period when Rev J. Grocott was Secretary, and he deserves the grateful thanks of all who are interested in Methodist History. Dr. Laws should also be included in this expression of gratitude, and the locally printed leaves owe much to the skilled work of writers whom we have mentioned from time to time. Rev. G. I. Lawrenson became Secretary in 1941.

The Branch has collected the subscriptions of its members, and has received from us every quarter a copy of our *Proceedings* for each of them, to whom they were issued with some pages of local matter. A complete file of these pages is in our hands, forming a valuable permanent record of much interesting information.

WESLEY HISTORICAL SOCIETY

As time went on the Branch unfortunately encountered many difficulties including an increase in the cost of printing, and the high rate of exchange, which has made payment for the *Proceedings* sent to them an onerous matter. The effect of these hindrances became so acute that at the end of 1939 the issue of the local pages had to be discontinued. The responsible people reviewed the situation and devised a new system of working to meet it. They took into account the fact that many of the members did not really appreciate the *Proceedings* from England, but were prepared, it was thought, to support historical research dealing with their own country.

The system by which every member of the Branch is automatically a member of what may be called the parent Society will be discontinued. The Secretary will invite all the members to take up direct personal membership in the W. H. S.; an invitation which we most heartily endorse. Moreover the Branch will subscribe for at least six copies of the *Proceedings* so that their Theological College Library, the Connexional Office in Christchurch, the Secretary of the Branch, and certain official libraries may have complete files.

The experiment undertaken in founding this Branch has not achieved full success along the lines originally laid down, but it cannot by any means be described as a failure; much useful work has been done, and we hope that our friends will have much success and encouragement in the line of work on which they propose to concentrate their energies. It has been a pleasure to do something to encourage our Antipodean friends, and we gratefully acknowledge the way in which they have enriched our *Proceedings* from time to time.

The Branch has commenced a new series of their *Proceedings*. We have received the first two numbers issued in 1941. The first is a booklet of over sixty pages written by the Rev. A. B. Chappell M.A., at the request of the Trustees of Pitt Street Chapel, who allowed the Branch to issue it to their members as one number of their *Proceedings*. The title is *A Brief Story of the Beginning and Early Progress of Methodism in Auckland, N. Z.* This volume is well printed and illustrated, as befits a publication of permanent value. There are striking photographs of two heads, understood to represent John and Charles Wesley, which, with many others have adorned the front of Pitt Street Chapel for over seventy years.

The second number of the new series is by the Rev. T. A. Pybus. *Olakou, a story of far off days*, another worthy piece of work.

F. F. BRETHERTON.

SAUGH HOUSE

We have recently received a copy of *Historic Thorn Trees in the British Isles*, published by Country Life, Ltd., London, at 8/6.

The aim of the author, Dr. Vaughan Cornish, is to "set out for the benefit of the studious reader an account of Sacred Thorn Trees of the British Isles, of which that of Glastonbury alone is familiar to the general public." He tells us that the investigation embodied in his volume is the outcome of his inheritance of the Salcombe Regis Thorn, which has been maintained from time in memorial in its original site by replanting.

In the course of his inquiries Dr. Cornish discovered a tree with Wesley associations and wrote to inquire what information we could furnish. The result appears in the following paragraphs:

I have not obtained any evidence of historic Thorn Trees from either Westmorland or the county of Durham.

In Northumberland there is Wesley's Thorn at Saugh House near Scot's Gap, where John Wesley preached on June 17, 1782, his seventy ninth birthday, when riding from Rothbury to Hexham. Correspondents with special knowledge of the locality do not ascribe an ancient origin to Wesley's Thorn. The Rev. F. F. Bretherton, General Secretary of the Wesley Historical Society, inclines to the idea that the Thorn was planted to commemorate the service, and Sir Charles Trevelyan, Lord of the Manor, points out that in this neighbourhood the planting of Thorn Trees and hedges dates generally from the early half of the eighteenth century.

The present Thorn Tree at Saugh House was planted by the late Sir George Trevelyan to replace that which had hitherto marked the preaching-place. Here, therefore, is a Thorn of historic interest which will doubtless be maintained in memory of a remarkable occasion in the life of a celebrated man, but as far as present evidence indicates, we must put the case aside in our investigation of the regional distribution of the Thorn Cult in early times.

Saugh House stands back a little from the road running northwards from Cambo. Passing through a tree-bordered field a visitor proceeding round the house will find behind it a little railed-round copse in which has been erected a memorial resembling many that are to be seen in cemeteries. No one however is buried there; the inscription reads:

JOHN WESLEY preached here on his
79th birthday, June 17th, 1782

On the nearest Sunday to June 17 a special service is held at this spot.

It was announced towards the end of 1941 that the National Trust has accepted from Sir Charles Trevelyan the gift of the historic house at Wallington together with an estate comprising some 13000 acres.

F. F. BRETHERTON.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

313. JOHN WESLEY'S HEALTH—Bishop F. J. McConnell in his recent *Life of Wesley*, says :

“There is no doubt that, in his remarks about many of his own peculiarities, Wesley has to be discounted. A student of his life . . . has tabulated over sixty entries in the *Journal* which have to do with the illnesses of Wesley, serious illnesses too, so serious that Wesley himself on several occasions concluded that death was at hand. How to fit these entries into that famous utterance about never having lost a quarter of an hour's sleep is a puzzle.”

The name which occupies the place in this quotation where dots are printed is my own. But I have never written on this subject at all, and it seems very probable that the author's mind was reverting to a paper on the subject by the late Rev. Richard Butterworth which appeared in *Proceedings* xiv, 162. Mr. Butterworth also refers to the puzzle.

A medical correspondent whose special line in medicine is Tuberculosis, informs me that he has believed for many years that John Wesley's diagnosis of himself as given in his epitaph of 1753 was probably correct. The phrase, “a brand plucked out of the burning” has gained wide currency ; the words which follow, “who died of a consumption” has not received the same attention.

His illness started with Pleurisy, which is, in the great majority of cases, a form of Tuberculosis. There was also blood-spitting for a long time when he was about twenty-seven, and a long period of invalidism in 1753-4. At that period he wisely treated himself with rest, asses milk, etc., as prescribed by Dr. Fothergill. All this points very strongly to his having Tuberculosis, though of a rather mild type, which later became completely healed. Such an experience is much more common than many people think.

My correspondent goes on to say that this provokes the question as to whether one should include Wesley's name in the list of outstanding men of genius who suffered from Tuberculosis. They constitute such a remarkable group that many people consider that there is some association (possibly one of a physical type) between genius and Tuberculosis. One writer states that “The quality of genius may be affected by Tuberculosis.” Another says, “They astonish everybody with their mental and intellectual powers, &c.”

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Some of the names on the list are:—Milton, Keats, Shelley, Emerson, Chopin, Froude, Sterne, Charlotte Brontë, Ruskin, Kingsley, Thomas Hood, Scott, Elizabeth Browning, Calvin, R. L. Stevenson, Jane Austen, Paganini, Weber, Chopin, Tolstoi, Maxim Gorky and many others.

When I had concluded this article I came across a sentence in a very readable book, *Doctor's Progress* by Dr. R. McNair Wilson, which leads me to hope that I am at least introducing a helpful line of thought. It reads: "The medical history of great men is a subject of lively interest which deserves more study than it usually receives—though some excellent books have been written in recent years."

F.F.B

814. A CRITIC OF *Primitive Physic*.—In the *Wesleyan Methodist Magazine* for 1914 there appeared a long and important article by W. C. Cross entitled *Wesley and Medicine*. He refers to an anonymous critic who in 1776 published a satire in verse, "To that fanatical Patriot and Physician—The Rev, Mr Wesley". Here are some lines:

Thrice do we hail thee, thy new edition
Pois'ner in print, and primitive physician

And wilt thou now, as impudent as base,
Attempt to give the faculty disgrace?
Men of long practice, eminence and knowledge,
Trained up to Physic, members of a College.

The critic also submitted to the Faculty a suggestion that a humble address should be presented to His Majesty through the hands of his physician, setting forth the fatal consequences which may ensue from the pamphlet, and to deter others from the like offence that the *Primitive Physic* be publicly burnt at the hands of the common hangman.

Who was this writer? Hawes criticised *Primitive Physic* in 1776, but Green records nothing to lead one to think he wrote in verse, and makes no mention of this anonymous writer, who signed himself a "Detester of Hypocrisy."

Mr. Cross illustrated his article by reproducing the title-page of a new edition of *Primitive Physic*, revised and improved, printed at Bemersley by J. Bourne. This reproduction bears no date, but one may have appeared on the original title-page. Green does not record this product of the Primitive Methodist Press. (The correspondent who furnished material for the preceding note also introduced me to this article.)

F.F.B.

OBITUARY

The W. H. S. has lost a member of long-standing in the passing of Mr. Arthur Mounfield, F. R. Hist. Soc., of Warrington.

For forty years he has edited *The Independent Methodist*, the organ of the Independent Methodist Churches.

Probably no one had completer knowledge of the history and principles of the Connexion to which he was so deeply attached, and to which he gave so much useful service. He was not only industrious in gathering information but also skilled in using it.

In many parts of the country this comparatively small branch of Methodism, not included in the scheme of 1932, is little known. Those who wish to know something about it would be greatly helped by a perusal of Mr. Mounfield's publication *A short history of Independent Methodism* issued as a Souvenir of the hundredth annual meeting of the I. M. Churches in 1905. A slighter volume, containing much interesting and out of the way information followed in 1924: *The Quaker Methodists; Stories of the early Independent Methodist Churches written for young people*.

But Mr. Mounfield's antiquarian activities led him into wider fields; he studied with steady care the many interesting antiquities of his native town.

In an appreciative notice of his career the *Warrington Examiner* said he was, perhaps, the town's best informed student on *Early Warrington Nonconformity* the subject of an elaborate treatise published by him in 1922.

Our *Proceedings* have been enriched by his notes on John Wesley at Warrington, and other subjects. He retained his interest in the W.H.S. to the end. F.F.B.

W. H. S. Annual Meeting and Lecture, Oxford Hall, Oxford Road, Manchester, on Friday, July 17, 1942. Dr. Maldwyn Edwards will be the Lecturer. *Subject to revision, further notice in June.*