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A table of contents for the *Proceedings of the Wesley Historical Society* can be found here:

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Proceedings OF THE Wesley Historical Society

Editor : REV. WESLEY F. SWIFT.

Volume XXXI

March 1957

EDITORIAL

THIS year of grace will be memorable for its commemorations of outstanding events in our Methodist history. We begin with the 150th anniversary of the first Camp Meeting on Mow Cop on 31st May 1807. Then follows the centenary of the formation of the United Methodist Free Churches, whose first Conference was held at Rochdale on 29th July 1857, and in this connexion we may remind our readers that this year's Wesley Historical Society Lecture at the Nottingham Conference by Dr. Oliver A. Beckerlegge will have the United Methodist Free Churches as its theme. In September we shall celebrate the jubilee of the first Conference of the United Methodist Church on 17th September 1907, and the consummation of Methodist Union on 20th September 1932 ; both these events are of course within the lifetime and the recollection of many who read these words. Last, but by no means least, world Methodism will keep the 250th anniversary of Charles Wesley's birth on 18th December 1707 as a day of thanksgiving for the common inheritance of our Methodist hymnody. It is indeed remarkable that so many major celebrations should fall within one year, and we need hardly say that most of these events will form the subject of special articles in our pages during 1957.

* * *

In the heart of London's busy commerce the little burial-ground behind Wesley's Chapel is a quiet haven of peace which no Methodist worthy of the name can visit without feeling that the place whereon he stands is holy ground, for in that tiny "God's acre" John Wesley lies buried with so many of his preachers. The passing years have dealt sadly with John Wesley's tomb, and we are glad to know that the trustees of Wesley's Chapel are to undertake the work of restoration. We do not normally open the pages of our magazine to financial appeals (and we have not been asked to make this one), but we are sure many of our members with a few shillings to spare will gladly send them for this worthy purpose to Dr. Ronald V. Spivey, 49, City Road, London, E.C.1.

EARLY WESLEYAN CLASS TICKETS

Comments and Catalogue

IN his standard article on Class Tickets published in volume v of the *Proceedings*, J. G. Wright deplored the fact that there does not exist anywhere "a complete collection or even catalogue of Methodist Class and Band Tickets". The present writer has sought to remedy these omissions. He has augmented the Everett collection with over two hundred and seventy tickets, and gathered a collection of one hundred and eighty different eighteenth-century specimens. This article is an attempt to form a catalogue. It may be considered fairly complete, save for the thirty-three quarters marked N.K.S. (no known specimen). From this catalogue it will be seen that the most complete collection is held by the Bookroom, called here Everett's collection. J. G. Wright's would have been an easy second but for the fact that so many of them are copies or photographs. If any reader can supply particulars of one or more of the missing thirty-three such help would be appreciated by the writer and by later collectors.

Thirty-eight different types of tickets issued between 1742 and 1765 have been identified. The specimen plates Nos. 1 and 2 issued in volume v need some slight correction and additional comment. Nos. 1-30 come within the period named. The corrections will appear in the catalogue. In addition there are four tickets of which Wright gives a description but does not give a specimen. The first is an upright oblong ticket, 2 by 1½ ins., issued in 1746 and bearing a number. It is a richly figured square with a cherub at each corner, and in the centre the letters I H S. The next, issued in 1747, portrays a lamb bearing a flag on a cross, with a crescent in the sky; the colour is a golden yellow, and the size 3 by 2 ins. The third, issued in the same year, portrays a tree with two figures (perhaps Adam and Eve), and over the whole appear the Hebrew letters for Jahweh. The fourth is 3½ by 2½ ins., and represents Moses standing with a rod in his hand beside a cross about which a serpent is twisted. It carries the text "And as Moses lifted up the serpent in the wilderness, even so must the Son of Man be lifted up". Margaret Summerell and Ann Crussoll received these four. (Both names are variously spelled.)

There are several tickets believed to have been in use about this time which await identification. One is numbered 18, and is without border or date or name. The text is "Give not that which is holy unto the dogs, neither cast ye your pearls before swine" (Matt. vii. 6). The reverse side carries a verse ending:

To tell the world what Christians feel,
And boast our perfect love.

Another, dated March 1789, was issued to Mary Wharton. Its shape and border are similar to other issues, but it lacks any letter (March 1789 had B). The text differs from that on the standard

ticket. It has 1 John i. 9: "If we confess our sins", etc. and not 2 Tim. ii. 12: "If we deny Him", etc. Three other doubtful tickets appear in the catalogue—two at the end of 1778 and one at the end of 1780.

Before proceeding with the catalogue a further elucidation must be made. In August 1760 the letters of the alphabet (apart from B=Band) began to appear in sequence, thus bringing to an end the picture period. The new order began thus: A in August, B in November, C in February 1761, D in May, and E in August. The next letter on a known ticket is K for October 1762, and the next Q B, issued in both May and June 1764. After this the sequence is less broken. A careful study of all the available sources reveals that a definite sequence was in use from August 1760 for the ordinary ticket and from November 1763 for the Band ticket.

There is an unaccountable lapse of two A tickets issued in June 1761, and an AB ticket for the same quarter. For June 1762 one ticket has survived bearing the letters A above S, which is unique. Its authenticity cannot be doubted, as it was issued to M. Summerell. As yet this remains a problem ticket. To the writer it appears inevitable that certain irregularities should emerge in the period of overlap—that is between the picture period and the regular use of alphabetical letters; or between the period of the written as against the printed date. Survivals of these irregular issues appear until 1768. In both 1767 and 1768 at least one ticket has survived with a written date. It is remarkable that only five tickets with printed date issued between 1750 and 1759 can now be found.

Concerning the catalogue it will be noted that the years cited are those of the first and last known issues. Duplicates with a later written date are omitted. The member is the name written on the ticket. The letter B or b stands for Band ticket unless the B appears in sequence. The letters W and P indicate whether the date was written or printed. In the earliest tickets a description of the picture is given. No ticket which is not fully authenticated is mentioned in the catalogue, except the three referred to above for the years 1778 and 1780.

I am indebted to the late Rev. F. F. Bretherton, B.A. and to the Rev. Dr. Frank H. Cumbers for access to the Everett and Wright collections; and also to the Rev. Dr. Frank Baker for supplying several tickets and making many inquiries into collections not available to me. His help has been invaluable. JOHN H. VERNEY.

In the main the first and last words of the text are quoted, with Scripture reference (in some cases corrected references).

The letters indicate: E = Everett;
W = Wright;
V = Verney.

The small letter c denotes a copy or photograph.

The letter first named indicates the collection from which the particulars are taken.

4 PROCEEDINGS OF THE WESLEY HISTORICAL SOCIETY

1742 The first tickets of those which have survived the years belong to 1742. Six of them are alike, bearing a vase surrounded by a leafy scroll. These are numbered, but the numbers are illegible.

Another represents an angel flying in the clouds, and bearing two trumpets. Another bears a cherub's face shining like the sun with streaming rays. This is set in a floral design, with an eagle rising out of the flames.

Six others, all alike, show a kind of vase surmounted by a crown and decked on either side with leaf and flowers.

These are in three colours, one for each quarter—black, red, green, and black. Altogether fourteen of the several types have survived.

1743-5 Similar tickets to the above are known to have been issued, all to Margaret Somerell.

1746—August. A ticket without border bearing this date is in the writing of Charles Wesley. This also was given to Margaret Somerell.

Another, dated August 9th and numbered 774, measures $2\frac{1}{4}$ by $1\frac{1}{2}$ ins. Below is the same name, Somerell. Above it is a highly decorated square with a cherub outside each corner, and in the centre the letters I H S.

1747-60 Three tickets of different types were issued during 1747. One had an ornamental border with the word SOCIETY printed within it. It was issued to Thos. Hardock, a member of the London society. This continued in use until at least 1760.

Another, measuring 3 by $2\frac{1}{2}$ ins., is the picture of a lamb with flying pennant, and cross and crescent, within an oval border. Again appears the name Margaret Somerell.

The third measures $1\frac{3}{4}$ by $1\frac{1}{2}$ ins., and represents a tree with two figures beneath it (may be Adam and Eve), and above the tree in Hebrew the letters for Jehovah. This too belonged to Margaret Somerell.

1748-60 In 1748 two other tickets were in use. The first measures $2\frac{1}{2}$ by $1\frac{3}{4}$ ins., and bears the number 747. It represents Christ on the clouds, having a crown in the right hand and a cross in the left. It was issued to Henry Crussot—a name which frequently appears on surviving tickets, and a name spelt in many ways. One numbered 313 was given to his wife or sister, Ann Crussot.

Dated July 22nd in the same year is a ticket bearing an ornamental scroll with the words "Watch and Pray" printed within, issued to Ottiwell Higinbottom. This was in use till 1760.

1749 This year brought into use a ticket measuring 3 by $2\frac{1}{2}$ ins., No. 163. It was issued to Ann Crussot, and is the first known to bear a text. The words are: "And as Moses lifted up the serpent in the wilderness, even so must the Son of Man be lifted up." The picture represents Moses standing with a rod in his hand, while a serpent twists itself about a cross. This also is in an oval frame.

All the above specimens are in the Everett collection. Wright has five copies in his; and two originals are in mine.

From 1750 on, the catalogue can take another form.



No. 198
Mary 6

1



Henry C. Cook

2



Mary Heart

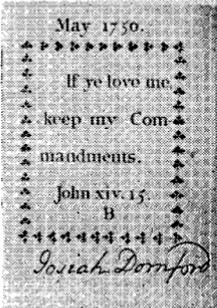
3

Luke the 17. v. 5
Lord, increase our Faith
Jan 1 1755. Mary Wright Esq
Apr. 2. 1755 Mary Wright Esq
July 2.
Oct. 1. Whitlock

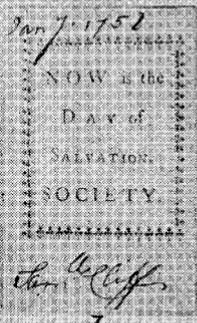
4



5



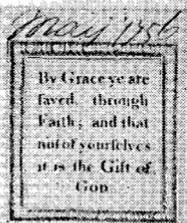
6



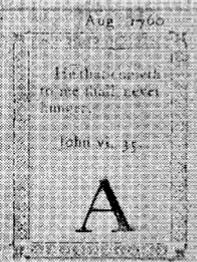
7



Christ also suffered having no sin and blameless
for us that we should be saved by his blood



8



9

Oliver Fisher

Oliver Fisher

Year	Month	Letter	Size	Written or Printed Date	Text	Member	Collection
1750	June 22	No.	2½ by 1½ ins.	W	Elaborate design with three vases full of flowers and fruit with four birds.	Mich. Snowdon	W ^c
		No. 1548	4 by 2 ins.	W	An upright oblong picture ticket of Christ on the Cross with "Christ also suffered . . . steps" (1 Pet. ii. 21) (probably taken from frontispiece to T. à Kempis' <i>Imitation of Christ</i>).	Dor. Wyar	E W ^c V
1750-59	May	B	2½ by 1½ ins.	P	"If ye . . . Commandments" (John xiv. 15)	Josiah Dornford	E
"	June 22		2½ by 2 ins.	W	"But he . . . saved" (Matt. xiii. 24)	Edey Burniel	E
1751-65	Feb. 2	Band	"	P	"Fight the good . . . Life" (1 Tim. vi. 12)	Eliz. Earnshaw	E
-65	Oct.		"	W	"Believe . . . saved" in draped curtain.	E. Newington	E W ^c V
-59	Oct.		"	W	"Blessed . . . temptation". Picture of pedestal with book and crown.	Mary Davis	E W ^c
1752-64			2½ by 1¾ ins.		"Pray always and faint not". Picture of kneeling saint.	Edey Burniel	E
-65	July		"		"Watch and Pray". Picture of scroll about the words.	Ottiwel Hig- bottom	W ^c
1753	Yearly		3½ by 2½ ins.	P W	"To him that . . . throne". Ruled for four quarters: March 25, June 25, Sept. 29, Dec. 25.	Ann Rothwell	V
	Mar. 25	No. 6	3 by 1½ ins.	P	"Take heed . . . you"	Ottiwel Hig- bothom	E V
-61	June		2½ by 1¾ ins.	W	"Quench not the Spirit" in ornamental scroll.	Mary Carlin	E
-65	April		2 by 1¾ ins.	W	Picture of Christ washing the disciples' feet.	Mgt. Summerell	E
1754	Yearly		3 by 2½ ins.	W	"Lord, increase our faith". Ruled for quarters: Jan., April, July, Oct.		W ^c
	"		"	W	"Stand fast . . . faith" (1 Cor. vi. 13). Ruled for Dec., March, June, Sept.	B. Mann	V
	Jan.	No.	3¼ by 2½ ins.	W	A large ornamental scroll around the words "Watch and Pray".	Mary Hart	E W ^c
1755-60	Jan.			P	BAND in capital letters.	Margt. Somerell	E W ^c
1756-62	May		2½ by 1¾ ins.	W	Picture of scroll about words "By Grace . . . God". Issued in black, green, and red.	E. Fisher	E W ^c V

Year	Month	Letter	Size	Written or Printed Date	Text	Member	Collection
1757-59			2½ by 1¾ ins.	W	Picture of crown and anchor. "Which hope . . . soul"	Benj. Wilkinson	E
	May		2½ by 1½ ins.	W	"But if . . . God forbid" (with SOCIETY printed beneath)	Sar. Shew	V
	Aug.		"	W	"I am the Way . . . by me" (with SOCIETY printed beneath)	Sar. Sue	E V
1758-61	Jan.		2½ by 1¾ ins.	W	"Now is the day of salvation" (with SOCIETY printed beneath)	Saml. Cliff	E W ^c
1759-64	Mar. 23			W	ADMIT TO SOCIETY. Signed by Thos. Tobias.	Mary Carlin	E
	June		2½ by 1¾ ins.	W	Picture of scroll about words "Set your affection upon things above".	Mary Carlin	E
	Aug.	B	1¾ by 1½ ins.	P	"Blessed are the pure . . . God" (Matt. v. 8)	Josiah Dornford	E W ^c
	Oct. 19		"	W	"It is high . . . sleep" (Rom. xiii. 11)	Mary Carlin	
	Oct.		"	W	"Be ye holy . . . holy" (1 Pet. i. 16)	Mary Carlin	W ^c
	<i>The John George Picture Ticket is omitted.</i>						
1760-64	Feb.		2½ by 1½ ins.	W	"He that . . . already" (John iii. 18)	Mary Moore	E W ^c
	"		"	P	"It is of . . . consumed" (Lam. iii. 22)	(Was in F.M.P. C collection)	
	May		3 by 2 ins.	W	"Be diligent . . . blameless" (2 Pet. iii. 14)	Eliz. Robinson	W ^c
	Aug.		2½ by 1½ ins.	P	"For I acknowledge . . . me" (Ps. li. 3)	John Redfern	V
	"	A	"	P	"He that cometh . . . hunger" (John vi. 35)	Eliz. Fisher	W ^c
	"	AB	"	P	N.K.S.		
	Sept.		3 by 2 ins.	P	BANDS printed in capitals. Underneath, this text: "Speak evil . . . man" (Titus iii. 2)	Mary Carlin	W ^c
	Oct.		"	W	SOCIETY printed in large letters within a decorative border.	Mary Hart	E W ^c
	Nov.	B	2½ by 1½ ins.	P	"Be ye all . . . another" (1 Pet. iii. 8)	John Redfern	V W ^c
		BB	"	P	N.K.S.		
1761-64	Aug.		2½ by 2 ins.	W	Picture of flying angel, with text "Now is the accepted time".	Peter Rothwell	V W ^c
	Feb.	C	2½ by 1½ ins.	P	"Behold the Lamb . . . world" (John i. 29)	Sarah Shew	V
	May	CB D	"	P P	N.K.S. "The Lord . . . for him" (Lam. iii. 25)	Sarah Shoe	V

Year	Month	Letter	Size	Written or Printed Date	Text	Member	Collection			
1761-64	Aug.	DB	2½ by 1½ ins.	P	N.K.S.	Sarah Shoe	V			
		E		P	"Behold . . . time" (2 Cor. vi. 2)					
	Nov.	EB	"	P	N.K.S.					
		F	"	P	N.K.S.					
	June	FB	"	P	N.K.S.					
			3½ by 3 ins.	W	"Thou God seest me" (Gen. xvi. 13)					
	<i>Out of sequence—the following two tickets:</i>									
			A		P			"Put ye on . . . Christ" (Rom. xiii. 14)	Mgt. Somerell	E W ^c
			AB		P			"Pray without ceasing" (1 Thes. v. 17)	Ann Brookes	E W
					W			"Little children . . . him" (1 John ii. 18)	Eliz. Robinson	Stamp
1762	March	G	2½ by 1¾ ins.	P	N.K.S.	Saml. Cliff	E W ^c			
		GB		P	N.K.S.					
	June	H	"	P	N.K.S.					
	Aug.	HB	"	P	N.K.S.					
		J	"	P	N.K.S.					
	Oct.	JB	"	P	N.K.S.					
		K	"	P	"Follow thou Me" (John xxi. 21)					
	Jan.	KB	"	P	N.K.S.					
		S	"	P	"Let us go . . . perfection" (Heb. vi. 1)					
		"	"	P	"The fear of . . . wisdom" (Ps. cxi. 10)					
	March	"	"	W	"In whom . . . grace" (Eph. i. 7)					
	Mar. 25	No. 13	"	P	SOCIETY. (Ticket divided into four spaces.)					
	June	A	2 by 1¾ ins.	P	"Lord, Save me" (Matt. xiv. 30)					
	"	S		P	"Lord, save me". (Similar ticket but for letter A set over letter S.)					
	June 25	S	2½ by 2 ins.	P	"Ye must be BORN AGAIN"					
July	"	2 by 1½ ins.	W	"Let love be without dissimulation" (Rom. xii. 9)						
Aug.	"	3 by 1½ ins.	W	"Rejoice evermore" (printed red)						
Dec.	"	2½ by 1¾ ins.	P	"Be steadfast" (1 Cor. xv. 58)						
1763	March	L	"	P	N.K.S.	Mary Carlin	E			
		LB	"	P	N.K.S.					
	June	M	"	P	N.K.S.					

Year	Month	Letter	Size	Written or Printed Date	Text	Member	Collection	
1763	June	MB	2½ by 1¾ ins.	P	N.K.S.			
	Sept.	N	"	P	N.K.S.			
	"	NB	"	P	N.K.S.			
	Nov.	O	"	P	N.K.S.			
	"	OB	"	P	"Hold Thou . . . safe" (Ps. cxix)	Ann Crussell	V	
	Mar. 25		3 by 2 ins.	W	"My beloved . . . his" (Can. ii. 16)	John Brookes	E	
	June	B	2½ by 1¾ ins.	W	"Be perfect" (2 Cor. xiii. 11)	Grace Carlin	E	
	"	B	2¼ by 2¼ ins.	P	"The law . . . hope did" (Heb. viii. 19) (printed in Old English characters)	Mgt. Somerell	E W ^c	
	Dec.	B	"	W	"Lord I believe" (Mark ix. 23)	Mgt. Somerell	E	
	"	"	2½ by 2 ins.	W	"Him that cometh . . . out" (John vi. 37)	John Brook	E	
	1764	Feb.	P	2½ by 1¾ ins.	P	N.K.S.		
	"	PB	"	"	P	"Walk in love". (Date printed 1765.)		Stamp W ^c
	May	Q	2½ by 1¾ ins.	P	N.K.S.			
	"	QB	"	"	P	"Ye are salt . . . earth" (Matt. v. 13). (Date printed 1765.)	John Redfearn	V
Sept.	R	"	"	P	N.K.S.			
"	RB	"	"	P	"Agree in the same . . . other" (Rom. xii. 16)	Sar. Shoe	V	
Nov.	S	"	"	P	N.K.S.			
"	SB	"	"	P	"Blessed is man . . . temptation" (James i. 12)	Sar. Shoe	V	
March			2 by 2 ins.	P	YE MUST BE BORN AGAIN (in large capitals)	Saml. Cliff	E W ^c	
"	B		2¾ by 2½ ins.	P	"If ye live . . ." (Rom. viii. 13)	Eady Burniel	W ^c	
June	B		2 by 1¾ ins.	P	"He that endureth . . . saved" (Matt. x. 22)	Mgt. Somerell	E W ^c	
"	DB		2½ by 2 ins.	P	"What I say . . . Watch". (The letters DB a problem.)	Isaac Bingham	E	
July 17			2 by 1¾ ins.	W	"O Lord . . . for me" (Isa. xxxviii. 14)	Mary Middleton	W ^c	
Aug.			"	W	"	Mary Middleton	E W ^c	
July	B		3 by 2 ins.	W	"Add to your faith virtue" (2 Pet. i. 5)	Deb. Dunn		
Dec. 8			1½ by 1¾ ins.	W	"Repent ye . . . blotted out" (Acts iii. 19)		V	
1765	March	T	2½ by 1¾ ins.	P	N.K.S.			
	"	TB	"	P	N.K.S.			
	June	U	"	P	"Be merciful . . . O God" (Ps. lxxvii. 1)	James Case	E	
	"	UB	"	P	N.K.S.			
	Sept.	W	"	P	"Behold now . . . salvation" (2 Cor. vi. 2)	Francis Povel	E	

Year	Month	Letter	Size	Written or Printed Date	Text	Member	Collection
1765	Sept.	WB	2½ by 1¾ ins.	P	N.K.S.		
	Oct.	Y	" "	P	N.K.S.		
		YB	" "	P	" Use hospitality . . . another " (1 Pet. iv. 9)	Sar. Shove	V
	June		" "	P	" The will . . . be done " (Acts xxi. 14)	Saml. Cliff	E
	"		" "	W	" "	Saml. Cliff	E
	"	B	" "	W	" Fight the good fight " (1 Tim. vi. 12)	Mgt. Somerell	E
	Oct.		3 by 2 ins.	W	" Work out . . . trembling " (Phil. ii. 12)	John Low	V
				A PB and a QB ticket printed 1765 belong to 1764.			
1766	Feb.	A	2½ by 1¾ ins.	P	" Blessed are . . . comforted " (Matt. v. 4)	(Name illegible)	W ^c
		AB	" "	P	" If . . . spirit " (Gal. v. 25)	Grace Carlin	E
	May	B	" "	P	" Seek, and ye shall find " (Matt. vii. 7)	Saml. Cliff	E W ^c
		BB	" "	P	" Rejoice in the Lord alway " (Phil. iv. 2)	Wm. Gordon	V E W ^c
	Aug.	C	" "	P	" Lord, help me " (Matt. xv. 25)		V
		CB	" "	P	" Be careful for nothing " (Phil. iv. 6)	Mgt. Somerell	E W V
	Nov.	D	" "	P	" And Jesus . . . afraid " (Matt. xvii. 7)	Saml. Cliff	E W ^c
		DB	" "	P	" Whatsoever . . . things " (Phil. iv. 8)	Mgt. Somerell	E W ^c V
	Dec.	E	" "	P	" O satisfy . . . soon " (Ps. xc. 14)	Saml. Cliff	W ^c
		EB	" "	P	" Pray for the peace of Jerusalem " (Ps. cxxii. 6)	Mgt. Somerell	E W ^c V
	Feb.	A	3 by 2 ins.	W	" Seek, and ye shall find " (Matt. vii. 7)	Sam Watson	E
	June		2½ by 1¾ ins.	W	" Believe . . . saved " (Acts xvi. 30)	Eliz. Hall	E
1767	Feb.	E and F	EB as in Dec. 1766				
	March	F	2½ by 1¾ ins.	P	" He shall . . . Lord " (Ps. cxv. 13)	Franc. Battersby	E W ^c V
	"	FB	" "	P	N.K.S.		
	June	G	" "	P	" Help me now, O Lord " (Ps. cxviii. 25)	Mary Drew	W ^c
	"	GB	" "	P	" Blessed are . . . way " (Ps. cxix. 1)	Ann Crussell	V E W ^c
	Sept.	H	" "	P	" The Lord delights . . . him " (Ps. cxlviii. 11)	Saml. Cliff	E W ^c V
		HB	" "	P	" My delight . . . commandments " (Ps. cxix. 47)	Mgt. Somerell	E W ^c V
	Dec.	K	" "	P	" The Lord is . . . him " (Lam. iii. 25)	Grace Carlin	E W ^c V
	"	KB	" "	P	" So run . . . obtain " (1 Cor. ix. 24)	Mary Airly	E W ^c
	May		" "	W	" Happy it [sic] the man . . . alway " (Prov. xxviii. 14)	Saml. Cliff	E W ^c
	Oct. 10		1¾ by 2½ ins.	W	" Seek the Lord . . . be found " (Isa. lv. 6)	John Noudice	V

Only one other ticket with a later *written* date is known. See at end of 1768.

[To be continued.]

LETTERS TO BARNABAS THOMAS

Sidelights on Scottish Methodism

SOME years ago there came into my possession copies of three letters addressed to Barnabas Thomas, one of Wesley's preachers. The first two letters were written by Joseph Pilmoor, and the third by John Pawson.¹ All these letters are important, not only for the light they shed upon early Methodism in Scotland, but also for the glimpse they give of the intimate relationship which existed between the early preachers. These earnest pioneers were men of like passions with ourselves; they could smile indulgently at the idiosyncrasies of their brethren and indulge in a "wise-crack" at their expense, and they could regard the whims and foibles of their people with good-natured humour. It is to be hoped, however, that none of these letters fell into hands for which they were not intended!

Barnabas Thomas was a Cornishman, and was admitted on trial as an itinerant preacher in 1764. He was "a very sensible man, possessed a fertile mind and a retentive memory". One letter to him from John Wesley is included in the *Standard Letters* (vii, p. 262). He was one of the hundred preachers named in the Deed of Declaration in 1784, but in the following year Wesley was writing to Joseph Taylor (*Letters*, vii, p. 266), who was then the Assistant at Gloucester, with Thomas as his colleague:

I do not see that I can in conscience employ Brother Thomas as a travelling preacher. Do not you know what I have often said? I would not employ an apostle as such if he could not preach in the morning. And this he cannot do. Neither is he able, if he was willing, regularly to keep a circuit.

His name appears as a supernumerary in the Kent circuit in 1788, but thereafter disappears from the *Minutes*. He eventually settled at Leeds, and there led a kind of recluse life. According to Charles Atmore (*Methodist Memorial*, p. 224), "his days were ended by a violent fever, while the Conference was sitting, in the year 1793".

Joseph Pilmoor, the writer of the first two letters, began to itinerate in 1765. At the Conference of 1769, as is well known, he volunteered with Richard Boardman to go to America, and there became one of the pioneers of Methodism in the New World. Pilmoor returned to England in January 1774, and at the following Conference he "desisted from travelling", but in 1776 his name re-appears on the Stations for the London circuit. In 1784 he was the second preacher in his native city of York, but in the following year he resigned his connexion with Methodism, returned to America, and was episcopally ordained in New York. He received the degree of Doctor of Divinity from the University of Pennsylvania in 1807, and

¹ A biography of John Pawson will be found in *Proceedings*, ix, p. 163 and x, p. 80. Various letters of Pawson are printed in *Proceedings*, viii, pp. 114, 121; x, pp. 104 ff., 124 ff., 192 ff.; xi, pp. 49 ff., 112; xii, p. 107; xxix, pp. 131 ff.

died in Philadelphia in 1825 at the ripe old age of eighty-six or eighty-seven.²

The first letter printed below was written when he was the Assistant in the Edinburgh circuit, with Barnabas Thomas and Benjamin Rhodes as his colleagues in Glasgow and Dunbar. The reference to the "Reverend Priest" who preached Bishop Leighton's sermons almost verbatim is both intriguing and perplexing. I hazard the guess that Thomas Coke is the plagiarist referred to. Some years ago I put the query to Mr. F. Deaville Walker, who was at that time collecting material for a biography of Coke. He told me that he had no evidence that Coke was in Scotland in 1779, but thought it quite likely that he may have been. I wish this point could be cleared up.

Two references in the later part of the letter require comment. The Earl of Mansfield was at this time Chief Justice of the King's Bench. Paul Jones was the notorious naval commander, who, though a Scotsman, offered his services to the American colonies when war broke out with England. In 1779, when in command of the *Bon Homme Richard* and a small squadron, he threatened Leith and captured a British sloop off Flamborough Head. It is evidently to this episode that Pilmoor makes reference in his letter.

WESLEY F. SWIFT.

I

JOSEPH PILMOOR TO BARNABAS THOMAS

Edinh. 22 Sept. '79

My Grave Doctor

Has at last mustered a smile. At the sight of his Mystical narrative, I could not forbear, but in imitation of my friend, gave vent to my fancy and laughed away my gloom. As I hope for the remainder of his learned Disserations on the Scotch Philosophers and Bearded Professors, must postpone the answer until I am favoured again.

The Reverend Priest has offered his sacrifice on the scotch Altars and is this morning gone off for Dunbar. His Lecture on the Virgins did not succeed. On Sunday I received a letter from somebody giving me the hint that the Doctor was mistaken in the Scotch if he thought to "repeat the Sermons of Old Bishop Leighton without being discovered" and assured me he could convince me he had done it almost Verbatim. On the Castle-Hill he scattered abundance of flowers, stolen from the fragrant beds of Fletcher's Garden, but left the Sage Scotsmen in possession of the field, for want of the Great Guns of Argumentation. On Sunday evening he read Isa. 60.1., told us the light and glory was Xt. divided it into 1st, 2nd, & 3rd, of which he lst but two, so that the people seeing one, appeared tolerably satisfied. Monday night was appointed for the Conversion of Arians to whom the Dr. promised to prove the Supreme Godhead of Christ. His method was to collect a great number of Texts with Chapter and Verse by which he called together a cloud of witnesses and I believe gave pretty good satisfaction. Last night was taken up with descending upon This is life eternal to know thee the only true God &c., but he seemed to be rather straitened and wanted the Prunella to keep him in countenance. By

² See, further, *Proceedings*, xv, pp. 125-7.

stumbling upon a Consecrated Paper belong to the Dr. I find he has about Ten Subjects for his Tour through England. His Minutes discover that he preaches from these every week. From this important discovery I think something of assuming the Prophetic Character and telling the people beforehand what the Dr. will say. Don't you think I have a fair chance of renown? But to be serious, Upon the whole he has done pretty well. His heart is in the work and he really strives to do good.

Alas! Alas! What I feared is come to pass. I have just now paid the Ostler nine and tenpence for the Clergyman's horses and have more to pay for the Board of two Doctors and a Wife. Could you have thought it? Sister Watson came off long before the time of purification. Has left her Baby in the North under the care of a Nurse came here penniless and with her husband are now on their way to Regulate the Families and Reform the Manners of the English! Such a tribe of Reformers as we have got must certainly do wonders in the World. Being most straitened for a moment, must break off for the present and assure the Doctor that no one is more his friend than

JOS. PILMOOR.

P.S. Have desired Mr Rhodes to give the people Tickets at Dunbar and Berwick,—to spend six weeks between the places and then we shall change. Hope my dear Thomas will give the Methodistical Tokens in Glasgow and let me have a particular account of Number - State - Money.

N.B. Such is my zeal for the Doctor's happiness that I have stolen another moment to write a Nota Bene. Should Mansfield really withdraw from the Cabanit [sic] we may expect something vastly important. Scotch counsels have been the cause of our misery for more than ten years and I shall rejoice when I hear the English Lion roar and see him rush upon his Prey. O kind heaven save my King from ruin; save my country from slavery and woe. What a pity that poor Britannia should ever be brought so low as to fear Paul Jones! Well, but Governor Johnson's will give the Rogue a Drubbing and set the coasts of Gallia all on fire. Wonderful! But where will he conjure down the Gallic Fleet? Had he as much faith as John Olivers he might expect an angel to take him by the beard and carry him through the air above the reach of gunshot, and help him to destroy the Righteous with the Wicked—while poor Orvillers sleeps upon the Ocean or takes up his abode within the Bastile. Ah me! where have I been? Surely I have dreamed, I have dreamed.

Be sure to send an Indulgence for this sad offence.

Addressed to:

The Rev. Mr Thomas,
at Mr Mackie's, Glasgow.

II

JOSEPH PILMOOR TO BARNABAS THOMAS

Berwick, 20 April 1780.

My Dear Friend,

Last Night I arrived in Berwick—as the Dilligence was full, I was obliged to come on a Post-Horse, which afforded me rather more exercise than was agreeable to my constitution, and was attended by the disagreeable circumstance of a Penny a mile for Ld. North's American War.

The People here talk freely about the Caledonians, and discover a little of that old spirit which was formerly inspired by the constant disputes

between the two Nations—Happy for Scotland, that they are united to the English, and can now make their way into the most fertile fields of the South, where they gladly resign their mess of Browse for Roast Beef and Plumb-Pudding. The change is remarkably sweet, and attended with so muckle advantage, that one can hardly expect them to return to the bleak mountains of Argyll.

I have been to break bread with Mr. Tanner, and find him quite upon the English Plan. You can hardly conceive how much I am altered for the better since my Nostrils have changed the Effluvia of the Caco for the gentler salubrious breezes of the German Ocean. I begin to look like myself, and feel a degree of vivacity flowing through the channels of nature, which had been almost shut up for want of circulation. Should this continue, I hope to be able to hold out another campaign, and may, perhaps, do something as a member of the Flying Camp of Wesley's Dragoons!

Do you hear any of the General? I am apprehensive of some danger; however, he is under the Eye of Israel's watchful Shepherd, and upheld by the victorious . . . of the great El-Shaddai. 'Tis well, even for *us* to remember this, and comfort ourselves with it under the dreary appearance of approaching trials. Peradventure the storm may be nearer than we have imagined, and unexpected difficulties may overtake us. However, the battle is the Lord's, and all that are on his side, must be gainers. . . .

'Tis with pleasing acknowledgements I receive my friend's Token of Brotherly kindness, which is come to hand since this was begun. Am much indebted for the intelligence of the Baker. By this time, I hope the specie is shining on the Table in the Methodistical Manse. If so, I beg to know immediately—if not, Mr. Grant must act according to a former direction. Father Mackie has my Letter before now, and will undoubtedly speak favourably of my Friend. Don't mention it any living creation. We must be prudent as well as pious. When I hear how the case stands will take the liberty to advise my Friend and may, perhaps, drop Nelly a line in his favour.

With love to every mutual friend, am ever—ever

Yours while

JOS. PILMOOR.

P.S. This is Monday morning. I am just got up and take the liberty to send you the first fruits of the day. Have preached four times in the Hall—the dew comes down as on the top of Hermon, and like the consecrated ointment on the head of Haron [sic], diffuses fragrance through the seat of justice. Should this continue, I am in hopes of a good spring—the tender plants begin to revive a little, and will, perhaps, blossom in May, and bear fruit in Autumn. Twice at Cromwell's Church yesterday and was much in doubt whether the Parson in the afternoon would not take a trip from the Rostrum into the Land of Nod! however he made a shift to keep half awake, till he had finished his wondrous Preachment. O my stars! What a set of Parsons! but anything will do, if it is not a Methodist. Two Shillings on the Plate yesterday morning! as I eat nothing at home, hope to collect a few baubees for to pay my way to Dunbar.

N.B. Send me a vast of news from the Capital—and let us comfort each other. The Berwick Ladies rejoice to hear of the Dr.³ and speak of him with smiling approbation. Only Peggy seems to think Benjamin a Topper!⁴

³ Probably a facetious reference to Barnabas Thomas himself; see the previous letter on p. 11.

⁴ Benjamin Rhodes (see page 11).

14. PROCEEDINGS OF THE WESLEY HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Do you hear wonders from Glasgow? Am in hopes, my Brother will teach E. Pettit Grammar and good Mackie⁵ to cease from Yawning in the Sanctuary. But his light will shine with peculiar brilliancy when he visits Mother Peacock—Monro and her Dreaming Daughters. Almost every visit will be attended with some new discovery in the science of Prognostication. Marriages foretold with certainty. Golden showers, falling down on Peggy. A Methodist chapel rising up with splendor &c. &c. &c.—A Letter! A Letter!

Addressed to :

The Rev. Mr. Thomas,
Chalmers Close, Edinburgh.

III

JOHN PAWSON TO BARNABAS THOMAS

Glasgow, Feb. 17, 1787.

Dear Friend,

Your letter and the inclos'd Bill found me in this City. I suppose I shall not return to England till next May if the Lord spares me so long. But I understand that you would wish to have your Money . . . I can send the Bill to Mr. Atmore who can receive your Money for you and send it to you according to your desire. Only it is a doubt with me whether they will pay the money to either of us till you have indorsed the Bill which you have not done. But we can try . . . and if they will not then it must be sent back again to you for that purpose.

Bad work, very bad work indeed when we fall by the way. I was heartily sorry to hear of what was done in Bedford Circuit last year. But how it came to pass that you was sent there I really do not know. However, who so likely to quench that bad fire as a man of your good temper. They who are able to bear all things, you know, most often have all things to bear. I hope that the Lord will help you and enable you so to act as to regain what those lost who went before you.

Our Church here is now ready for the Roof,⁶ greatly has the Lord favour'd us with respect to the weather. We do want it exceedingly and I hope and trust that it will answer a great and good end. The Socy continues lively, and we are frequently favour'd with the gracious presence of our God when assembled together in His name. Our Sabths are good and our Sacraments, times of refreshing from the presence of the Lord. We had the Sacrament here last Sunday, we had about 150 Communicants. We were in the place from ten till four o'clock, the place was quite crowded all the time and I really believe none were weary or wishing to be gone. Indeed it was a good time.

We began to preach in Edinburgh in church hours three months ago, and we have great reason to be thankful, there seems to be a good prospect. Our beginning was but small, but the congregations have continually increased so that I hope it will answer beyond expectation. Bro. Atmore is likely to be very useful both there and in this city. He is a lively zealous young man.⁷ He is gone just now to take himself a wife at

⁵ Robert Mackie, a grocer, was the society steward of the Glasgow society.

⁶ The foundation-stone of the Glasgow chapel had been laid on 10th October 1786.

⁷ Charles Atmore commenced to travel in 1781, and at the time of this letter was Pawson's "second man" in the Edinburgh circuit, which included Glasgow.

Preston in Lancashire. It seems to me a very long way to go on such an occasion but how could he help himself as he was engaged to her before he came here. Your old friends in this city sometimes talk about you and Mrs Thomas and I make no doubt they would rejoice to see you if Providence should send you this way.

I bless the Lord I am tolerable well at present, but the Sundays work in that confin'd and crowded place is quite too much for me and I do not know how I shall be able to stand under it till my time be expir'd. Only this, God is all-sufficient I know for both the Body and the Mind. Yet it is really very trying to the constitution, I do assure you. Hitherto I have been supported and have found that as my days so my strength has been. The time will soon draw near when I shall hope to return to my own happy highly favour'd country again. Indeed Mr. Wesley told me last Conference we must all stay here six years.⁸ But I cannot see why this should be. However, I trust that the wise Disposer of all events will order all things for the best. I cannot say that I would wish to stay here so long as he talks of nor do I think my constitution would bear it. I think that I shall have cause to praise the Lord everlastingly that I ever came to Scotland, as I hope that it has been an useful school to me in many respects. But yet I cannot say that I would wish to live and die here, was it only on account of the form of Buryal which I could never, no never be reconcil'd to. If ever human beings could be said to be Buried with the Buryal of an Ass surely the Scotts may.⁹ I know that real happiness depends but little upon persons places or things; but God in Christ Jesus is All in All. Yet I cannot help highly esteeming England and the English Methodists, and would wish to live and die among them.

My wife joins me in kindest love to yourself and Mrs. Thomas and may the God of peace and Love be ever present with you both,

I am your affectionate Bro. in the best bonds.

J. PAWSON.

Addressed to:

The Rev. Barnabas Thomas,
at the Methodist Chapel, Bedford.

At the 1786 Conference he had been ordained by Wesley, and he became President in 1811. A full account of his ministry appeared in the *Wesleyan Methodist Magazine* in 1845.

⁸ In fact, Pawson stayed only two years.

⁹ Perhaps Pawson was unconsciously remembering Wesley's description of a Scottish burial. See *Journal*, vi, p. 20.

Notes on the Illustrations of Class and Band Tickets

(See Plate, facing page 4)

Typical of the earliest tickets are Nos. 1 and 2. No. 1 is one of three floral designs. No. 2 is the earliest known Picture Ticket, the largest of which is No. 10 and the last No. 3. Over twenty of these were issued. No. 4 is one of three Yearly Tickets. There were many types of Band Ticket, with and without the printed date; Nos. 5 and 6 are good examples. There were also various types of Society Tickets, of which No. 7 is one. No. 8 is a plain text, but this was printed in different colours for the four quarters. The first ticket with a printed date and letter A to begin a regular sequence is No. 9.

WILLIAM CLOWES'S "RULES FOR A PREACHER"

At the "Annual Meeting"¹ of the newly-formed Primitive Methodist Connexion, held at Loughborough in May 1822, the Book Committee was directed to prepare a manual for preachers. The task was undertaken by Hugh Bourne, as Editor, and the document was printed in the *Magazine* of the following year, 1823, under the title "Advice to Travelling Preachers". Bourne states that he had already "received a piece, drawn up [it appears for his own use] by one of our travelling preachers in Hull circuit". The reference is undoubtedly to William Clowes, and his personal paper forms the first chapter in the manual. (*Primitive Methodist Magazine*, 1823, pp. 6, 27-8.)

JOHN T. WILKINSON.

RULES OF CONDUCT IN MEETINGS FOR BUSINESS.

The Lord will be a true and faithful witness between us. (Jer. xlii. 5).

A faithful witness will not lie. (Prov. xiv. 5).

1. Let me enquire, For what end am I here? Is it to think, speak and act for God? If it be, may the Lord help me. Amen.

2. I must remember that faith in God, faith which worketh by love, should be in continual exercise, should run through all my words and actions, knowing that the grace of God descends in proportion to the measure and the exercise of faith. I ought to be continually looking for, and receiving, the outpouring of the Holy Ghost; continually waiting for, and experiencing the unction of the Holy One.

3. I must esteem my brethren's characters as my own; I must be tender and loving; but in order to be A FAITHFUL WITNESS I must keep at the utmost distance from countenancing sin.

4. I must say nothing at the meeting but what I believe to be fully to the point and strictly necessary: remembering this scripture. By thy words shalt thou be justified, and by thy words shalt thou be condemned. Matt. xii. 37.

5. If a charge be brought against me, I must hear it with meekness; and be thankful that an opportunity is given me to satisfy the meeting if I be clear, or of acknowledging an error if I be in one. I must respect the character of the brother who brings the charge, and not attempt to lower him in the estimation of his brethren; for if I could succeed in this, it would not acquit or justify me in the sight of God.

6. I must not be over anxious in defending myself, but must distinctly and clearly state the matter, with the facts and circumstances connected with it; and then leave the whole matter to my brethren and the Lord.

7. I must not be over strenuous in supporting any particular measure, but must endeavour, simply and clearly, to state the matter or thing under consideration, shew its bearings, and state the various circumstances connected with it, and then let it stand or fall by its own merits.

8. I must not undervalue any who may differ from me in opinion; nor have too much confidence in myself, knowing that God may give greater light to any of my brethren than to me (1 Cor. xii. 7).

¹ The term "Conference" was not used until 1825.

9. I must guard against an impatient or contentious spirit; knowing that if the cause I am engaged in, is of the Lord, he is able to support his own work.

10. I must not be too solicitous for any point or proposition because I brought it forward; but must be quite resigned if a majority decide against me (Matt. vi. 10). In all things relying on the Lord, and saying, 'Not my will, O Lord, but thine be done'.

11. I must use no subtlety nor guile to gain any point; but must adhere to truth and simplicity; knowing that the Lord is acquainted with all my ways. (Psalm cxxxix. 23). And that the wisdom that cometh from above is pure.

12. I must guard against anger, or too great an appearance of warmth in my arguments. For, He that is soon angry dealeth foolishly. (Prov. xiv. 17). And the servant of the Lord must not strive, but be gentle unto all. (2 Tim. ii. 24).

I must conduct myself in a grave, solemn, serious manner: remembering, Thou God seest me. (Gen. xvi. 13), continually looking to God for help, and for the outpouring of his Spirit; that, in so doing, I may be instrumental in the hand of God in detecting and removing evil; and of promoting the glory of God and the good of precious souls.

Now unto the King eternal, immortal, invisible, the only wise God, be honour and glory for ever and ever. Amen.

SHORTER BOOK NOTICE

This is Methodism, by F. H. Everson. (Epworth Press, pp. 108, 5s.)

For those who cannot accept the author's complacency about denominationalism this book is spoiled by its outlook. As an account of Methodist machinery, finance and organization it is excellent, and gives a vivid picture of how Methodism works. As such it is highly commendable. But when the author asks "Has Methodism a future? Or is it destined to be swallowed up in some 'super-church' as has happened in South India and Canada?" he parts company with those who cannot equate the church with its organization. He sees the present concern for unity as a mistaken desire for a bigger and better organization, and not as a movement of the Spirit. To see the future of Methodism as "a world church with its centre of gravity no longer in England but in America" may be statistical realism, but it is not what many Methodists believe the Spirit to be saying to the Churches. Is this really Methodism? It is a pity that such a good description of our organization should be marred by such a view of its purpose.

RONALD V. SPIVEY.

INDEX TO THE "PROCEEDINGS"

WANTED: Members possessing complete sets of the *Proceedings*, who are willing to help in checking the draft of the General Index. Volunteers should indicate any particular aspects of Methodism or related subjects in which they have special interest. Please write immediately to Mr. John A. Vickers, 71, Beechcroft Road, Ipswich, Suffolk.

KILHAM'S "MARTIN LUTHER" PAMPHLET AND BISHOP IN METHODISM

I AM very grateful to the Rev. Dr. Frank Baker, who kindly sent me his copy of the "Martin Luther" pamphlet only two days after my article appeared in the last issue of the *Proceedings*. For the interest of members I summarize the pamphlet below:

Kilham first sets out a summary of Lord King's *Account of the Primitive Church*, and the most pertinent paragraph reads:

Presbyters or Bishops. These were fully qualified for the ministry—ordained and set apart for it—had a right to minister in every office of the Church. But the Bishops were the heads of the churches, and Presbyters were under their direction. Both equal in regard to qualifications, and being dedicated to all the services of the Church; only the Bishops were the Superintendants [sic] of the churches.

This summary is followed by abuse of the National Churches which arose from Constantine to Henry VIII. Kilham then gives an account of Wesley's work and attitude towards the Church of England, emphasizing his reluctance to separate and yet

to show his *amazing love* to her, he resolved to set up an image made in her likeness before he died. I mean, he ordained several preachers according to her canons. First, Deacons, and then Priests. He also made *two or three* Bishops, to be *ornaments* in his connection, if they should be of *no use*.

There follows an account of the constitutional developments after Wesley's death, including the failure of the Lichfield Plan, and the first half of the pamphlet is concluded by an account of Methodist polity at that time (January 1795), in which the following paragraph is most apposite:

Every superintendent is the bishop of the circuit. His colleagues in full connection are his presbyters. All his colleagues on trial and local preachers are his helpers.

The pamphlet shows clearly that Kilham is a Dissenter at heart, violently prejudiced against, and abusive of, the National Church. He supports the Methodist polity of his day in this pamphlet, principally because it can be compared to Lord King's account of the organization of the Early Church (though it seems to the present writer that the principal similarity is found in the quotations given above). The idea of "Episcopal Bishops" (as Kilham puts it) over groups of circuits is too much like the Anglican Church, and he is equally venomous against the Church of England and the Lichfield Plan.

Yet there is also another element which appears from time to time. This is that the laity ought to have a decisive voice in all matters from the admission of members even up to the Conference itself. Those who oppose this are described as "contracted minds". "But either fear or shame will prevent *even these* from being deaf to the voice of the people, and the voice of God."

In such a pamphlet it is difficult to decide what is objective fact and what is the result of prejudice. Yet one point stands out, namely, that even so fiery a democrat as Kilham knew that Wesley meant "bishop" when he said "superintendent", and Kilham could apply both terms to the preacher who at this time was still officially called "Assistant". It would seem probable that "superintendent" was the popular term. This

would explain the comment in Myles's *Chronological History of the Methodists*, and also the lack of a specific resolution of the Conference when the change was made in 1796 (the year of Kilham's expulsion). This popular use would also, when it is considered with the then current use of Wesley's abridgement of the Book of Common Prayer (which included an ordinal for Superintendents, Elders, and Deacons), throw a flood of light on the interpretation of the word among Methodist preachers.

If Kilham's summary of Lord King is to be trusted another problem is solved, namely Wesley's apparent inconsistency, i.e. by what right did Wesley ordain Coke?—even if it is granted that presbyters can ordain—for his orders were identical with Coke's; what did Wesley think he was conferring? This problem disappears when it is known that Lord King taught identity of orders but distinction of function (contrast Bishop Light-foot). Hence Wesley is a "scriptural episcopos", not because he is a presbyter but because he is the God-appointed superintendent or bishop of Methodism (though Kilham fails to understand this). Note, for instance, the phrase "circumstanced as we are" (*Letters*, iii, p. 146) as early as 1755. In 1784 Wesley committed this function to Coke and Asbury in America, and later to his "Prime Minister" (as Kilham calls Mather) in England.

Mather, of course, did not succeed to all that Wesley was because of the Deed of Declaration and the general unwillingness to trust anyone other than Wesley with his autocratic powers. Equally the idea of a dozen or so bishops was rejected, and hence "every superintendent is the bishop of the circuit".

I have also read the latest book by E. W. Thompson: *Wesley: Apostolic Man*. Perhaps the amazingly close similarity of our independent interpretations of Wesley's mind is the best evidence of the validity of that interpretation. Mr. Thompson draws attention to Wesley's letter to Barnabas Thomas of 25th March 1785. He also writes on page 62:

Wesley was [Methodism's] superintendent or bishop, and Coke was not. Wesley had an admitted and unique authority over the whole, of which Coke was void. When Wesley consecrated Coke as a Superintendent for America, he delegated to him that authority in America which he possessed; and he, and he alone, could make that delegation.

VICTOR E. VINE.

The Abingdon Press, of New York, have published *A Short History of Methodism*, by Umphrey Lee and William Warren Sweet (pp. 160, \$2), as one of a series of text-books for use in "leadership training courses". The names of the authors (both of whom are distinguished members of our Society) are sufficient guarantee of the quality of the contents, which, naturally enough, are almost entirely concerned with Methodism in America. The book deserves a wide circulation on this side of the Atlantic, however, for most British Methodists are a little hazy about the history of American Methodism, and, so far as we know, there is no book of comparable size and price in which the story can be read. The final chapters on "John Wesley's World Parish Today" and the progress of American Methodism since "unification" in 1939 are especially valuable for all who are interested in World Methodism. Fifteen shillings is a small price to pay for the wide horizons which this book opens to those who, like ourselves, have never been further than the Isle of Wight.

BOOK NOTICES

Moravian and Methodist, by Clifford W. Towlson. (Epworth Press, pp. x. 265, 25s.)

Free Church Unity, by E. K. H. Jordan. (Lutterworth Press, pp. 254, 12s. 6d.).

Many histories of Moravianism have been written by both Moravians and Methodists, but in this new assessment of the interrelationship of Moravianism and Methodism Dr. Towlson has opened up a new and valuable field of inquiry. His book, for which the University of London awarded him a Doctorate of Philosophy (at a time of life, if we may presume to say so, when most men would have been content to rest on their laurels), is therefore especially welcome. The bulk of the book inevitably covers familiar ground, but in his examination of the relations between the Wesleys, Böhler, Spangenberg, Zinzendorf and others, and of Wesley's break with the Fetter Lane society in 1740, Dr. Towlson has given an analysis more thorough and more fully documented than anything hitherto attempted. It is a sad story. The happy association begun on board the *Simmonds*, and continued in Georgia, in London and at Herrnhut, soon ended in disruption and even antagonism. Behind the formal separation from Fetter Lane there was a background of personal suspicion and mistrust which was far more potent than those serious doctrinal differences which, in any case, became less obtrusive after the extremist Molther had withdrawn. Wesley's dislike of Zinzendorf, and the Moravian suspicion of Wesley's desire for power, not only poisoned personal relationships but also permanently estranged the two growing Societies; whilst the negotiations for co-operation and even organic union which were sponsored in 1785-6 by Charles Wesley and Coke (a subject on which this book sheds much new light) came to nothing, partly because of the Moravian fear that the Methodists were about to break away from the Church of England.

It is when Dr. Towlson comes to assess the mutual contributions of Moravianism and Methodism to each other that we find him least convincing. His contention that the Moravians made a preponderant contribution to the conversion experience of the two Wesleys, and that "13,000,000 Methodists throughout the world are the spiritual heirs of a handful of German Christians", though somewhat flamboyantly expressed, is ground common to us all. The bands, the hymns (a theme on which both Dr. Towlson and his readers have a happy time together), the love-feast—in these matters no one will dispute Methodism's incalculable debt to Moravianism. But when it comes to the Conference, watchnight services, and education, we have an uneasy feeling that Dr. Towlson's enthusiasm has run away with him and that his evidence is much more slender. As to Methodism's contribution to Moravianism, again we cannot go all the way with Dr. Towlson, but it is surely significant that "every *English* Moravian leader of note at some time or other in this century came under the direct influences of John and Charles Wesley".

We are grateful for Dr. Towlson's interesting and important book. Those who knew that it was in preparation have found their patience amply rewarded. It is not surprising that one who lives under the shadow of Fulneck should find this theme so congenial to his pen, and we echo Dr. Towlson's hope that his book will help to bring closer together the two denominations which once so greatly influenced each other and are now so far apart.

We have discovered only a few errors: e.g. on page 3 Adam Clarke is

given the credit for Coke's share with Moore in the joint biography of Wesley, and in footnote 58 on page 53 "Miles" should be "Myles". There are also a few "literals" which have escaped the proof-reader's eye.

Free Church Unity is a history of the Free Church Council movement from 1896 to 1941. It begins with an account of the negotiations which resulted in the first Free Church Congress in 1892, and ends with the fusion of the National Council of the Evangelical Free Churches and the Federal Council of the Evangelical Free Churches in 1940. In this story Methodists play a not inconsiderable part. Hugh Price Hughes was one of the pioneers of the movement, and the *Methodist Times* was his mouth-piece; many of our ministers have held the highest offices in the two Councils; and the Methodist denominations co-operated with the other Free Churches in their united activities in the fields of education and social reform. Not the least of their achievements was the establishment of the chaplaincy "United Board", thus securing the recognition of the Free Churchman in uniform in two world wars. The impression is given, however, that Methodism and the other Free Churches have sometimes been uneasy bedfellows: it was the determined opposition of Dr. Marshall Randles, for example, which was largely responsible for the failure of the "Free Church Catechism" to establish itself in the life and thought of the Free Churches. The book is mis-named: "co-operation" would be a more accurate word than "unity". We are surprised to find no mention of the Protestant Dissenting Deputies, whose work on behalf of the "Three Denominations" in establishing the civil rights of Dissenters so often overlapped that of the Councils. This is not an enthralling book, but it is at least interesting; and as a chronicle of events it will remain a standard handbook for a long time to come.

WESLEY F. SWIFT.

Wesley: Apostolic Man. Some Reflections on Wesley's Consecration of Dr. Thomas Coke, by Edgar W. Thompson. (Epworth Press, pp. 84, 8s. 6d.)

For us Methodists 1738 must always be the decisive date in post-Reformation church history; but when we consider our relations with other communions, 1784 raises a vital question, already much discussed, and still in need of further elucidation. In that year Wesley set apart Coke to be "superintendent" in America. In this small but very important book a veteran missionary leader virtually asks two questions. First, to what office did Wesley set him apart? His answer is that it was the consecration of Coke for a bishopric. Wesley had learnt from Stillingfleet that episcopacy is not required by the New Testament but is agreeable thereto, which is virtually the *bene esse* view, still permissible in Anglicanism. He accordingly established an episcopal church in America. This leads Mr. Thompson to brief favourable comments on the North India reunion scheme and on the "conversations" proceeding in England.

Second, by virtue of what office did Wesley claim the right to ordain? He based his action explicitly on the view of Lord King that "bishops and presbyters are the same order and consequently have the same right to ordain". Mr. Thompson's point is that Wesley need not have cited King; his real authority lay in an extraordinary divine authority to shepherd the flock; he was an apostolic man. Perhaps that is why he claimed to be a scriptural "episcopos". I can best express my gratitude for this book by saying that it has so stimulated me at this point that I hope to return to it in a later contribution.

A. RAYMOND GEORGE.

NOTES AND QUERIES

978. INFORMATION SOUGHT ABOUT FLETCHER OF MADELEY.

Mr. Raymond F. Skinner, of 86, Caulfield Road, London, E.6, would be grateful for any information about Fletcher, especially letters and notes in other letters about him. He is also interested in information about Rowland and Richard Hill, Richard de Courcy, Stillingfleet, Joshua Gilpin, James Ireland of Bristol, and a certain James Glazebrook, especially relating to religious life in Shropshire, 1750-1850. EDITOR.

979. DID LORD PETER KING RECANT?

With reference to Mr. Vine's interesting article on "Episcopé in Methodism": I have been reading Hockin's *John Wesley and Modern Methodism* (1887), which raises an important question. Hockin writes (p. 61):

A few instances will show with what reckless haste Wesley sometimes formed his opinions. Many years before he had read King's book that author had himself withdrawn and repudiated it. He was convinced by the reply of a clergyman called Sclater, entitled *An original draught of the Primitive Church*, that all his arguments about Bishops and Priests being of the same order were utterly fallacious, and offered Sclater a living which was in his presentation as Lord Chancellor.

A footnote refers us to Dr. Oldknow's *Defence of Church Principles*, p. 57. Is there any independent corroboration of this fact?

Both Hockin (and later Umlin) deal forcibly enough with Wesley, and they remind us of what Fitchett maintained against our great founder (*Wesley and his Century*, p. 432): ". . . his reading had, as was inevitable, the vice of haste. It bred swift and hurried judgements, born of half-knowledge . . .". ROBERT HAIRE.

980. THE BIBLE CHRISTIAN HYMN-BOOK.

The Rev. Morgan Slade's article on the first Bible Christian hymn-book (*Proceedings*, xxx, p. 179) speaks of two books only, viz. the 1824 and the 1838 editions. It may be worth while to mention two others. In 1859 there appeared what is described on the title-page as a "Seventh Enlarged Edition", "published for the Bible Christian Book Committee, by J. Thorne, Shebbear, Devon"; the printer's imprint on the reverse of this page reads simply: "Shebbear, Devon: Printed by S. Thorne." It bears the same 1838 preface which Mr. Slade quotes, and has the same number of hymns, viz. 525 plus 36 plus 14, numbered consecutively; it is of the same format, with the similar brass clasp; and the hymns that Mr. Slade quotes bear the same numbers in the 1859 edition. It seems tolerably certain therefore that this is rather a reprint than a separate edition.

According to the Preface to the 1889 hymn-book, the book was "slightly enlarged in 1862", and "greater changes would have been made . . . if the editions then in circulation would not have been thus rendered 'comparatively useless'".

Like the 1876 Wesleyan hymn-book and the 1889 UMFC hymn-book, this 1889 Bible Christian book was a completely new collection, with a new arrangement of sections along the general lines of the other contemporary Methodist hymn-books. It contains 1,004 hymns, but the index of authors makes no mention of Catherine O'Bryan; and the only one of the hymns quoted by Mr. Slade that appears in 1889 is "Jesus, the word of mercy give". The distinctively Bible Christian revivalist hymns, such as

"The Sailors' Hymn"—"Ye sons of the main, that sail o'er the flood", with its nautical vocabulary, give place in the section for "Revival and Evangelistic Services" to hymns of the Sankey tradition.

OLIVER A. BECKERLEGGE.

981. "FELLOWSHIPS IN METHODIST HISTORY".

It will rejoice the hearts of Irish Methodists to know that in addition to the four English Methodists named in our last issue, a "Fellowship in Methodist History" was also conferred by the World Methodist Council on the Rev. R. Lee Cole, M.A., B.D., who is the President of the Irish Branch of the Wesley Historical Society.

FRANK BAKER.

[We regret this seeming disrespect to Mr. Lee Cole. It was due to the fact that his name was not in the printed list which was supplied to the delegates attending the conferring ceremony at Lake Junaluska.—EDITOR.]

982. M.H.B. No. 628.

This short hymn is something of a rarity in the details of its composition. Charles Wesley wrote an eight-line verse on Zephaniah ii. 3, this verse comprising the whole of verse 1 as it is printed in our Hymn-book, together with the last two lines of verse 2 (*Poetical Works*, x, p. 104). Robert Bridges printed the first six lines of this eight-line verse as the first verse of No. 94 in the *Yattendon Hymnal*, together with six more lines of Charles Wesley as a second verse. Telford in *The New Methodist Hymn-Book Illustrated* describes this second verse in the *Yattendon Hymnal* as "original by Dr. Bridges"; yet Dr. Bridges himself, in his note to *Yattendon Hymnal* No. 94, reprinted as a note to No. 392 in *The Spirit of Man*, acknowledges Charles Wesley's authorship of these lines, which are a slightly altered version of the second of Wesley's two stanzas on Job xxxiii. 26 (*Poetical Works*, ix, p. 266).

The compilers of our present Hymn-book followed Dr. Bridges in printing the first six lines of Charles Wesley's eight-line verse as a complete verse, and then composed a second verse made up of four lines from two six-line stanzas of Charles Wesley's on Jeremiah xxxi. 12 (*Poetical Works*, x, p. 37) together with the two lines which originally completed our first verse. Any new edition of Telford's book should correct the attribution of the second verse of *Yattendon Hymnal* No. 94 to Dr. Bridges and restore it to Charles Wesley from whom it comes. Incidentally, Dr. Bridges' note dates Charles Wesley's *Short Hymns on Select Passages of the Holy Scriptures* as 1794. This was, of course, the second edition, abridged. The original edition was published in 1762.

REGINALD GLANVILLE.

983. EPISCOPÉ IN METHODISM.

I was most interested in Mr. Vine's article on "Episcopé in Methodism". His establishment of the historical facts is most valuable, but I cannot say that I agree with his conclusions. In building up the admirable polity of Methodism John Wesley was indeed an inspired improviser, but it is significant that our Homer nods at this point of "superintendency". Why does Wesley write that he "set apart" Dr. Coke as "superintendent"? Surely this vague term was used because Wesley could not say that he "ordained" him, for Coke was already ordained. Nor could Wesley say that he "consecrated" Coke bishop, for this would pre-suppose that a "superintendent-bishop" was a different spiritual rank from a "presbyter-bishop". This in turn would deny Wesley's theory in justification of laying hands on Dr. Coke, that in the New Testament "presbyter" and

"bishop" were one and the same. Wesley was not consistent at this point. If he believed that "superintendent" or "bishop" was the same as "presbyter", he ought to have *appointed* Dr. Coke by legal instrument, without any action of a sacramental character, in token that his superintendency was purely administrative.

If we try to read Wesley's mind and intentions from his general course of action it is clear that the polity and discipline which he regarded as for the good of the Church was that of a leadership of "superior ministers", who should be "pastors of pastors", "fathers in God", and embodiments of ecclesiastical authority. The constitution which he fathered in America bears this out, even though he rebuked Dr. Coke for the use of the word "bishop", with all its English associations of prelacy. It is a heritage from Wesley himself that the great American Methodist Church of today has a less purely "democratic" polity than any of the major American Protestant Churches. Wesley's church practice was not based on the Calvinist doctrine of "the parity of presbyters", but on the traditional Catholic conception of "episcopé". However, the theological argument which he used to justify in principle those presbyteral ordinations which the empirical situation made necessary was associated with the idea of "the parity of presbyters".

It is not surprising that on his death divergent views of churchmanship should seek to base themselves on Wesley. Many of the rank and file of the preachers, and members who thought like "the laymen of Redruth", wanted a "democratic" constitution for Methodism. They clung to that side of Wesley represented by his statement "they shall never by my consent call me a bishop". But equally, many of the senior preachers, who were nearest in understanding to what Wesley meant by Methodism, seem to have felt that the Connexion ought to be governed by Methodist bishops who should be more than administrative officials. Thus we have, for example, the "Lichfield Plan". This school of thought did not carry the day, but one is left with the feeling that it did represent Wesley's practical intentions. If we now adopt "Separated Chairmen" in all Districts, and through them "take episcopacy into our system", we shall indeed be profoundly modifying that which was the mode of operation of Methodist "episcopé" in typical nineteenth-century Methodism. Yet we shall be modifying it in the direction of Wesley's own manifest ideals and practice!

In this we may take courage. The scheme for "Separated Chairmen" in all Districts has certainly not been evolved during recent decades through any desire to approximate our polity to that of Anglicanism. It has been a practical response to the empirical needs of the work of God in the circuits. Nevertheless, the fact remains that our spontaneous domestic development has raised up in our midst those whose office does provide the appropriate medium whereby we may make the Methodist experiment in Catholic "episcopé". We may safely judge in what way John Wesley would have voted!

JOHN LAWSON.

The Annual Lecture of our daughter Society in New Zealand was given last November by Miss Rita F. Snowden, who is the Vice-President of the Methodist Church of New Zealand. It has now been published by the Epworth Press under the title of *The Ladies of Wesleydale* (pp. 38, 3s. 6d.), and deals with the pioneer work of Catherine Leigh and Anne Turner, the wives of two of the early missionaries to New Zealand from 1814 to 1827. It is an enthralling story, and we are sure that the name of its prolific author will guarantee it a wide sale.