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WESLEY AND SCOTTISH METHODISM.

In the *Minutes of Conference*, 1930, p. 264, there appears the following "Special Resolution":—¹

ADMINISTRATION OF THE SACRAMENTS IN SCOTLAND.—

"In the administration of the Sacraments there shall be a strict adherence to the order sanctioned in Scotland by Mr. Wesley, which is the same as that prescribed in the Church of Scotland."

This regulation has been obtained from a manuscript book in the possession of the Chairman of the Scotland District. The book contains copies of resolutions specially pertaining to Scottish Methodism which have been passed by Conference from time to time. This particular resolution is dated 1842, but apparently there is no record in any of the Conference Journals of such regulation.²

The first point is to consider the "order sanctioned in Scotland by Mr. Wesley," to which there must be "strict adherence." This, we are told, is the same as that prescribed in the Church of Scotland. The chief points on which emphasis is generally laid are as follows:—

- (a) The elements of the Lord's Supper are first to be partaken of by the Leaders assisting in the service. The Leaders then distribute the elements to the congregation.
- (b) The service is to be extempore in form, and the "Order for the Administration of the Lord's Supper for the use of the People called Methodists" is not to be used.
- (c) The elements are received by the communicants who remain seated in their pews. As a matter of fact, few, if any, of our Wesleyan Churches in Scotland have "Communion rails."

1. The Chairman of the Scotland District informs me that this regulation should have been inserted as a "Standing Order."

2. The Rev. S. W. Stocker writes me:—"I asked the late Rev. John Elsworth why in his edition of Simon's "Summary" he had not included this legislation. He replied that he could find no record of it, adding that the same was true of other matters equally important."

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It will, therefore, be seen that the customary procedure in the observance of the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper in our Scottish Methodist Church is radically different from that which prevails in England. In fact, in one point at least, it directly contravenes the regulations laid down in Simon's *Summary*.

The purpose of this article is to discuss, in the light of the foregoing facts, and particularly in view of the Conference regulation printed in this year's *Minutes*, the whole question of the relation between Wesley and Methodism in Scotland. I have no conclusions to offer; it will suffice if the evidence on both sides is stated as clearly and concisely as possible.

There is a good deal of evidence, on the one hand, to support the contention that Wesley did intend Scottish Methodism to conform more to the Presbyterian standard than did English Methodism, and permitted certain modifications to further this end.

First of all, there is the fact of Wesley's ordination of certain preachers for the work in Scotland. We know that the following were so ordained, and the list is no doubt incomplete:—John Pawson, Thomas Hanby, Joseph Taylor, Joshua Keighley, Charles Atmore, Duncan McAllum, Alexander Suter, Joseph Cownley, John Barber,—all familiar names to the student of the history of Methodism in Scotland. Wesley's justification of the step he had taken is well known:—

. . . I at length consented to take the same step with regard to Scotland, which I had done with regard to America. But this is not separation from the Church at all. Not from the Church of Scotland, for we were never connected therewith, any further than we are now; nor from the Church of England, for this is not concerned in the steps which are taken in Scotland.

To this must be added the words of Pawson (himself one of the ordinands) written in 1785:—"We had orders from Mr. Wesley to form our people into a Church, and to administer the ordinances of baptism and the Lord's Supper among them."³

In a letter written the next year to Charles Atmore, however, Pawson says: "When Mr. W. was here (Edinburgh) he told the whole Sunday night's Congregation that it never came into his head to separate from the Church of Scotland. . . . So that it is quite evident that he has forgotten what he himself said on that subject last Conference. Poor dear Soul, his memory fails him. . . ."⁴

3. Wesley Historical Society *Proceedings*, xii, p. 107.

4. *Proceedings*, xii, p. 108.

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It should be added that Wesley gave his preachers whom he ordained for work in Scotland permission to wear gown and bands in accordance with the Presbyterian custom, but this and the other privileges pertaining to their ordination were taken from them when they returned to the English work.⁵

Ever since Wesley's day there have always been those who have taken the view that the foregoing facts indicated that he intended there to be a distinct "Methodist Church in Scotland." The special needs and problems of Scottish Methodism have been the subject of a continual stream of pamphlets and correspondence at different periods in the history of Methodism, and almost invariably the writers fasten upon this point. I will quote from a pamphlet written in 1850:—

From 1768 to 1774 the membership in Scotland varied from 468 to 735, and from this year to 1784 they again decreased to 481, when the preachers requested Mr. Wesley either to withdraw them from Scotland or to adapt Methodism to the pressing exigencies of the country, by allowing them to administer the Sacraments, of which the Methodists were now generally deprived in the Established and Secession (or Dissenting) churches. To meet this emergency, Mr. Wesley, in 1785 founded "The Methodist Church in Scotland", conforming in externals with the Established Presbyterian Church of the country, the communion of the Lord's Supper being the test, and a Metal Token being the badge of Church Membership. He preserved Class, Band, and Society Meetings and the love feast, as privileges belonging to the members of the Society (within the Church), whose badge was the Quarterly Ticket. The success of this plan was soon apparent, for the numbers of Society rose from 481 in 1784 to 1313 in 1793.⁶

Support in favour of this view may also be found in the pages of the *Methodist Magazine*:—

It is well known that Mr. Wesley adapted Methodism to the peculiarities of Scotland. Episcopalian though he was, he formed what may be designated a Scottish Presbyterian Wesleyan Methodist Church, because he was fully convinced that such a system was best suited to the country.

Mention has been made above of the use, by Wesley's permission, of metal Communion tokens as the badge of Church membership as distinct from membership of Society. It may be said that this distinction still exists in some of our Scottish

5. The Conference of 1793 prohibited in future the wearing of gown, bands, cassock or surplice by any preacher, but in 1841 Scotland was excepted from this rule. See Gregory's *Sidelights on the Conflicts of Methodism*, p. 323

6. *Methodism in Scotland*. A brief sketch of its rise, progress and present position in that country. By David Wilson.

7. *Wesleyan Methodist Magazine* 1849. p. 74.

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Methodist Churches. In one Church at least, to my knowledge, in addition to the Quarterly Ticket of Membership which is received by every member of Society, a "Communion Card" is also issued to every member, and to others, non-members, who wish to receive Communion. These Communion Cards are collected at the time of the Communion service, as is also done in the Presbyterian Church and a record is thus available of those who have attended Communion. This "Communion Card" seems to be the successor of the metal "Token." There is not much evidence to indicate the extent to which the custom prevailed in early Methodism, but the following particulars extracted from a book dealing with the ecclesiastical branch of numismatics have an interesting bearing upon the subject :—

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. . . Communion tokens were not much used among them. I can only give three examples.

INVERNESS, Methodist Church, Inverness, (and in the centre) 1844
Reverse :— "This do in remembrance of Me" (and in the centre)
Luke xxii. 19. *Circular in shape.*

MONTROSE. Believe | Love | and Obey. *Reverse* :— "This do
in remem | brance of Me. *Circular in shape*⁸

M.C. (for Methodist Church) *Reverse* :— "Do this in remembrance of
Me." Wheel ornament in the centre. *Circular in shape*

I have myself seen a photograph of a Methodist Communion Token bearing the date 1787.⁹ It would appear from these facts that Wesley did give his sanction to the use of Communion Tokens in Scotland, and gave tacit assent to the Presbyterian principles which their use involved.

In *Proceedings*, vol. xv, p. 79, there is given the text of a "Rubric" entitled :— *The order of administering the Sacrament among the Methodists in Scotland*. This is contained in a small manuscript manual belonging to John Braithwaite, who was appointed to Edinburgh in 1797 and there ordained for the administration of the Sacraments. The order of administration in this "Rubric" follows very closely the usual Presbyterian order, and well repays a careful study. It must be remembered, however, in connection with the subject of this article, that this "Rubric"

8. *Scottish Communion Tokens*, by the Rev. Robert Dick, p. 90. Published privately in 1902.

9. Metal tokens were in use in the Aberdeen Society, for example, until well into the second half of the 19th century.

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is dated seven years after Wesley's death,—“a period of transition in Methodist Church history in relation to the Sacraments.”

The evidence for the other side of the question, i.e., against the suggestion that Wesley was willing to allow a certain latitude in Methodist life and worship in Scotland, it is not overwhelming in its quantity or strength. We have, for example, Wesley's well known words :—“While I live itinerant preachers shall be itinerants . . . I have weighed the matter, and will serve the Scots as we do the English, or leave them.”¹⁰ This attitude, however, is specifically in relation to the suggested modification of the itinerant system, and the words were written in 1774, eleven years before the ordination of preachers for Scotland. That this attitude persisted, however, is indicated by a letter written to Lady Maxwell as late as 1788.¹¹

Moreover, we have the testimony of John Pawson in a letter written to Charles Atmore in October, 1785, two months after his own ordination :—

. . . Dr. Coke intends to be with us on Sunday . . . when we are to have the sacrament again ; but *Mr. Wesley is against us having it in the Scotch form*, and I am well satisfied our new plan will answer no end at all in Scotland, but will prove a hindrance to the work of God. The people generally hate the very name of Prayer-Book. 12

The mention of the “ new plan ” and Prayer Book evidently refers to the fact that when Wesley sent his first ordained preachers to Scotland he advised the Societies there to use his abridged form of Common Prayer. That there may have been a change of attitude may be indicated by the terms of a later letter of Pawson (1786) :—

. . . We expect to see our good old Father and Friend here about the middle of May . . . and shall then see further how he likes the order of our Scotch Churches. I hope that he will never think of bringing us to comply with the English forms. 13

I do not pretend that the evidence I have produced on either side is complete. It is all I can discover, and it is very inconclusive. In the light of the Conference regulation with its express statement that Wesley sanctioned a Communion order for Scotland equivalent with that prescribed in the Church of Scotland, the whole question of Wesley's relations with and attitude towards

10. *Wesley's Works*, xii, p. 395.

11. *Wesley's Works*, xii, p. 328.

12. *Proceedings*, xi, p. 50.

13. *Proceedings*, xi, p. 114.

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Scottish Methodism becomes very interesting, and I think, important. May I express the hope that one of our leading authorities on Wesley, such as Dr. Simon, will investigate the subject, and write for the pages of the *Proceedings* an article that may help to clear up the matter.

Whilst occupied in a search through the files of the *Glasgow Mercury*, I came across the following item in the "Intelligence" column of the issue for May 2, 1787:—

"We hear that the Rev. Mr. Wesley, who arrived a few days ago in this city (Dublin) intends visiting most of the principal towns in this kingdom with his usual celerity, though in the 84th year of his age.—This Gentleman may be truly considered as a prodigy of the present century, who at this advanced age rises every morning at four o'clock, preaches twice, frequently three times, and travels forty or fifty miles a-day; and what is most extraordinary, after all this labour, remains a stranger to weariness.

WESLEY F. SWIFT.

Wesley arrived in Dublin on Good Friday, April 6, and remained in Ireland until July 11.

WHITEFIELD'S ORPHAN HOUSE.

The following paragraph with reference to George Whitefield is taken from the *Edinburgh Evening Courant*, of April 29, 1765. The prominence given to it at a time when the *Courant* was almost entirely devoted to advertisements is probably due to the affectionate regard in which Whitefield was held in Edinburgh. It must not be forgotten that Edinburgh contributed most handsomely towards the funds of his Orphan House.

AMERICA.

Savannah (in Georgia) Feb. 21. Sunday last the Rev. Mr. Whitefield took a solemn and affectionate farewell of a crowded auditory in our church, who appeared truly sensible of the many obligations this province has, from its infant state, lain under to that worthy gentleman. Early yesterday morning he went to Perusburg (?), in his way to Charles Town, accompanied by some gentlemen of this place, having before his departure discharged all arrears due on account of the Orphan-house, placed out all the children, except two or

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three, who are yet too young to go abroad, had the accompts of the house audited, and put in readiness for the reception of future officers and students of the intended college. And as the Orphan-house has now ceased, and it must give as generous minds a real pleasure to know with what disinterested views that institution has been carried on, we have obtained an authentic copy of the last and final audit of the whole receipts and disbursements on that account, with which we present our readers.

GENERAL ACCOUNT OF MONIES expended and received for the USE of the ORPHAN HOUSE in Georgia, from January 7, 1738-9, to February 9, 1765.

DEBTOR.

1746	April 16.	To sundries expended as per audit this day	...	...	£5511	17	9
1752	Feb. 25	To do.	do.	...	2026	13	7
1755	Feb. 19	To do.	do.	...	1966	18	2
1765	Feb. 9	To do.	do.	...	3349	15	10
					<hr/>		
					£12855	5	4

CREDITOR.

1746	April 16	By sundry receipts per audit	...	...	£4982	12	8
1752	Feb. 25	By do.	do.	...	1286	8	7
1755	Feb. 29	By do.	do.	...	1389	2	3
1765	Feb. 9	By do.	do.	...	3132	16	0
					<hr/>		
					10790	19	6

By the Rev. Mr. Whitefield's benefactions being the sums expended more than received, as appears from the several audits now carefully examined, viz.

Fol. 65	£1169	10	1
Fol. 81	400	5	4
Fol. 98	494	10	4

2064 5 9

£12855 5 3

These figures agree with those given by Tyerman, in his *Life of George Whitefield*, ii, 481-2.

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ONE OF WESLEY'S SCIENCE NOTE BOOKS.

Nehemiah Curnock, in his admirable edition of Wesley's *Journal*, has described some of the early note-books of John Wesley. Some of these were used for his Diaries, written for the most part in short-hand, giving an account of every hour of the day. In some of these are found extracts from the books he was reading and summaries of them. Facsimiles of some of the pages are given in the *Journal*, showing the neatness and terseness of the "Methodist." As with the Brontë children 100 years later this child of a country parsonage had the instinct for economy even in his use of paper. Not an inch of space was wasted. One of his grandfather's note-books was used for a rich variety of material "collected" from many sources. The art of "collecting" is that of picking out the gist of one's reading and writing it down. Wesley was ever a student but he never read so widely or intensely as in those years at Oxford, between 1720 and 1735. This is specially true of the years after he was ordained (1725) and made a Fellow of Lincoln College (1726) His main study was in the Classics, but as Greek Lecturer he taught Divinity rather than Greek and presided at the "Disputations" held every day except Sunday. After he took his Master's degree (Feb. 14, 1727) he followed the plan of giving up Mondays and Tuesdays to the Classics, Wednesdays to logic and ethics, Thursdays to Hebrew and Arabic, Fridays to Metaphysics and natural philosophy, Saturdays to oratory and poetry, Sundays to divinity. Leisure intervals were given to French and modern literature. This programme shows not only indefatigable industry but also a very wide range of interest.

All his life Wesley kept up an interest in science or natural philosophy as it was then called; it was natural that so inquisitive a mind should not only be keenly interested in such great discoveries as that of electricity but alive to the practical application of all new knowledge to the betterment of mankind. This love of science dates back to his days at the University, though he would find little encouragement in such a study in the University itself. The seventeenth century had been the period when the foundations of modern science were well and truly laid. This has been admirably

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brought out by Mr. G. N. Clark in his new book on the 17th century. England has made a very valuable contribution to the progress of science and there are few names of the pioneers in that department greater than that of Sir Isaac Newton. Wesley and Newton are the two greatest men that Lincolnshire has produced, and Wesley had a high esteem for Newton and studied the *Principia* in the original Latin version with the greatest care. The *Principia* which appeared in 1687 is one of the world's epoch-making books for there are made clear the Laws of Motion and the Law of Gravity as the principles that have governed the study of mathematics from that day down to Einstein.

The study of the first principles of matter and motion led Wesley on to other books of a similar kind such as Drake and Le Clerc's Physics and Dr. Halley on Magnetism and Gravity. One of his note-books is amongst the treasures of City Road. It is a bound unlined book of 68 pages of a size 6 x 3 $\frac{3}{4}$. 41 pages are given up to a compendium of Bartholin's Physics. On the inside of the cover is the book plate of Blayney Baldwin, A.M. with the Latin mottoes *nunquam non paratus* (never unprepared) and *per deum meum transilio murum* (by my God I will leap over a wall). Two nude boys support a banner with a shield on which are two saltires side by side surmounted by a casque. On the fly leaf is written "John Wesley 1727." Here is perhaps a little more economy. Some empty note-book of a fellow student may have come into Wesley's possession and was promptly made use of; or possibly the book plate was added later by some previous owner of the "treasure." The notes are in Wesley's well known handwriting, with all his characteristic regularity and neatness. They are in longhand and summarise the fourteen chapters of the book. The subject matter is not of great interest to a present day student of science but begins with a definition Physics as "that part of Philosophy which shows the causes of those effects and changes which naturally happen in all bodies." It goes on to the laws of motion, the properties of matter, solids, fluids and rare bodies, cold and heat. Gravity and magnetic force are followed by the elements, which are not the chemical elements but those of the Cartesians, viz. fire, ether and the grosser bodies. Chapter 11 deals with the heavenly bodies. Chapter 12 with the "air and meteors," chapter 13 with "the terraqueous globe" and chapter 14 (which is far the longest) with "functions of an animated body". The whole ends in a declaration of the fact that a cause exists for every effect that we observe, although for the time being we may not be able to discover it. The Bartholins were a remarkable Danish family of

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whom the founder was Gaspard Bartholin (1585-1630) who was born at Malmo in South Sweden, roamed through the Universities of Europe, and settled at Copenhagen where he taught science and medicine, being rector of the University in 1618. He was one of those paragons of scholarship who appeared in great numbers at that time. In his later years he entered the Church and showed the same devotion to theology that he had given to science. He wrote a handbook of physics in 1665 but it was not this book that Wesley read. He had six sons all of whom were distinguished. The best known was Thomas Bartholin (1619-1680) who also knew most European scholars of any standing. He too was a professor at Copenhagen and specialised in Anatomy. His son Gaspard Bartholin (1650-1705) followed in his father's footsteps and was physician to the King of Denmark as well as Professor of Copenhagen University. He published in May 1688, a 22 page pamphlet on Physics, which contains 11 short chapters. It was in Latin as most scientific books were then. The full title is :—

Caspari Bartholini Thom. F. Summa
Philosophiae Naturalis
Ad recentiorem mentem accomodata
Quam
Deo. Opt. Max Favente
In Regia Academia Hafniensi
Publica Disputatione defendent
Lectissimi et Præstantissimi
Laurea Primæ Philosophicæ
Candidati
Die XXX Maji Anno MDCLXXXVIII
Loco Horisque ante meridiem solitis
Hafniæ
Literis Joh. Phil. Bockenhoffer
Reg. et Acad Typog.

There are several things in Wesley's summary that are not in this first edition. The chapters are re-arranged and three more are added, and the most interesting addition concerns the law of gravity that Newton had just set forth in the *Principia* in 1687. Here is a pretty problem for the experts to settle. What edition of Bartholin's Physics did Wesley use? Was it some later Latin edition or an English translation that added details from Newton? Neither the British Museum nor the London Library can help us.

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The B.M. has the first Latin edition but no other, while the London Library (though possessing some works of Bartholin) has no copy of his *Physics* at all.

Wesley maintained his interest in science throughout his life.

He published in 1763 a two volume *Compendium of Natural Philosophy*, which grew to five volumes in the third edition of 1777. F. W. Collier has written an interesting book on the whole subject entitled *John Wesley among the Scientists*.

A. W. HARRISON.

The Rev. G. H. McNeal has kindly permitted this article to be reprinted from the first number of his new *City Road Magazine*.

METHODISM IN TASMANIA

We have received from Rev. A. T. Holden, B.A., the General Superintendent of the Victoria Home Missions of the Methodist Church of Australasia an interesting little leaflet entitled:—

HISTORIC NOTES CONCERNING WESLEY CHURCH, MELVILLE STREET, HOBART, TASMANIA.

From this we extract the following:—

In April, 1820, the Rev. Benjamin Carvosso preached the first open-air sermon for Methodism in Van Diemen's Land as Tasmania was then called, and from the Court House steps in Murray Street, near Macquarie Street, a reverent congregation listened to his earnest exhortation from the text "Awake thou that sleepest, and arise from the dead and Christ shall give thee light."

On October 29th, 1820, Benjamin Nokes, called the first Methodist meeting, at a house in Collins Street opposite "The Imperial," and from that date onward our records are continuous. The young church made steady progress, and feeling the need for enlarged quarters to replace the room which was rented as a chapel, a trust was formed and the foundation stone of a new chapel was laid in 1822. This was the building known for many years as the Mechanics' Institute, now Wesley Hall adjoining the present church, but owing to

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lack of funds, and the vicissitudes of the young colony it was not opened for public service till February 12, 1826, when the Rev. Benjamin Carvosso, who had been transferred to Hobart from Sydney, conducted the inaugural services. Wesley Hall for many years has been used for the Sunday School and is probably the oldest Methodist building in the Commonwealth.

The vigorous growth of Methodism in Hobart called for a still larger building, and the foundation stone of the present handsome edifice, modelled on the lines of Wesley's City Road Chapel, London, was laid in 1837 by Sir John Franklin, then Governor of Tasmania, and afterwards to earn undying fame as an Arctic Explorer. The building was completed and opened for Divine Service in 1840.

In the vestry of Melville Street Methodist Church is displayed a valuable collection of historic relics and mementoes connected with the church and Wesleyan Methodism generally.

This collection includes an autograph letter of the founder of Wesleyan Methodism written from Cork to Mr. Jasper Winscom, of Manchester, on May 9, 1785. It is in a wonderfully good state of preservation, and the handwriting is remarkably clear and firm for a man of so great an age.

The letter gives instructions to Jasper Winscom how to act in case of instigated riotous disorders, in opposition to the Methodists within the city of Manchester. There is a skilfully executed original steel engraving, depicting a Wesleyan Methodist Conference held in Wesley's Church, City Road, London, with the noted divine addressing 446 of his brethren in the ministry from the pulpit, and his brother, the Rev. Chas. Wesley, the poet-preacher, seated behind him. The profiles of all in the gathering are very clear and distinct, and many of them can be easily identified from other portraits which have been published. There is also a key to the names in a separate frame. An engraving shows Wesley Chapel, City Road, London as it originally stood, and as it is in existence to-day with some additions.

The collection contains also many items which will serve to remind these far away Methodists of the great figures of the Methodist revival in the old country. Portraits of John and Charles Wesley and their noted mother are there, with those of Dr. Coke, Dr. Adam Clarke, Rev. Joseph Benson, Rev. Richard Watson and Rev. John Fletcher.

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The original silver communion service and pair of silver candlesticks sent out from England as a present to the Church in Melville Street, in the early days have been preserved, together with a large number of items of great local interest

F.F.B.

For Methodist origins in Tasmania, see the third volume of the "History of the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society"

The Wesley letter above referred to is announced to appear in the forthcoming new edition of Wesley's Letters. Several other letters to Winscom are printed in the works.

NOTES ON THE LIST OF WESLEY LETTERS.

It is good to hear that the long-promised "Standard Edition" of John Wesley's letters is approaching completion; but in the meantime, most of us have to be content with the letters published in the *Works* and in Dr. Eayrs's skilful selection. Unless, that is, we are fortunate enough to possess a complete set of the W.H.S. *Proceedings*, in which case we have at hand quite a representative collection. There were 185 Wesley letters printed in the first sixteen volumes,—many of them for the first time. It was with a view to making them more accessible that I drew up the chronological *List* published, after the Skeleton Index, as a supplement to this issue.

Whilst engaged in compiling the list, I was impressed by the following points.

(1). The *need* of some such record soon became obvious. Apart from the fact that recourse to sixteen separate indexes is enough to daunt many of us, no fewer than seven of the letters have been unwittingly duplicated,—and sometimes a letter has been published as a remarkable "find," years after its appearance in the same series!

(2). Wesley's correspondence, as well as his spiritual life, was governed by "method." Practically every letter bears its place and date of origin, carefully noted by Wesley himself; Charles was not half so particular in dating his letters. Some were written in Wales, some in Scotland, some in Ireland, some in Germany; but 74 out of the 185 came from London. Wesley seems sometimes to have saved up correspondence that was not specially pressing until he reached his City Road headquarters,

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there to have an epistolary "big push." No one period of the year can, however, be singled out for exceptional activity. He wrote as many letters in summer as in winter, and surely never gave it out that "no correspondence would be forwarded." Sometimes the address is "Near Leeds," or "Near Dublin," and perhaps this means that the letters were written in the coach, or at a wayside inn. He was ever "redeeming the time."

(3). Nearly a third of these letters were written to ladies,—a large proportion, considering how many of the others consisted of advice to itinerating assistants. In them there is much directness, but little formality. Most of these feminine correspondents are addressed by their Christian names, and the contents are often strikingly sympathetic and helpful. Like many a less eminent man, Wesley was happier in his dealings with womenfolk through the post than in some of his personal contacts.

(4). The later years are by far the most strongly represented. Take a cross-section. There are no letters for 1729 preserved here, six for 1739 (and little wonder), none for 1749, one for 1759, and only three for 1769; but eight for 1779, and sixteen for 1789. The reasons are not far to seek. As Wesley's responsibilities grew, his correspondence must have increased; while the more his fame and worth were recognised, the more eagerly would letters from him be treasured by the recipients.

(5). The subject-matter of the letters is of the widest scope. Theology, church polity, literature, education, politics, industry, family affairs, and life generally,—all are touched upon by the greatest figure in eighteenth-century England. And, brief as many of the notes are, they are rarely unworthy of "the Golden Age of Letter-Writing."

LESLIE T. DAW.

EARLY METHODISM IN MALDON, ESSEX.

Maldon is a small Essex town situated at the head of the Estuary of the River Blackwater. In the middle of the 18th century its chief business was done at the river side. Coasting vessels brought coal from the Northern ports and returned with cargoes of grain. Among the sailors of these vessels were Methodists who took their message wherever they went. Very soon a small society was formed in a cottage situated probably

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near the quay. The earliest details are lost, but in 1753 the vigorous society sought a more convenient preaching house. They established themselves in an old building popularly known as The Cats' Castle. The curious name was due to the whim of an old lady who formerly occupied the house. She set her heart upon keeping a retinue of twenty-one cats, but tradition reports, she was always short of one of the desired number. An old record describes the building as roughly built with Roman bricks, lancet-windows fitted with leaded lights. The front-door was of Gothic style and hung from hinges set in stone. Tradition credited the old house with Roman origins—but whatever its past it served as a cradle for Methodism in Maldon. It was soon crowded with eager worshippers and witnessed many conversions.

The only names which survive from these early days are Mr. Sach—his wife Mary and their daughter Elizabeth, James Francis, William Levett, James and Esther Cass, Mary Denny, Aunt to Mary Sach, and her employer and kinsman Mr. Davis. Of all these the chief personality was Mary Denny. A note in the *Wesleyan Magazine* for 1843, p. 1053, throws a little light upon this family. An obituary of Mary Sach describes Mary Denny “as a woman possessed of much general information on religious subjects and of true piety. She was chiefly indebted to her Aunt Mary Denny, one of the first Methodists and who introduced Methodism into Maldon. She frequently received Mr. Wesley and preachers into her house, and died happy in the Lord at an advanced age.”

The young society was not spared persecution but it continued to grow. By 1756 the Cats' Castle was too small and Mr. Davis built a preaching house next to his own residence on the site now occupied by 118-120, High Street. The foundation stone was laid in 1757 and the chapel was opened early in 1758. John Wesley preached either at the opening services or very soon afterwards. The *Journal* entry for February 20, 1758, is:—“I rode to Maldon through much rain. Their new preaching house is large but it would in no wise contain the congregation which came together in the evening. For a time there was much persecution here but all is now calm and quiet, and probably good will be done if those who now run well do not draw back into perdition. February 21st. We had a large congregation at 5 o'clock in the morning and more than we had room for in the evening, fair blossoms, but which of these will bring forth fruit. O Lord, Thou knowest.” On this visit Wesley preached from Isaiah 55⁷ Mark 1¹⁵ Jeremiah 8 Romans 12¹. Another note in

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the *Journal* refers to a later visit in the same year. "Wednesday October 25, 1758. Went partly by coach and partly on horseback to Maldon." Wesley stayed until the Friday and preached from John 13^s St. Matt. 11²⁸ St. Mark 4^s Romans 3²². Mary Denny appears to have owned the chapel jointly with Mr. Davis. She passed to her reward about 1780.

John Wesley's forebodings began to be realised about 1765. At that time Maldon was disturbed by the Unitarian views of the Rev. Lawrence Holden, the minister of the Congregationalists. Members of Mr. Holden's congregation who rejected his doctrines obtained from Mr. Davis permission to use the Methodist chapel on Sunday afternoons. Unfortunately Mr. Davis shortly afterwards adopted Mr. Holden's Unitarian doctrines. At the same time disputes arose between the parties who used the chapel and with Mr. Davis, which led to the chapel being closed. John Wesley sent Mr. Mitchell to restore but his efforts were fruitless. The chapel was never again used for religious purposes. It was used as a factory until 1875 when it was demolished and two villas were built upon the site.

These troubles almost wrecked the Methodist society but the end was not yet accomplished. Mrs. Mary Sach, the niece of Mary Denny, opened her house for preaching. The house was standing until, a few years ago, the site was cleared to make room for the Police Station. Mrs. Sach was joined by James and Esther Cass, their daughter Elizabeth and William Levett and his wife. These last also opened their house, now 74, High Street, for preaching.

At this time William Boothby was the preacher stationed at Colchester. He was among the most courageous and successful of Wesley's preachers (see *Journal*, Vol. 6, p. 311). The stricken condition of the Maldon Society aroused his sympathy and he determined to help them. One Sunday morning he walked to Maldon, having rallied a few Methodist friends he began to preach at St. Peter's corner. The Anglican Clergyman mustered a mob and urged them to drown the preacher in the river. As the mob pressed William Boothby down the street, William Levett, a sturdy brother, opened his door and pushed the preacher into shelter. There the mob was content to leave him, after they had smashed every window. Late that night Mr. Boothby was disguised in a labourer's smock and escorted to the Colchester Road. Tradition reports that the clergyman who incited the mob was smitten with paralysis shortly afterwards and never preached again.

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Nothing daunted by persecution, Mr. Boothby with Messrs. Algar, Cooper and Shaw, paid frequent visits to Maldon. They preached in the open-air until the bitter winter of 1784-5 compelled them to find a preaching house. Mary Sach provided for their need. The licence she obtained to legalise the services is preserved at Maldon. It reads:—These are to certify whom it may concern that as certificates bearing date the third day of February one thousand seven hundred and eighty five under the hands of William Boothby, Minister, William Levett, James Cass, James Francis and others for appropriating a certain Messuage or dwelling house of Mary Sach, situate in the parish of All Saints Maldon, in the County of Essex, and Diocese of London as a place of Religious Worship of Almighty God for Protestant Dissenters from the Church of England, commonly called Independents was Registered in the Registry of the Lord Bishop of London on the ninth day of February 1785.

MARK DALMAN,
Deputy Registrar.

For some time the Methodists were not molested but at last a plot to wreck their home was prepared by some Magistrates and their supporters. The storm broke on a Sunday morning. Directed by the conspirators the mob rushed into the house, poured beer over the worshippers and smashed the windows and furniture.

The supposed ringleaders were summoned before the magistrates and were dismissed. Mary Sach, knowing that the magistrates were involved, appealed to the King's Bench. Her application was successful and the guilty Justices were dismissed from the Bench. Indirectly her success served her persecutors. The heavy expense of the appeal obliged Mrs. Sach to sell her property in Maldon and to retire to Leigh-on-Sea.

After the removal of Mary Sach the Society in Maldon ceased to meet and for several years Methodism was extinguished. When in 1816 a new beginning was made under the leadership of Isaac King, the few survivors of the first Society rallied to his support. In the meantime Elizabeth, daughter of Mary Sach, married James Ferguson, who later became a useful local preacher. Their daughter Jane married Samuel Stratford, the grandson James and Esther Cass. For over a century the descendants of these early Methodists served the Society their ancestors had sacrificed so much to begin.

B. R. K. PAINTIN.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

703. WESLEY LETTERS RECORDED. The following letters have been offered at public auction during the past few months.

London, 30 Oct. 1761, to Mr. Lowes, Newcastle-upon-Tyne.

So far as I can tell this has not been published. The advertiser gives the name as Lewis, but this evidently must be Matthew Lowes, to whom Wesley addressed a letter at the Orphan House, 8 Sep. 1761 (*Proc.* ii, 125). Other letters to Lowes, have been published namely:

11 March, 1762	Tyerman's J.W., iii, 5
25 January 1762	<i>Proc.</i> xi, 17
2 March, 1770	Tyerman's J.W., iii, 70
13 Oct. 1770	" " " 78, <i>Proc.</i> ix, 180
10 Nov. 1771	" " " 71

Broad Marston, 16 March, 1770.

This is published in *Works* xii, 493. It was written to Mrs. Marston, of Worcester.

London, 26 January, 1787, to Mr. Will Canne, in Penzance, Cornwall, concerning the building of a preacher's house.

Near London, 12 Oct. 1780, to Miss Colbeck, in Keighley, Yorkshire.

Wesley congratulates the Circuit on having "one of the most amiable Couples in our Connexion, I mean Mr. Bradburn and his wife."

Leeds, 8 August, 1772.

Evidently written to a preacher stationed or about to be stationed in Liverpool, for Wesley says, A Blessing will always attend Preaching Abroad. In Liverpool Circuit practice it as much as possible.

Near Iniskillen, 23 May, 1773, to Miss Ball, High Wycombe.

This letter was published in *Works*, xii, 457.

London, 30 July, 1785, to My dear Sally.

Bristol, 1 Sep. 1790, to Jonathan Edmondson, At the Preaching House, in Bradforth, Yorkshire.

You are now called to learn, one of the most difficult lessons; to say from the heart "Not as I will, but as Thou wilt." Many years ago when I read in the Second Lesson for the day these words, "Son of Man, I take from thee the desire of thine eyes with a stroke. . . ."

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Amongst these letters was offered the important one written to the Rev. James Creighton, 24 May, 1773, dealing with the principles of the Methodists. Particulars relating to this letter may be found in the *Journal* at the date mentioned.

F.F.B.

704. WESLEY AND THE "PIKES" OF ROBERTSBRIDGE. I am now able to settle the question of the burial place of Mr. and Mrs. George Pike, and also the reason why no reference was made to children in Mr. Pike's Will. (See *Proceedings* xv, 131). I have recently discovered in Ewhurst churchyard (the adjoining parish to Salehurst) a monument erected to their memory inscribed :—

"Mr. George Pike (late of Robertsbridge) who died 4 July 1792 aged 62 years. Also Mrs. Mary Pike his wife who died 11 April 1803 aged 73 years. Also Mary and Dean Pike children of the above mentioned George and Mary Pike. Dean died March 13 1769 aged 1 year and 10 months. Mary died March 25 1769 aged 5 years and 9 months.

EDMUND AUSTEN.

705. WESLEY LETTERS TO FURLEY, additional notes. There should be added to the list on page 175 above, the letter written from London, February 5, 1775, printed in *Proceedings* xvi, 22.

The letter which was written January 25, 1762 was first printed in the *Magazine* 186, p. 985.

Amongst the papers in my care I find an article by the late Prof. C. A. Federer, who often contributed to our pages. It bears a pencil endorsement in the handwriting of the late Rev. H. J. Foster, "Keep for *Proceedings*."

The article, which has been "kept" since 1906, is entitled "On some Letters attributed to John Wesley."

Prof. Federer quotes the following memorandum appended to the letter in question by the Editor of the *Magazine*. "On the third page of the sheet is added what appears to have been portions of a reply to another letter received from Mr. Furley before Mr. Wesley had dispatched the foregoing."

But the Professor felt sure, after careful consideration of the contents of this supposed additional letter written by Mr. Wesley *in tergo* of the first, that it is not a letter by Mr. Wesley at all, but the draft of Mr. Furley's reply. This

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contention the Professor, in my opinion, adequately established. He concludes by saying: "Of course, an expert's examination of the handwriting of the two portions of the original letter would finally settle the matter. But, query, where is the original?"

This question asked so long ago, I am now in a position to answer.

The original came into the possession of our Vice-President, Mr. E. S. Lamplough, a few months ago.

He has examined this letter in conjunction with the Rev. John Telford, and is definitely of opinion that the additional matter is not by Wesley, thus agreeing with Prof. Federer as against the Editor of the *Magazine*. I have had the privilege of examining the letter myself, and have no hesitation on the point at all. F.F.B.

706. WESLEY'S CHAIR AT WINCHELSEA. We note with interest that the Chair used by Wesley on the occasion of his last out-door sermon, which was delivered at Winchelsea, has now been acquired by our Vice-President, Mr. E. S. Lamplough, and by him presented to the "New Room" at Bristol. The Chair is mentioned along with many other interesting particulars relating to this historic occasion by Mr. Edmund Austen in *Proceedings XVI*, 107-108.

We propose to publish in our next a list of the illustrations which have appeared in the first sixteen volumes of the *Proceedings*

Mr. Arthur Wallington prepared this a little time ago and Mr. Leslie T. Daw has completed it to correspond with the period covered by his skeleton index.

ERRATA.

We regret to note that two important dates went astray in our last issue.

On p. 184 of Vol. XVII, line 14 from bottom read 1791 for 1891
" 185 " " " 5 " " " 1782 for 1792

ORIGINAL LETTER OF DR. ADAM CLARKE.

By the kindness of Mr. Arthur Wallington in making a copy, and of Rev. John Telford in giving permission for its use, we are able to publish the following.

Readers of Dr. Parkes Cadman's book on *The Three Religious Leaders of Oxford* will remember that he quotes from it, and they, with our members generally, will be glad to see a complete copy. Other extracts appeared in the *Magazine* for 1829. The letter was written to Mr. Humphrey Sandwith, and it seems well to quote the letter written by the latter when he submitted it to the Editor of the *Magazine*.

My dear Sir,

In the essay on "*Methodism and its Relations to the Church and the Nation*," which I published in your excellent *Magazine* in Vol. VIII N.S. (1829) I have furnished your Readers at pages 669, 672, 737, 738 with several Extracts from a valuable M.S. letter of the late Dr. Clarke. As one of Mr. Wesley's contemporaries, and therefore able from personal observation to speak to many important points in the remote history of our Societies, I addressed to him a few emphatic enquiries on the subject of our partial dissent, or rather, on the independent attitude which Wesleyan Methodism gradually assumed from the pressure of events and the leadings of Providence. I made but a limited use of his Answers at the time for obvious reasons. The public ought now however, I think, to be put into possession of the whole Letter, from its intrinsic value, and the light which it reflects on the important questions discussed in my former essay.

I remain, Dear Sir,

Yours faithfully and affectionately,

Bridlington, Oct. 1, 1832.

HUMPHREY SANDWITH.

Pinner, Middlesex, June 16, 1829.

Dear Sir,

I have not been able, ever since I came to this place, to recover the arrangement of my scarce papers and select Letters; nor can I tell in what places in my Library or