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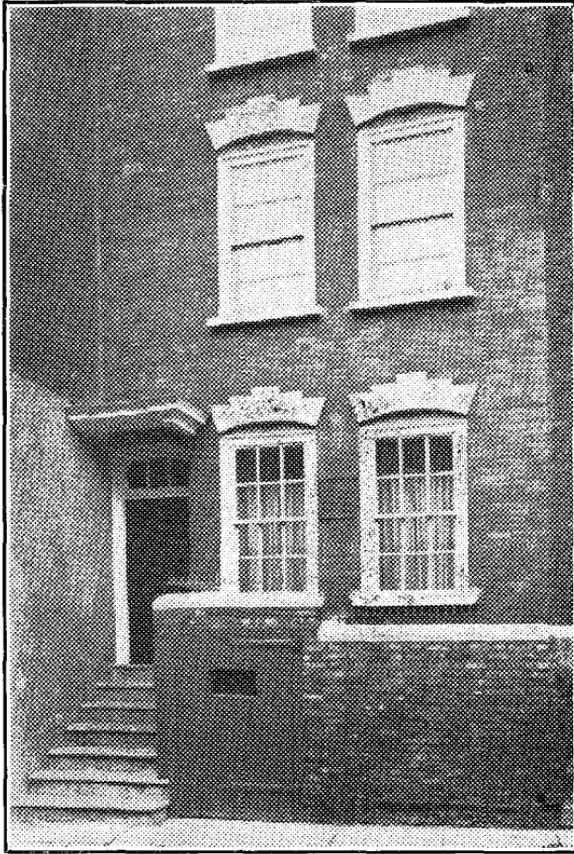
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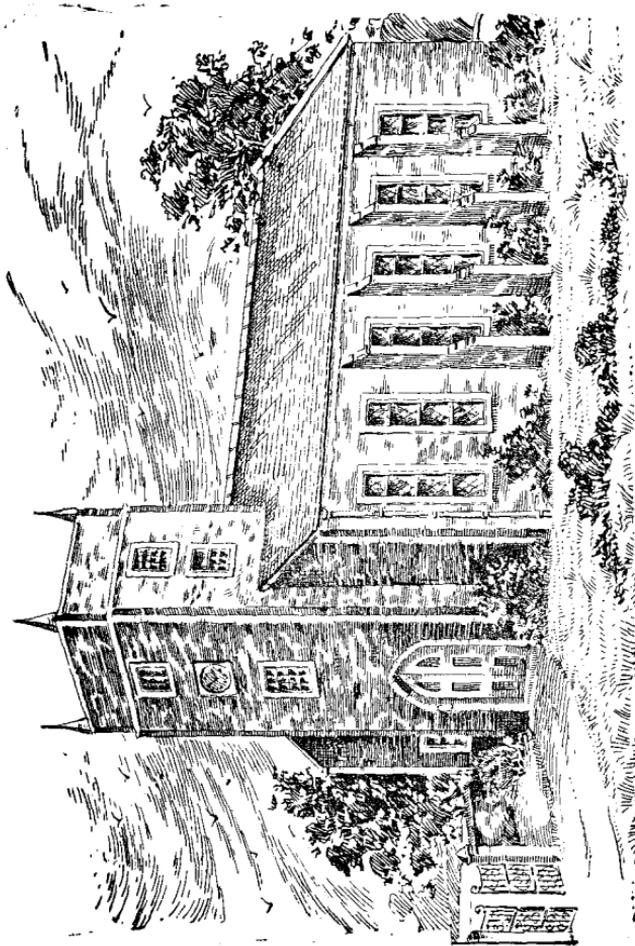
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CHARLES WESLEY'S HOUSE AT BRISTOL.
(By courtesy of the "Methodist Recorder.")



HOGARTH'S CHURCH, WHITEHAVEN.
(Block kindly lent by Messrs. W. H. Moss & Sons.)

CHARLES WESLEY'S HOUSE IN BRISTOL.

The house in which Charles Wesley lived in Bristol from 1749 to 1771, after he had ceased regularly to itinerate and had taken pastoral oversight of the "Societies" there, has been identified as No. 4, Charles Street, Stokes Croft.

It is true that no contemporaneous documentary evidence of this has been discovered. The record of title in the deeds, which have been carefully investigated by Mr. Guy Heal, the solicitor to the Trust, contains no mention of the name Wesley. Charles Wesley was occupier and not owner. He entered upon his tenancy on May 27, 1749, at a rental of £11 a year. The income of £100 a year which he was ultimately able to guarantee from the profits of the sale of his own and John Wesley's publications left no margin for the capital expenditure needed for the purchase of a house. The evidence of identity rests mainly on persistent local tradition. And in a place like Bristol the value of early and continuous Methodist tradition is unusually strong. Years before there was hope of the house being acquired for Methodism, the strength of public opinion on this question warranted and provided for a tablet being placed on the house indicating it as the home of Charles Wesley. Before this step was taken the two most competent authorities on the history of Bristol Methodism, the Revs. Dr. J. S. Simon and Henry J. Foster, had quite satisfied themselves by careful investigations that this was the house.

Another point needs reference. During the period of Charles Wesley's tenancy, the neighbourhood of Charles Street, in startling contrast to its present condition, was a highly desirable residential district. Within a short distance of this street is the house in Penn Street which is reputed to have been at that time the residence of the Mayor of the city. And in style and size the appearance of Charles Wesley's house bears a general resemblance to that of the Mayor's. The house is single-fronted, with three stories and a basement; it is built with fine quality of brick, with stone dressings above door and windows. The windows are two on each of the principal landings of a staircase with 44 steps, and two good attic rooms, one of which is reputed to have been

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Wesley's study in which many of his hymns were written. At the back of the house was a small garden with fruit trees which has now been made into a pavement garden with a slightly raised terrace.

The house, when Wesley took possession of it in September 1749, would be considered an attractive family residence for a townsman of good standing. At the same time it was for his young wife, Sarah Gwynne, a very different domestic setting from that which she had left in her father's house at Garth, where "Squire" Gwynne lived in patriarchal state, the head of a family of nine sons and daughters, in a great rambling house, with twenty servants and a private chaplain. Yet in April of that year she courageously and with joy consented to be wedded to a Methodist preacher, "promising not to interfere with the missionary journeys of her husband, or with his vegetarian diet." In spite of the disparity of age "the small, pleasant-looking girl of twenty, with a beautiful voice," proved an admirable helpmeet to the husband, twice her age, who never varied in his devotion to her. In her Bristol home the wealthy squire's daughter accustomed herself without a murmur to the cares of a growing family and a very small income.

Of this home Charles Wesley writes in his *Journal*: Friday, Sept. 1st. 1749. "I saw my house and consecrated it by prayer and thanksgiving. I spent an hour in the preaching-room in intercession."

Saturday, Sept. 2nd. "We had family prayer at 8. I began the New Testament. I passed the hour of retirement in my garden and was melted into tears by the divine goodness."

Sunday, Sept. 3rd. "Sally accompanied me to our feast in Kingswood."

Monday, Sept. 4th. I rose with my partner at four. Both under the Word and among the select Band we were constrained to cry after Jesus with mighty prayers and tears. We sang this hymn in my family:—

Me and mine I fain would give
A sacrifice to Thee ;
By the ancient model live,
The true simplicity.
Walk as in my Maker's sight,
Free from worldly guile and care,
Praise, my innocent delight,
And all my business prayer.

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Whom to me Thy goodness lends,
Till life's last gasp is o'er,
Servants, relatives and friends
I promise to restore.
All shall on Thy side appear,
All shall in Thy service join,
Principled with godly fear,
And worshippers divine.

In this house, where Charles Wesley lived for twenty-two years, with only occasional absences in London to supply his brother's place, there came to him and his wife the gift of fatherhood and motherhood. Their eight children were born here. Five of these died in this house in early life. They are buried in the churchyard in the neighbouring parish Church of St. James. The grave was marked in 1927 by a restored headstone, erected by public subscription, in that portion of the churchyard which is now a public park. John, their firstborn, died of smallpox at a time when his mother lay nigh unto death, stricken with the same malignant disease. A gracious light falls at this testing time in their home life upon the friendship with them of Lady Huntingdon. "Regardless of the risk of infection or of the loathsomeness of the disease, she went twice a day to Charles Street to nurse her friend." The disease robbed Mrs. Wesley not only of her child, but of her beauty. She was so much changed that the disparity in age between her and her husband was little noticed in later years.

Glimpses are given in Charles Wesley's *Journal* of his home life. It was a music-loving household. Mrs. Wesley's harpsichord found a place in the room where a beautiful French clock¹ her mother's wedding present, recorded hours of delight which she spent with her instrument. Her children grew up to love it also. When her son Charles was two years and three-quarters old, "he surprised his father by playing a tune on the harpsichord readily and in just time. Soon after he played several, whatever his mother sang or whatever he heard in the streets. From his birth she used to quiet and amuse him with the harpsichord, but he would not suffer her to play with one hand only, taking the other and putting it to the keys before he could speak. When he played himself, she used to tie him up with his backstring to the chair for fear of his falling. Whatever tune it was he always put a true bass to it." His mother possessed a voice of delightful

1. This clock is now in the New Room.

quality and excelled in rendering Handel's oratorio songs. Charles Wesley himself had a passion for the masters of English Church music.

The home was hospitable. The worst thing that has been said of Mrs. Wesley is that she was inclined to be hospitable beyond her means. It often fell to her lot to entertain the travelling preachers in her home in Charles Street. The references she made to them cast an interesting side light on their relations socially with their leader, whose ecclesiastical preferences they did not always share. Mrs. Wesley never fails to speak of them with admiration, as humble, single-hearted men with that good breeding which springs from the heart. Even towards the end of her long life, she would speak of them with considerable emotion and often remarked that she never met with persons better behaved or more agreeable in their spirit and manners.

Mrs. Wesley's young sisters were often found sharing the intimacies of the Bristol home, and one of Charles Wesley's letters bears a message to one of them that reveals the playful moods which mingled with the more serious interests of the home life, "Beck must recover her music most positively or not look me in the face. It lies with you to drag her to the harpsichord and tie her down in her chair." Another human touch is given in a letter written to his wife from London "If you cannot keep Sally from eating poison, I must grub up all the trees in the garden or take another house without one. Give my love to Charles. I know not what to say to Sally unless she has quite given up eating raw fruit."

John Wesley's high but laconic tribute to his brother Charles, "his least praise was his talent for poetry" will not disturb the intense and almost devout regard in which the great hymn writer of Methodism is held throughout the world. Pilgrims to his Bristol home will probably cherish most its associations with his immortal hymns.

It is true that the high water mark of his genius for hymn writing was reached in the ten years preceding his settlement in his Bristol house. But in his own home the majority of his 6,000 hymns were written. And when it is borne in mind that in addition to the hymns he composed and published he left in manuscript five quarto volumes of hymns on the *Four Gospels* and the *Acts*, which his brother and himself had revised with great care, the constancy with which he must have devoted himself to literary work in the Charles Street house will be readily realised. He also left several other volumes of miscellaneous poetry, all

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distinguished by his characteristic elegance and strength, and especially by a spirit of fervent piety. He frequently composed his hymns as he rode about the country on horseback or as he walked in the secluded paths of Redland close to his home, or on the rather more distant downs that give the Avon gorge an unrivalled repose and beauty. His custom was to jot them down in shorthand and write them out at leisure on his return to his home. It was thus that there issued from his study at Charles Street an increasing stream of the rich and varied rhythmical expression of evangelical experience during the Methodist Revival which justifies the well-known appreciation of J. R. Green, "His hymns expressed the fiery convictions of the converts in lines so chaste and beautiful that its more extravagant features disappeared . . . and a new musical impulse was aroused in the people which gradually changed the face of public devotion throughout England."

Through the generous benefactions of Mr. Edmund S. Lamplough, of London, Charles Wesley's house was purchased, restored with pious care under the direction of Sir George Oatley, of Bristol, and presented to the Wesleyan Methodist Conference. It is settled for Connexional uses under the same Board of Trustees which now administers the estate of John Wesley's "New Room in the Horsefair," where Charles Wesley regularly preached and had pastoral care of the early Methodist Societies in Bristol. The restoration has been carried through under the personal superintendence of Mr. Edwin F. Jones, the steward of the "New Room." Nothing that could be preserved of the early eighteenth century building has been disturbed. The fact that the carpenters inserted no less than 274 pieces rather than replace the original woodwork of the rooms with new material indicates the meticulous care with which the wishes of the donor and architect have been observed. The panelling of the hall and front room has been preserved as typical of the period and several of the original grates have been retained. At the same time the best sanitary conditions of a modern house have been secured and electric lighting installed.

The house is now used as a residential settlement for two deaconesses working in connection with the Bristol Central Hall Mission. Their rooms and those occupied by the caretaker and his wife, have been completed with fittings and furniture specially designed in oak, in the characteristic style of the period when Charles Wesley and his wife made the house their home.

A Dedicatory Service was held in the restored house on

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Monday, February 15, 1932. The Order of Service was arranged and conducted by the Rev. Dr. T. Ferrier Hulme, the Chairman of the District and of the Board of Trustees. The Deeds of the house were formally handed over to the trustees by Mr. E. S. Lamplough, the donor. Sir George Oatley, the architect, presented a key to the Lady Mayoress of Bristol, the Hon. Mrs. Inskip, who unlocked the front door. Prayer was offered by the Rev. John Telford, B.A., one of Charles Wesley's biographers and an editor of his *Journal*. The company sang together Charles Wesley's two hymns written in the house in 1762, "When quiet in my house I sit," and "A charge to keep I have." Addresses were given by The Lord Bishop of Bristol (Dr. Nickson), The Lord Mayor of Bristol (Mr. J. H. Inskip), and the Rev. F. L. Wiseman, B.A.

The Lord Mayor was accompanied by The Sheriff of Bristol and Mrs. E. Stanley Gange, Lady Howell Davies, the Revs. J. A. Broadbent, Secretary of the Trust, Dr. Frederic Platt, Warden of the "New Room," G. Beesley Austin, Sir George H. Oatley, LL.D. Mr. Edwin F. Jones, Mr. Guy Heal, and the following members of the Board of Trustees, the Revs. J. Oliver Hornabrook, O.B.E., G. H. McNeal M.A., Sir A. Ernest Bain, K.B.E., LL.D., J. H. Beckly, J. Harold Early, H. C. Rowe, F. E. Sampson, J.P., and F. C. Scott.

The house is open for the inspection of visitors from 2-30 to 4-30 every weekday, except Saturday, and at other times by arrangement.

FREDERIC PLATT.

ROMANCE OF HOGARTH'S CHURCH.

AN INTERESTING CHAPTER OF WHITEHAVEN METHODIST HISTORY.

One of the most interesting buildings in the religious history of Whitehaven, and the one that has passed through most vicissitudes, is that occupied by the Hogarth Mission, carried on to-day under the auspices of the Wesleyan Church.

It was built in 1789 by Mr. James Hogarth,—one of Whitehaven's most worthy citizens of those days, who was noted for his charity and good works. His life-size portrait, in oils, hangs to-day in the vestibule of the Mission, and his body lies entombed in a lead coffin (originally encased in wood, but now decayed) in a vault under the floor of the entrance of the building.

His generosity, coupled with that of Dr. Dixon, led to the opening of the first public dispensary in the town,—the ultimate issue of which is the present noble hospital. In the *Cumberland Pacquet* of June 11, 1788, we read “Good old Dr. Joshua Dixon, the founder of the Dispensary, was awarded a vote of thanks at a meeting of that Institution, and a vote of thanks was also awarded to James Hogarth, Esq., for the gift of a house in Queen Street for the Dispensing. The number of the house is stated to be 107.

James Hogarth seems to have been a very well-to-do citizen, and an owner of considerable property, and with very definite views as to the moral responsibilities of his tenants, for in the *Cumberland Pacquet* of March 26, 1786 we read, “Last week Mr. Hogarth caused public notices to be given to his tenants, 120 in number, that he will suffer none of them to remain on the premises, who do not bring their children up in the habits of industry and virtue.”

During his life-time he was called “The King of the Mount.” In those days Mount Pleasant did not belie its name and was very different from what it is to-day—crowded as it is with poor and miserable dwellings. Reaching upwards behind the mansions of the West Strand,—built by Sir James Lowther and other gentlemen of that day—were hanging gardens ornamenting its slopes. It was on Mount Pleasant that Mr. Hogarth himself lived. He bought the mansion and grounds in 1781 which originally belonged to the Lowthers, before they removed to the Castle. He took a great interest in the Poor, and established a weaving shop for their employment, and opened a Free Charity School for their children. We read again in the *Cumberland Pacquet* of November 11, 1789:—“On Monday, the 2nd inst., James Hogarth Esq. opened his free school on Mount Pleasant, Whitehaven, having previously made a conveyance of freehold property in houses, sufficient to raise a permanent salary for the master, equal to that of any public school in the County, St. Bees excepted. On Sunday last, the master and scholars attended Divine Worship at St. James’, which duty they are constantly to perform every Sunday both morning and evening. They walked in order to and from the church, and made a very becoming appearance.”

Not content with these benevolent schemes, Mr. Hogarth conceived the idea of building a Church on Mount Pleasant to minister to the needs of the people there, chiefly his own tenants. He was a staunch Churchman, and meant it to be an Episcopal

Church, and had arranged for it to be called and consecrated "St. Mary's Church." When finished in the summer of 1789, we read in the *Cumberland Pacquet* under June 17, 1789, "The Right Rev. the Lord Bishop of Chester in his primary visitation will be at Whitehaven on the 14 August, when Mr. Hogarth's new church will be consecrated by the name of Saint Mary's."

Later, under August 19 1789, we read, "The Right Rev. the Bishop of Chester arrived here on Thursday evvening, and it is announced that the consecration of Mr. Hogarth's Church having been postponed for the present, his Lordship left town in the evening."

What transpired between Mr. Hogarth and the Bishop is not recorded, but the Church was never consecrated or used by the Anglicans.¹ It remained unlicensed and unused until 1791. In that year the Methodist Chapel in Michael Street was rendered unsafe by the sinking of the ground through colliery workings, and could no longer be used. Mr. Hogarth, therefore kindly offered his Church on Mount Pleasant for the free use of the Methodists, —if they would get it licensed,—and a dwelling for the minister, whose house had also become unsafe.

The Rev. John Crosby, then Superintendent of the Whitehaven Circuit, preached in it for the first time on Sunday evening March 20, 1791. This caused a scurrilous letter to be received by Mr. Crosby, by some person, shocked at seeing Mr. Hogarth's Church occupied by a Methodist Preacher.²

In the *Cumberland Pacquet* of March 22, 1791, we read "The Society of Methodists in this town, in connection of the late Rev. Mr. Wesley (whose chapel suffered amongst other buildings by the sinking of the ground in Michael Street) assembled on Sunday evening for the first time in Mr. Hogarth's new Chapel at Mount Pleasant. The effect of the lights, or the elevated situation of this Chapel, was so striking as to draw a great crowd of people into the Market Place, who pronounced it an illumination, and it was some time before the cause was explained."

The Church continued to be used for Methodist worship even after the Chapel in Michael Street was repaired. In the "Life and Letters of the Rev. John Braithwaite," (who entered the Methodist ministry from Whitehaven in 1790, and later travelled in the Circuit 1794 to 1796, and again in 1800), he often mentions preaching at Mount Pleasant. He married Miss Mary Johnson—

1. In Lyson's *Magna Britannia*, London, 1816, the fourth volume of which deals with Cumberland, we read (p. 25), "A caveat having been entered against it by the impropietor of St. Bees, the consecration never took place."

2. *Life of John Braithwaite* by R. Dickinson, 1825. (p. 60).

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Mr. Hogarth's niece. Amongst others who preached in the Chapel were the Rev. Dr. Thomas Coke,—the first Secretary of the Wesleyan Conference and the founder of the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society. This is recorded in Mr. Dickinson's book, as follows :—

On the 5th Nov. 1794, the Rev. Dr. Coke arrived at Whitehaven on some special business with Mr. Hogarth—the proprietor of Mount Pleasant Chapel. On Saturday the 8th, I went over thither myself to enjoy the profit and pleasure of the Doctor's company. I had the honour of meeting him at several of our friend's houses with Mr. Braithwaite. We assisted him in soliciting subscriptions for the support of Missionaries in the West Indies, and heard him preach in the evening. On Sunday, the 9th, we dined with the Doctor at Mr. Hogarth's, and afterwards accompanied him to Egremont, where he preached at the Market Cross (in his canonicals) from 'Verily, Verily, I say unto thee, except a man be born again, etc.' In the evening returned to Whitehaven, when the Dr. preached to a crowded audience at Mount Pleasant, and afterwards, assisted by Mr. Braithwaite, administered the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper to a great number of communicants." The number is stated by Briscoe to have been near 500.

The business upon which the Rev. Dr. Coke came to Whitehaven was in connection with the proposed transfer of the Hogarth Chapel to the Methodist Connexion. The following interesting and curious Document was drawn up by Mr. Hogarth—dated Nov. 4th, 1794, and headed "To be read to the Methodist Preachers in Conference every year : and copies taken and given to all the Preachers who desire it."³

Dearly Beloved Brethren in Christ, I find a strong desire to acquaint you, and all the worthy Methodists who observe the strict rule which our venerable Father, Mr. John Wesley laid down, and consonant with the Rules of the Church of England :—That it has pleased God to give me an Estate called Mount Pleasant, or Hogarth's Town, which cost between Five and Six Thousand Pounds, free to pepper-corn for ever. The Rent-roll makes £303 10 0 per year, (exclusive of the Chapel and Yard thereunto belonging) if all the premises were let, and the rents duly received, but at present one third goes to charitable uses, and a great many

3. Dickinson's Braithwaite p. 563

houses not yet finished, and which I estimate will take two hundred pounds to finish. This must be paid by the Premises when finished to my Executor, out of the first rent received after my death. Having a great desire for weeks, months, and years, to leave this Estate to Religious uses, and finding none more worthy than that of spreading the Gospel far and wide, I was at a loss on whom to confer it; for the qualifications I required were not easily found in a single person: they were ability, experience, and universal love. After often praying for assistance, and long experience in judging, I made choice of the Rev Dr. Thomas Coke; and lest any brother should judge that some application was made to me on his account, I protest that no hint ever came from him or any one else, directly or indirectly; on the contrary, I give thanks to God, for finding such a suitable man for my purpose.

By the ninth Act of George II. chap. 36, I was prevented from leaving it by Will, unless the bequeathment was made twelve months prior to my decease, recorded in Chancery, and irrevokable, but I fully intended never to put the premises out of my influence whilst I survived; they being now subject to the payment of five hundred pounds a year in Quarterly payments, preserves the whole in my power whilst I live, although I do not design to exact it, unless something unexpected should occasion it: But to have absolutely relinquished all power out of my own hands whilst I lived, would have proved me undeserving of it.

The Trust Deed to the Doctor and his Assigns (not his Heirs) is now ready to sign and I expect will be signed on the 10th instant whereby, after my death, he will have full possession and Power on his performing the conditions of the Deed; which are, That my wife, aged 75 years, and my Son-in-law, Isaac Thompson, in the 45th year of his age, are to enjoy their present habitations Rent free, during the life of the longest survivor of them: And to pay an Annuity or Annuities to such person or persons, as my Will will hereafter authorize, of thirty pounds a year, during their natural lives.

Now, although the Doctor has all this in his power, (and I can trust him with it) yet, by way of advice to him, (and I hope he will take it, as I do not allow any individual to enjoy this Estate for private use, but to be distributed at the discretion of the Conference every year, and proper persons appointed to let the premises, and the Conference to exact a

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true account of their receipt, and of their activity therein). I appoint five other men to assist him, in case anything disagreeable should take place during his time being, and he likewise to appoint to his assignment five proper men to assist him to whom he assigns the Trust. The men whom I appoint are Mr. William Thompson, Mr. Alexander Mather, and Mr. John Braithwaite, Preachers of the Gospel; Mr. James Sykes, Local Preacher, and Mr. Robert Dickinson, Gentleman. The Doctor still to have two voices, in case of a Poll or Division taking place; and the majority to be binding. I likewise recommend a charity School to be for ever kept on the premises, the Master's wages to be not less than ten pounds per year. I have neither favoured nor biased wishes to mankind further than they deserve. If John Braithwaite had but the qualifications the Doctor has, I would have appointed him; but if the Doctor thinks good at the time of his decease, to appoint Mr. John Braithwaite, he will then most likely have pretty good experience, and it is my wish for the Doctor so to do in case he finds him deserving.

I recommend to you all, Brethren, brotherly love, the contrary to this is my greatest fear: O disappoint me in it, for the sake of our common Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ! Brethren farewell.

Mount Pleasant
Nov. 4th, 1794.

Signed, JAMES HOGARTH

Whether this arrangement was unacceptable to Dr. Coke and the Conference, one cannot say, but the building did not become the property of the Wesleyan Church, probably because of these restrictions, and it ultimately descended to the Rev. John and Mrs. Braithwaite and their heirs. Hence once again "the refusal to relinquish all power out of his own hands" proved the obstacle. According to a Manuscript written in 1823 by Mr. Briscoe, when later in 1795 Mr. Hogarth again intended to have his Church consecrated and the Bishop of Chester came, it was not carried out. John Braithwaite states that Mr. Hogarth declared to the Bishop that if His Lordship can devise a plan by which his Chapel may be consecrated, and the Methodists still meet in it as usual, he will consent, but not else.

Mr. Laycock in his *Methodist Heroes of the Great Haworth Round*, page 286, quotes the aforesaid manuscript of Mr. Briscoe of Whitehaven, to the effect that it was through the interference of Lord L[owther] that the Bishop refused the desired Consecration,

although the site of the Michael Street Chapel had been given free to the Methodists in 1751 by Sir James Lowther.

He continues "Sometime after, Mr. Hogarth came to a love-feast. After hearing someone speak, he rose and though making no profession of experimental religion, said I am exceedingly pleased to see this place answering the end for which I built it. I was lately invited to dine with Lord L—. In the course of conversation, His Lordship said 'Hogarth, what did it cost you to build that church?' '£1600 my Lord' 'I will give you that for it (said his Lordship); but I will not promise the Methodists shall have it.' I replied, 'My Lord, while the Methodists conduct themselves as they do, I will not sell the Church for twice its value, and none shall dispossess them of it.' Lord L— said, I have often wondered what could induce me to advise the Bishop not to consecrate the place' I answered 'It was not you, my Lord, that prevented the Bishop, but a Higher Power, for a better purpose.' Mr. Hogarth concluded by saying, "You poor Methodists that cannot pay your rents, come to me, and I will find shelter for 30 or 40 of you." The Methodists continued to use the building for worship even after the rebuilding of the chapel in Michael Street. It is still found on the Circuit Plan of 1814 as Mount Pleasant Chapel, but did not continue much longer. Later it passed into the hands of the Calvinistic Methodists,⁴ then to the Primitive Methodists, and it was used by them from 1829 till the building of Howgill Street Chapel. Afterwards Hogarth's Chapel fell into disuse until the West Strand Mission—commenced by the late Canon Dalton, and ultimately taken over by the Wesleyans—had to find new quarters, owing to the building in which they met being required by the Corporation for Electricity Works. Hogarth's Church which had become very dilapidated, and partly unroofed, and had been used as a Tallow Chandlery—was purchased by Mr. Lewthwaite Borrowdale and Mr. Joseph Chisam. It required £1000 to purchase and put it in repair, and through their efforts the amount was raised, and the Hogarth Mission inaugurated. It was opened on September 27, 1899 by the Rev. Hodson Smith, now Principal of the N.C.H.O. Thus, after its many vicissitudes, the property is at last vested in the Wesleyan Methodist Church, as Connexional property.

James Hogarth died on March 13, 1796 and the *Cumberland Pacquet* of March 15, contains the following Obitary.

"Sunday last, in the 71st year of his, James Hogarth Esq. of Mount Pleasant, near this town. He bore his

4. Lyson's *Magna Britannia*, London 1816, vol. iv, Cumberland

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sufferings which were painful in the extreme (especially for the last seven weeks) with Christian fortitude and humble resignation. The most remarkable trait in his character (amongst many other amiable qualities which he possessed) was his boundless and extensive charity to the poor, who always found in him a father and a friend and to whom his memory is ever dear. He was interred in the vault in the Church he had built on Monday the 21st March, 1796, at 5 a.m."

The property at Mount Pleasant left to Mr. Braithwaite and his wife, did not realize what was expected, for it was charged with considerable annuities, and they had difficulties in getting in the rents. He complains, for instance, in a letter in 1804 to a tenant: "Out of the property part of which you occupy, I pay £30 per annum in annuities, and at least £20 more for poor rates etc., which makes £50 per annum for a property out of which I receive £40 so that including repairs, I lose at the rate of £6 or £7 annually, a loss which I can by no means bear." At the death of the Rev. John Braithwaite in 1822 the property was sold and directed to be divided equally amongst his children, as they married, or attained the age of 21,—Captain Benjamin Fisher of Parton who married Mr. Braithwaite's cousin, and Mr. William Peile of Whitehaven, who married Mrs. Braithwaite's cousin—being appointed joint executors of the estate.

G. H. BANCROFT JUDGE.

WESLEY'S "PRIMITIVE PHYSIC."

During the second half of the eighteenth century and the first quarter of the nineteenth one of the most popular books on domestic medicine was John Wesley's *Primitive Physic*. It was first published in 1747, and must have been well received because it reached the eighth edition in 1759; the intermediate editions do not appear to have been numbered. By the time of Wesley's death in 1791 twenty-three editions had been issued. The thirty-second bears the date 1828; an Edinburgh-printed one is dated 1846; and a copy of my own—London printed—was apparently produced (without date) about 1850.

It must have occurred to a few people to ask whence did Wesley draw the upwards of a thousand remedies recommended

by him? A number of recipe books containing similar prescriptions were current about the time his was compiled; but none can be referred to as providing him with more than a very small proportion of those he used. His reading of medical treatises was very wide, as appears from his first preface, and he did a great deal in making himself acquainted with the literature of new discoveries, as may be seen from his *Compendium of Natural Philosophy (A Survey of the Wisdom of God in Creation)*, which was ultimately expanded to five volumes in 1777. His net took a very wide sweep, and not a few of his medicines were taken from medical publications of the day and were regarded as being quite orthodox; even the employment of crude mercury for "twisting of the guts" was a treatment familiar to the faculty. A consideration of the book as a whole shows its author as one who did his best to provide a collection of medicines without any prejudice as to the sources of his knowledge.

The first edition of *Primitive Physic* contained 725 recipes; the second edition 808, and additions continued to be made until a maximum 1012 was reached in the sixteenth edition (1774). After that time the number fell to 824, at which figure it remained constant. In the course of his lifetime Wesley wrote what we may regard as four prefaces to his book. The original preface, like the other prefaces to his publications, is as full of interest and as far from being a perfunctory performance as those of a certain modern dramatist. There is the same confident assumption of the ability to teach the fundamental essentials of the matter, the certainty of being actuated by sound common sense. Moreover, it must be recognised without any doubt that the writer was well acquainted with current medical literature and in touch with the foremost practitioners of physic in the metropolis. Another characteristic evident to even a casual reader is the intense desire of the writer to improve the physical fitness of the people and to ameliorate their sicknesses. At all times and in all circumstances Wesley's work and writings took full account of the mental and physical well-being of his fellows as well as of their moral improvement. It does not need that attention should be directed to the motto he appropriated from Terence—*Homo sum; humani nihil a me alienum puto*—and put upon the title-page of the ninth (1760) and later editions of *Primitive Physic*, for his endeavours on behalf of the sick poor were shown by his opening of a dispensary for them twenty years before the dispensary movement began in London. The prefaces to this work are stages in the history of the book; the second one—headed

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“postscript”—is dated 1755; the third 1760; and the fourth, written at Otley, 1780. It is this last one that I am using as an introduction to the one person who in Wesley’s lifetime ventured in print to criticise *Primitive Physic*. The Otley note runs:

“Since the last Correction of this Tract, nearly twenty years ago, abundance of objections have been made to several parts of it. These I have considered with all the attention I was master of; and in consequence thereof, have now omitted many articles, and altered many others. I have likewise added a considerable number of Medicines, several of which have been but lately discovered; and several (although they have been long in use) I had never tried before.”

Here is the indication why after that date the number of remedies was reduced by about 100.

HAWES, THE APOTHECARY.

The cause of the stabilisation, if I may use a current term, was a pamphlet written by a man who became famous for other reasons than writing this critique. It is called

“An Examination of the Rev. Mr. John Wesley’s *Primitive Physic*: Shewing that a great Number of the Prescriptions therein contained are founded on Ignorance of the *Medical Art*, and that it is a Publication calculated to do essential Injury to the Health of those Persons who may place Confidence in it. Interspersed with *Medical Remarks and Practical Observations*, by W. Hawes, Apothecary—London, 1776.”

At the time Hawes wrote this pamphlet he was practising as a surgeon-apothecary (he did not begin as a physician before 1780) and was already well known as a man of ability and as one devoted to the public welfare. He is now probably remembered chiefly as the apothecary whose advice Oliver Goldsmith regretted he did not take when he lay a-dying. After Goldsmith’s death Hawes published an account of Goldsmith’s last illness and gave it as his opinion that a well-known proprietary medicine, injudiciously administered, was not free from blame for the unfortunate issue. In the same year (1774) he took part in the foundation of an institution of great national, and even international, importance—the Royal Humane Society. He was a man of exemplary character. It was said of him (*Gentlemen’s Magazine*, 1808) that

“his heart overflowed with the milk of human kindness; he was totally without guile, and self never entered into his contemplation.”

It could hardly be expected that a professional practitioner of medicine, however amiable and altruistic, would welcome in any degree the incursion of a layman into a preserve sacred to himself and his brethren. The preface Hawes provided for his tract makes it difficult to believe the few words of panegyric quoted above, that is until we recall the fact that the days in which he and his adversary lived were besmirched with polemical rancour to an extent difficult for us to understand. His reflections upon Wesley's want of candour and his remarks concerning Wesley's opinion of the physicians and apothecaries are perhaps far removed from the amenities of our time, but they are not to be regarded as being very dreadful when compared with the blunt and rude words common to the efforts of the literary disputants of the eighteenth century.

The effect of Hawes' pamphlet can be easily estimated by noticing, as set out above, the note Wesley wrote in 1780, and by observing that the number of remedies was at once reduced from 1012 to 824. An examination of it and a comparison with the preceding and subsequent issues of *Primitive Physic* provide a good insight into the practice of domestic medicine as then carried out—and into the spirit actuating two men whose motives were assuredly honest. Some of the matters upon which Hawes reflected adversely were the recommendation of cobweb pills, sal prunella in two-teaspoonful doses, the internal administration of sea-water, powdered white hellebore blown up the nostrils for apoplexy, powdered toad made into pills for asthma, and a red-hot poker to prevent bleeding of the nose. These were omitted from the later editions. In many other respects Wesley modified his recipes, but in a great number he ignored the advice offered to him. It has frequently been mentioned that Wesley prescribed crude quicksilver; on these cases Hawes makes no comment except in one instance where to stop vomiting an ounce was to be infused in a large glass full of water for twenty-four hours and "then drink the water." The commentator is facetious on the matter of the patient having to wait twenty-four hours for the remedy to allay the sickness, and the futility of attempting to dissolve the quicksilver. His disquisition leads him to give some experiences of his own as to the victims of sickness being, in not a few cases, drinkers of bad punch; he recommends punch drinkers to become punch makers and so satisfy themselves that their ingredients are wholesome.

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FEVER POWDERS.

Hawes undertook the work of criticising Wesley's volume in a serious spirit, and of this no better proof occurs than in what he writes about the sections on Fevers; there are about eight pages wherein he discusses the varieties of fever and the dangers likely to ensue from the use of remedies but little calculated to cure ailments of so serious a nature. The medicines prescribed by Wesley are really of a very trivial kind, and Wesley must have read his adversary's words with a full appreciation of their import because he entirely revised the fever sections and introduced at least one medicine which even Hawes would recognise of some value, namely, "Dr. Boerhaave's Fever-Powder." This may have been a concession to Hawes prejudice against James' Fever-powder. In many other cases the influence of Hawes made itself felt in the omission of questionable advice, the modification of remedies and doses as well as in the way of the introduction of medicines recognised by the medical faculty. In several instances the critic saw his way to provide a little commendation, especially in the directions for clothing young children; he does not altogether agree with the weaning time given by Wesley, although the latter is, perhaps, more in accord with modern practice. He praises Wesley for not once recommending Godfrey's cordial, in regard to which he makes some strong remarks and such as would fitly flow from the lips of a medical coroner of to-day.

WILLIAM KIRKBY, M.Sc., F.C.S.

[Reprinted from the *Pharmaceutical Journal and Pharmacist*, April 23, 1932]

The Rev. Richard Green includes this pamphlet in his list of *Anti-Methodist Publications*, though he was not able to furnish any particulars. He says that it was advertised in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, "with some criticisms complimentary to Wesley, the reverse to Hawes."

SOME PAMPHLETS OF 1739.

No. 12 in Green's *Anti-Methodist Publications* :

Scrub. A letter to Robert Seagrave, M.A., is the same as No. 85, announced in the *London Magazine* for 1739. The full title of the pamphlet, omitting quotations, is as follows:—

A Letter to Robert Seagrave, M.A., occasioned by his two late Performances. One entitled, An Answer to Dr. Trapp's four Sermons. The other called Remarks on the

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Bishop of London's Pastoral Letter. To which are subjoined Some Notes, containing Remarks on the Vindicator of Mr. Whitefield in the General Evening-Post of Saturday, July 14th last, on the Subjects of extraordinary Light, the Self-Power of the Will, &c. By Timothy Scrub, M.A. Preacher to the Honourable Society of Moor-fields, and Fellow of Grubstreet College, London: Printed for J. Roberts, near the Oxford Arms in Warwick Lane. 1739. 8vo. pp. 54.

The following is the full title of No. 82 in Green:

Observations and Remarks on Mr. Seagrave's Conduct and Writings in which his Answer to the Rev. Dr. Trapp's Four Sermons is more particularly considered. London: Printed for S. Austen, in St. Paul's Church-yard. 1739. (Price Sixpence). 8vo. pp. 40.

The full title of No. 75 in Green is as under, but it is not anonymous:—

Observations on the Remarks of the Reverend Mr. Whitefield's Journal, and on the Rev. Mr. Tristram-Land's Letters; also on the Weekly Miscellany, Publish'd, February 10th, 1738. With some undeniable Rules of Judgment, Absolutely necessary for all Mankind, towards obtaining the Knowledge of the Truth. The whole address'd to the Religious Societies. London: Printed for J. Roberts, near the Oxford Arms in Warwick-Lane. 1739. (Price 6d.) 8vo. pp. 47. Signed at end J.M.

The under mentioned pamphlets are not recorded in Green:

The Layman's Answer to Dr. Trapp: or, Mr. Whitefield and the Modern Enthusiasts vindicated. From those unjust Callunnies (sic) and Aspersion, in his Pamphlet lately publish'd, intituled, The Nature, Folly, Sin, and Danger of being Righteous over-much, &c., wherein The Doctor is proved, according to his own way of Arguing, not only to be Righteous over-much and over-wise; but a Promoter of Fanaticism and Impiety also. By an Unletter'd Laick (Luke xi, 52. Acts v, 38. 39.) London: Printed for, and sold by J. Standen at D'Anvers's Head, in Chancery Lane; E. Gardner, at Dryden's-Head, in Gracechurch-Street; N. Whincopp, Bookseller, in St. Clement's Church-yard; and by the Booksellers of London and Westminster. 8vo. pp. 104. N.D.

A Sermon preach'd to the Religious Societies in and about London, at their Quarterly Meeting, in the Parish

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Church of St. Mary Le Bow, on Wednesday, March the 21st, 1738-9. With a View to stop the Growth of some Modern Irregularities. By William Berrieman, D.D., Rector of St. Andrew's Undershaft, and Fellow of Eton College. Published at the Request of the Trustees for the said Societies. The Third Edition. London, Printed for John Carter, at the Blackmoor's Head opposite to the Royal Exchange in Cornhill. 1739. (Price Six Pence.) 8vo. pp. 24.

D. B. BRADSHAW.

NEW EDITION OF WESLEY'S LETTERS: ADDENDA AND CORRIGENDA.

The following letter which does not appear in the New Edition, was recently offered for sale at Sotheby's.

London, 11 December 1773, to Peter Garforth, at Skipton-in-Craven.

Evidently Mr. Garforth had consulted Wesley concerning a matrimonial intention, for he is advised not to entangle himself with a Predestinarian. "A sensible, well-tempered woman, fearing God, tho' not much awakened, is far preferable." Wesley wishes that his correspondent may have light from God in this and all things,

For Mr. Peter Garforth and his position in Skipton, Methodism, see *Proceedings* xvii, 184. F.F.B.

NEW LIGHT ON LATER RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN WESLEY AND THE MORAVIANS.

"Should an historiographer
Arise some future day,
Who would events and men with care
In their just light display;
And should his theme church matters be
Of the now current century,
And at last *Fratrum-Unitas*;
How would he paint their case?"

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“ Will he with prudent mind’s effort
Their own books seek, explore ?
(The best and likeliest resort)
He’ll find a sav’ry store . . . ”¹

So wrote John Gambold in a hymn book that was used by the Moravians in the eighteenth century. A “historiographer” has now arisen in the person of the Rev. Dr. W. G. Addison, whose dissertation on the conceptions of churchmanship that were current in the *Unitas Fratrum* has been approved for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the University of London, and published for the Church Historical Society.² He has certainly taken great care to “display events and men in their just light,” and he has “sought their own books . . . with prudent mind’s effort,”—and not their *books* only. Dr. Addison has made full use of the wealth of manuscript material at Lambeth Palace, and in the Moravian archives at Fetter Lane and Herrnhut. It is because in Appendix E he gives thirty pages of hitherto-unpublished correspondence on the relationships of Moravianism and Methodism in the later years of Wesley’s life, when the public recriminations had died down, that the book is dealt with here.

The efforts of Howell Harris to establish a better understanding between the two parties have already been summarised in the *Proceedings*,³ and a brief list has also been given of various indications of a *rapprochement* over a period.⁴ The latter article mentioned that in 1785 Benjamin La Trobe, the General Superintendent of the Moravian work in England, preached in Methodist chapels at Pudsey, Leeds, and Sheffield,⁵ Charles Wesley’s daughter attended Moravian services, and Charles himself wrote a cordial letter to La Trobe, praying for unity of spirit.⁶

Dr. Addison has now unearthed, at Herrnhut, some as yet unpublished letters between La Trobe and John Loretz, the “Senior Civilis” at Herrnhut, on this subject of reconciliation and a possible union, and at this same time (1785—6). In a kind letter, he has given us permission to “quote as much as we like,” with the warning that the La Trobe letters have sometimes been summarised and the Loretz letters occasionally translated rather freely. Students of Methodist history should certainly have their

1. *Hymns of the Brethren* (1754), ii, 232.

2. W. G. Addison: *The Renewed Church of the United Brethren, 1722—1930* (S.P.C.K., 12s. 6d.)

3. xvi, 113.

4. xvi, 161

5. Benham: *Memoirs of James Hutton*, 844

6. Jackson: *C. Wesley*, ii, 403.

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attention drawn to these documents, and to the valuable work to which they are but one Appendix. We therefore give the following selection of extracts, with grateful acknowledgments to Dr. Addison.

La Trobe to Loretz (for Unity's Elders' Conference). London, 25 x, 1785. . . .

I need not give you a description of Mr. John Wesley. Brother Joseph knows him of old. You know that his societies are very numerous and exceed in the three kingdoms more than can well be imagined. His chapels are to be met with everywhere and he has many hundred local and itinerant preachers. His Br. Charles has been attached to him in a manner that has made him unsteady in all his connections with other persons, being his implicit follower in all things . . . John . . . has taken up some of our regulations and established them in his Societies. He set out as an avowed partisan of the Church of England and his people have kept to it. To prevent schism he published 20 years ago his reasons *for not separating from the Church of England.*

Several were proposed for his successors when he should depart this life (he was and is absolute head of his Societies), Mr. Fletcher, a Swiss but Rector or Vicar of the parish of Madley in Gloucestershire but he died lately. However, before his death — *Coke LL.D.* a young clergyman who is very fiery lately got an ascendancy over him and has been his chief counsellor. This young man has at length persuaded him that he is as truly an apostolic bishop as any now living and he should use his authority. There now was a fair opening. America was separated from England and it would not be acting against either the law of God or man to *establish a new Episcopal Church among the Methodists* and whoever would join them there. To this end they formed out of the Common Prayer Book a new Common Prayer book for the use of their new congregation. It is, however, that of the Church of England with some alterations which are so far as I can judge for the worse. They have added the form of consecration of *Superintendents* in the room of Bishops, of *Elders* for Presbyters and I think Deacons. *Dr. Coke went to America to establish this church. Before his departure, Mr. Wesley ordained or consecrated him superintendent of the American Church . . . Dr. Coke is returned and will not rest until he has formed a Methodist Episcopal Church in England.*

Mr Charles Wesley having soon shown his dislike to the first movement of this new plan was no further consulted ; and since it has been made known, he has opposed it. He has long sought my

aquaintance and lately requested a couple of hours with me. He communicated a correspondence between him and his brother wherein he is plain and severe, though kind, and John says we must agree to disagree. Charles will not publicly oppose but he declares he will oppose this new schism, which will end in a number of new sects; and now he wishes that *the Brethren might be of the use* they were originally intended for, *to nurse these souls* who are truly awakened and who adhere to the *Church of England*. John says he does not intend *to establish his church* in England but, says Charles, Dr. Coke &c. *will*, and this seems indeed probable. . . . He is really hurt in his health by it, and remembers what the Count told him when he sent for him with a message to the Archbishop of Canterbury, viz, that his Brethren did not intend to take the people out of the Church of England but to edify them. He thought afterwards that the Brethren forsook their plan and on this account he was against them. But he always felt that they had the true doctrine in essentials and the most reality.

Now many of Mr. Wesley's people, preachers as well as laity, show an affection for the Brethren and attend our Chapel and it has appeared that the testimony in the country I have delivered has been acceptable to them . . .

Be tenderly saluted by

Your troublesome but affectionate

Br. B. LA TROBE.

Loretz to La Trobe. Herrnhut, 27 xi, 1785

. . . Perhaps the time is not distant when many of the Wesleyans may join in receiving blessings along with the Brethren. The Wesleyan Scheme comes from the Brethren, from Zinzendorf himself, viz, that we would not take people from the Church of England but build them up within the Church. So we work in our Diaspora work.⁷ It must be said, however, that we have abandoned this idea in England and attempted to build up a church of our own and have taken members from the other churches—except that we did not take those who went to the Holy Communion in the Church of England. But now we do not say that—but we say that a man can do both. Wesley on the contrary maintains the principle of not separating from the Church and has been blessed in his work. We remain small in England because of our fault. Now it seems Wesley has made the same fault and has abandoned his first plan and is degenerating into a sect.

7. The Brethren's "Diaspora" work in Germany still ministers to the "scattered" of all the churches, but little in this direction is done to-day by the branches of the Unity in England and America. Cf. 1 Peter i, 1.

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Wesley's pretensions to ordain cannot be maintained according to Canon Law (Ecclesiastical Right) and therefore the Methodist ordinations and ministerial acts cannot be valid . . .

I have to ask you in the name of the Unity's Elders' Conference to consider the matter and all the circumstances with your colleagues, and to give us an opinion whether now is the time to get busy and what measures are requisite to bring the matter to a good end. Another confidential conversation with Charles Wesley may help—yea, he himself might assist the Brethren to enter into the circle of the awakened.

La Trobe to Loretz. 6. i. 1786.

. . . Had we had from the beginning more attention to the Diaspora plan, and to place-congregations, I doubt not but that where we are now useful to one soul in caring for them we should be useful to one hundred. Wesleys took the plan from us and they have increased to 50,000 at least in England and Ireland. John Wesley is now turning about and I have not a doubt that if they begin their own church in England they will in a few years be broke into a great number of dissenting parties . . .

Charles Wesley . . . is in deep affliction of mind and sickness of body through the methodists setting up a new religion ; John is being led away by young Coke.

I visited him in his sickness and he continually repeated that he hoped and believed that the Brethren must be the means of preserving the true seed in the established church and of keeping the living souls among methodists together. The way how was difficult, he told me his brother would be pope and was already envious of my entrance among the methodists.

[The account goes on to say that La Trobe had been surprised to receive a letter from Coke, dated 23. xii. 1785, asking why could not the United Brethren and the Methodists unite, in view of the similarity of their doctrine and discipline. Dr. Coke said he was willing to meet La Trobe at breakfast in Fetter Lane any time during the next week. This letter La Trobe took to Charles Wesley].

He having a very displeasing notion of Dr. C's views and proceedings, begged me to take care that the sender (viz John Wesley) and sent (Dr. Coke) did not mean to spy out our liberty.

[Coke came to breakfast on 4. i. 1786, and La Trobe reports the conversation. After 'much discussion, at 12-30 Coke "put the question, Whether I believed there could be a Union?" La Trobe replied that preliminaries were not settled—neither as yet knew enough of the other's constitution. Coke begged another

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meeting, and they parted "very friendly." La Trobe had since visited Charles Wesley, who wished him to have an interview with John].

I told him candidly that I could not seek an interview with his brother, as I had never done it, for his Brother's method of publishing the conversation he had with anyone, and giving the other parties' words such a turn as suited his purpose, made it dangerous to converse with him.

[Charles thought the danger might be risked, since both he and John were of great age and probably near the end].

I told him I would think of it. . .

To be continued.

LESLIE T. DAW.

THE LATE REV. DR. J. A. SHARP

At the Annual Meeting of the W.H.S., of which a report will appear in our next issue, the great loss sustained by the Society in the passing of Dr. Sharp was referred to. He was one of the earliest members, and took a great interest in its welfare from the beginning.

Appointed Book Steward in 1911, he found himself the custodian of many Methodist treasures. These were catalogued under his guidance in a valuable book entitled *Wesleyana*.

The Standard Edition of Wesley's Journal (Curnock) was completed in Dr. Sharp's term, and there were added thereto the annotated edition of the Standard Sermons (Sugden) and the wonderful Standard Edition of the Letters (Telford).

The issue of these books from the Methodist Publishing House was a source of great satisfaction to Dr. Sharp. The same may be said of Dr. Simon's valuable volumes.

The officers of the Society, and workers in Methodist history in general, always found Dr. Sharp most kindly in rendering them the assistance which his position enabled him to give.