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JOHN WESLEY, THE "HADDOCKS,"
EARLY METHODISM IN RYE,
AND WESLEY'S LAST OPEN-AIR SERVICE AT
WINCHELSEA.

John Wesley, between the years 1758 and 1790, paid frequent visits to the quaint old town of Rye, and neighbourhood.

Rye has fascinated many distinguished personages in her time. Queen Elizabeth was so delighted with the noble entertainment on the occasions of her visits in August, 1573, accompanied with the testimonies of love and loyalty from the people, that she named the town "Rye Royal."¹

Wesley, with ever an eye for the picturesque, seemed to have been similarly attracted. We can imagine how greatly charmed he would be on viewing for the first time, this "little city set upon a hill" with its red-roofed houses clustering irregularly one above the other, and crowned by the grey stone tower of its ancient parish church. But interested as he would be with the antiquities of the place,—the town walls, the ancient towers and buildings and cobbled streets, he was even more interested in the people who lived there. We are glad to record that they received him with kindness, and listened to his message with earnest attention. This was in great contrast to his hostile reception in other parts of the country, when his life was sometimes in danger. There is no doubt that S.E. Sussex owes much to the beneficent influence of the hundreds of Huguenot refugees who settled in Rye and district just before and after the Massacre on St. Bartholomew's Day in 1572.²

Amongst other industries, they established tanneries, paper mills, and cloth weaving halls, resulting in commercial prosperity. Vivacious in temperament, these God-fearing people brought blessing in their train. By residence and intermarriage, they succeeded in stamping their individuality on the lives and minds

1. Jeake's "Cinque Ports Charters," p. 108.

2. Within three days of the Massacre, 641 refugees arrived in Rye. Jeake says "that in 1582 there were 1534 refugees (though only a few could have settled in the town)". The last immigration of foreigners to Rye was on the persecution of 1680, after which they were allowed to use the Parish Church for Divine Service.

of those who had given them shelter. Therefore we find two centuries later, the soil better prepared in this corner of Sussex for the reception of Methodism than some other parts of the country.

During his first visit to Rye, Wesley relates a curious incident. Whilst meeting the members of Society at his lodgings on Thursday, October 12, 1758, he writes :—

“A man eminent for profanity and drunkenness, and all manner of wickedness, listened at the window. The next day he surprised his companions by crying out, ‘I am the greatest sinner on the whole earth.’ On Friday evening he was wounded more deeply still, and was at the preaching at 5 in the morning.” (*Journal*, 1879 Edit., Vol. II, p. 439).

This first visit of Wesley to Rye greatly encouraged the small Society, which had been formed by Thomas Mitchell two years previously. Besides this, several influential families became interested, not only by Wesley’s preaching, but by his magnetic personality, and friendships were formed of life-long duration.

Although Methodist services attracted large congregations, yet the membership at Rye increased but slowly during Wesley’s life-time. The reason is to be found in his very decided views on smuggling; no one being admitted into membership who bought or sold smuggled goods.³ On the occasion of his visit to Rye, December 22, 1773, he mournfully remarks :—

“They do many things gladly: but they will not part with the accursed thing, smuggling. So I fear, with regard to these, our labour will be in vain.” (*Journal*, Vol. IV, p. 5).

Four years later, referring to the same subject he says :

“How large a Society would be here could we but spare them in one thing! Nay, but then all our labour would be in vain. One sin allowed would intercept the whole blessing.” (*Journal*, Vol. IV, p. 108).

Amongst the prominent persons influenced by Wesley were John and Sarah Barnes (maiden name Hawkins). They resided at Cadborough until 1763, when they were succeeded by John Holman, junior.

There is a tradition that Wesley stayed there with the Barnes’ during his first visit to Rye (1758). We know that he continued to make his home at Cadborough with the Holmans between the years of 1763 and 1780. [See W.H. *Proceedings*, Vol. XV, p. 5.]

3. Wesley published a strongly worded pamphlet in 1767, entitled “A Word to the Smuggler.”

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After the death of Widow Holman in the latter year, Mrs. Barnes (probably now a widow) with her only daughter, Ann, again entertained Wesley at their residence in Rye. In his private diary under date December 7, 1784, he notes that on his arrival at Rye from Robertsbridge in a deep snow, which seriously retarded him, he arrived at Sister Barnes' at 7-30.

We have a striking instance of Wesley's love of punctuality when he visited Rye again on Tuesday, October 28, 1788. He writes :—

“I took the stage coach (from London) to Rye : which promised to be there by six in the evening ; but the coachman lingered so, that in the afternoon I found they did not intend to be there till near eight ; so at Hawkhurst I took a post chaise, which with much ado reached it soon after six.” (*Journal*, Vol. IV, p.421).

The following morning he writes :—

“Knowing there was no depending on the coach I took chaise, and by that means came early to Sevenoaks.”

Miss Ann Barnes was destined to play a prominent part in the history of Methodism in the Rye Circuit. Her story is full of romantic interest. When very young she became an ardent Methodist. There was at that time a wealthy family living in Rye by the name of Haddock.

Old Captain John Haddock⁴ was commander of “The Stag” revenue cutter in the Customs Service. He married Miss Ann Bray in 1759, and they were the parents of three sons and three daughters.⁵ [For further particulars see *The Ancient Liberties of the Cinque Ports*, published by James Russell (of Rye) in 1809.]

Their eldest son, Henry, was also a Captain in the same Service. He had been brought up a Churchman, but having attended Methodist services, became impressed with their earnestness of spirit, and—he met Miss Barnes and fell in love with her ! He made her an offer of marriage, which she at first declined. Captain Haddock was a gallant young fellow, and did not give up

4. Died July 29, 1812, aged 75, buried in Rye Church. Captain J. Haddock's sister, Ann, married Lewis Meryon (of Huguenot descent) in 1765. They had children : John, Sarah, Charles Lewis and Thomas. Sarah married William Holloway (Historian of Rye). In 1860 they presented the pewter flagon, formerly used by the Huguenot congregation at Holy Communion, to the Vicar and Churchwardens of Rye.

Charles Lewis Meryon, M.D., was travelling companion and biographer of Lady Hester Stanhope. He was born 1783, and died 1877.

5. Henry, John, Joseph, Elizabeth, Ann, Margaret.

hope. He became an out-and-out Christian, and joined the Methodist Society. Miss Barnes, when she saw a real change in his life, consented to the marriage.

They furnished a house and were preparing for the wedding, when all their happy hopes were dashed to the ground.

It seems that Captain Henry Haddock, while commanding his vessel between Dover and Dunkirk, spied a smuggling craft in the distance, and on approaching, before they could hail her, the crew of the stranger fired at Captain Haddock's vessel. He ordered his men not to fire, but they inadvertently did, upon which, the smugglers fired their big guns. A ball came through the upper part of the vessel, passing through the thigh, body and right arm of Captain Haddock. He was just heard to moan, and expired immediately in the arms of one of his crew on August 19, 1783, at the early age of eighteen. [See *Arminian Mag.*, 1786.]

The name of the sailor was David Manser. He lived to a good old age, and died at Northiam in November, 1845. (He often told the story to my great-uncle—C. Coleman).

Wesley, referring to the incident some seven years later, writes:—

“I am now informed how signally God has overtaken that wretch who murdered Mr. Haddock. Being lately overtaken by Captain Bray in one of the King's cutters, he made a desperate resistance: and even when boarded, fought still, and drew a pistol at Captain Bray, who then hewed him in pieces with his cutless.” *Journal*, Vol. IV, p. 475).

The sad circumstances connected with the death of Captain Henry Haddock so affected his brother John, that on the evening of the interment he decided to devote all his powers to God's service. He, too, was smitten with the charms of Miss Barnes, which ultimately resulted in their marriage on June 12, 1786. It is said that the dowry consisted of her *actual* weight in gold.

John Haddock was a successful merchant. He entered into business, not for his own necessities, but solely that he could more generously assist the poor and needy. He was deservedly respected by all his fellow townsmen for the unspotted purity of his character, his wisdom in counsel, and his great liberality and kindness of heart.

One instance might be mentioned amongst many. A party of soldiers in march called at Rye to rest on their journey, and filled all the inns. It being wet and cold, many of the poor women and children were almost perishing. As soon as Mr. Haddock heard of their distressing circumstances he hastened to

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their relief, and his house found room for about fifty of them, who were gratuitously accommodated during their stay. (*Meth. Mag.*, 1799, p. 328).

Until this time, the Methodists had worshipped in the old Presbyterian chapel in Mermaid Street.⁶ In January, 1788, John Haddock, seeing the need of a new chapel to accommodate the increasing congregations, purchased a messuage and piece of ground in Badding's Ward from the descendants of Samuel Burt. The ground was formerly a part of the old churchyard.

John Haddock pulled down the house and built a chapel, and minister's residence at *his own expense*.

Some authorities have represented that Miss Barnes built the chapel before her marriage. This is incorrect. I have examined the original deeds and it is as stated above. Besides this, Miss Barnes was married to Mr. Haddock some eighteen months before the ground was even purchased.

John Wesley opened the new chapel on Wednesday, January 28, 1789. He records the fact in his *Journal*, and remarks:—

“It is a noble building, much loftier than most of our houses, and finely situated at the head of the town. It was thoroughly filled. Such a congregation I never saw at Rye before; which, added to the peaceable, loving spirit they are now in, gives reason to hope there will be such a work here as has not been heretofore.” (Vol. IV, p. 426).

At this time Mr. and Mrs. Haddock were residing, during the winter months, in High Street, Rye. It was here they entertained John Wesley. (The house is now used by J. N. Masters Ltd., for business purposes).

The summer months were spent at Tanhouse,⁷ Northiam. The house is still standing. It is a picturesque XVIth century black and white timber structure, situated on the southern border of the parish.

Mrs. Barnes,⁸—the mother of Mrs. Haddock,—was owner of the property until 1788, when it came into possession of the newly married pair. (See Northiam overseer's book).

A few interesting details of the family life at Tanhouse were told me some years ago by Mr. Colin Bridger, who died in 1904, in his 90th year.

6. Built by Jeake (see *W.H. Proceedings*, Vol. XV, p. 8).

7. Probably “tanning” was originally carried on here by the Huguenot.—hence its name.

8. Mrs. Barnes died February 28, 1795, aged 71; buried in Rye Church, Mrs. J. Haddock heiress to all her property.

He lived in the house as a lad with his father and grandfather (Henry Bridger),⁹ the latter of whom had been farm manager for many years. There was considerable excitement at the half-yearly move. A farm waggon would be sent to Rye for the servants and furniture, and the return journey made in the same way. Mrs. Haddock used a newly painted farm cart for her journey, being nervous of any other mode of travelling.

Bridger's favourite story tends to show that Mr. Haddock was not without a keen sense of humour.

Sometimes he would go to the stable and offer the stable lads sixpence to whoever, running through the Tanhouse front door and hall, first touched the parlour stove. As the boys had very dirty boots, this race caused quite a commotion in the house with the maids and mistress, who unceremoniously drove them out, much to the amusement of Mr. Haddock.

On their first arrival at Tanhouse, the Haddocks used the hall for preaching services.¹⁰ It was, and is still, a fine large room with panelled walls, and a massive oak ceiling. My ancestors worshipped there, before the chapel was erected at Brede in the adjoining parish.

The question has been asked as to whether Wesley ever preached or stayed at Tanhouse. I cannot discover any evidence that he did. The three occasions he visited Rye, during Mr. Haddock's married life, were late in the year, when the family had moved to their winter quarters. Besides this, Wesley's private diary gives a full account of how he spent each hour, and he certainly does not mention any visit to Tanhouse.

Wesley paid a final visit to his old friends in October, 1790, on the memorable occasion when he preached his last out-door sermon at Winchelsea. Mr. and Mrs. Haddock accompanied him to that noonday service. He returned to Rye immediately afterwards and dined at Mr. Haddock's.¹¹ He preached again in

9. One of the original Trustees of Northiam Chapel. His daughters Sarah, married George York (of Tanhouse), the local preacher who first introduced Methodism into Brede at the commencement of the XIXth Century.

10. Methodist services continued until 1845. (The present Rector of Northiam, Rev. A. Frewen Aylward, has held weekly services in the same hall during recent years).

11. Wesley was accompanied by a young preacher named Robert Miller, from Sevenoaks (then a part of the Rye Circuit). Mr. Miller, in his diary, throws some interesting light upon this last visit. He writes:—

“Mr. Wesley asked me concerning the state of the Society at Winchelsea. I informed him that the members were not so zealous nor so free from discord as I could wish, adding ‘I hope, Sir, you will give us a good rousing sermon!’ To my surprise he preached from ‘The Kingdom

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the evening at Rye, remarking in his *Journal* "and the word did not fall to the ground."

When we remember that Wesley was now in his 88th year, we cannot be surprised that at the close of this strenuous day¹² he was so exhausted, that he had to be assisted upstairs by Mr. Haddock and one of the servants.

During this visit the parents of the late Rev. George Sargent lived in Rye. Mrs. Sargent was anxious to obtain the blessing of Mr. Wesley on her little boy, so she turned him into the room where Mr. Wesley was sitting alone. The child sat down, and the great evangelist gladdened the heart of the mother by kneeling down, kissing, and blessing him in the name of the Friend of little children.

Mr. John Haddock lost his life in venturing to save some sailors who were shipwrecked one night near Rye. A severe drenching in the storm brought upon him the illness from which he died. Just before his death, he told his wife that God was about to separate them, and committed her to His care Who first brought them together. He peacefully passed away on November 15, 1797, aged 29, after eleven years of happy married life.

of Heaven is at hand,' and the tears then shed, and the religious feeling excited were such as my eyes had never beheld. While we were dining at the house of the amiable John Haddock, Esq., Mr. Wesley whispered to me, loud enough to be heard by all the persons in the room, 'Brother Miller, it is not fair to kick a man when he is down: be assured it is not the way to set him on his legs again: neither is it the more excellent way to be always telling those who are low, that they are cold or lukewarm. Set the promises before them, and get them to look to Him Who can heal the wounded spirit.'

"Mr. Wesley had ordered the table on which he stood to be placed about twenty yards in front of a high building, and was taking his station with his face to it, when I said to him, 'Sir, you had better have the table set against the wall.' Afterwards he thus addressed the friends who were dining with him: 'Brother Miller wished me to stand while preaching, with my back to the wall, forgetting, I suppose, that I preached out of doors before he was born, if not before his father was born. Many of my preachers have killed themselves for want of judgment by preaching out of doors: they have stood so as to have nothing to collect the sound of their voices.' Any person may preach out of doors with as much ease as in a chapel, if he will only stand in such a way as to have the people between him and some high building.'"

12. Wesley's Diary records:—Thursday, 7 Oct. 1790. 5-0 prayed, read for Mag.: 8-0 tea, conversed, prayer. 9-0 Mag.: letter. 11-0 chaise, 12-0 Winchelsea: Mark 1-15, chaise. 2-15 Rye, dinner, conversed, prayer, 3-0 sleep, letter, prayed, tea. 6-30 Heb. VI, 1. Communion, 8-0 supper, conversed, prayer, 9-30.

Unfortunately the chapel which John Haddock built had never been vested in trustees, and he, dying without a Will and childless, the chapel passed into the possession of his only brother Joseph of "Mockbeggar," Iden, the heir-at-law.¹³

Rather than lose the place of worship, the widow came to the rescue and generously re-purchased the chapel from her brother-in-law in January, 1798, for the sum of £950.

About four years later Mrs. Haddock contracted a second marriage with the Rev. John Holmes,¹⁴ a retired Dissenting minister. They resided in the house now occupied by Mr. Ellis in the Mint, Rye.

In 1814, the chapel proving too small for the congregation, an arrangement was made with Mr. and Mrs. Holmes whereby the premises were conveyed to trustees, on condition that an annuity of £40 per year be paid to them during their life-time. This £40 was to be distributed amongst the poor of Rye, who attended the chapel, in such proportions as they thought proper. A new chapel was erected during the same year. It is said that Mrs. Holmes did not favour the demolition of the old chapel.

Mr. Holmes became an acceptable preacher and class-leader in the circuit. He died at Tunbridge Wells in great peace on October 15, 1816, aged 67, and was buried in the Rye Parish Church.

Mrs. Holmes, during the later years of her widowhood, resided in the house in Rye now occupied by the Wesleyan minister. She also spent a good deal of her time at Tanhouse.

Some particulars concerning this wonderful old lady have been given by the late Mrs. Ann Smith¹⁵ (of Peasmarsh), who was her maid for ten years, and was with her when she died.

Mrs. Holmes, though of diminutive size, possessed a dominating personality. She was intensely devoted to Methodism and to the memory of Wesley, and exceedingly charitable.

Mrs. Smith used to accompany her mistress on her errands of mercy. Every quarter she regularly visited the poor and distributed money and goods. For some years Mrs. Haddock held a weekly class meeting in her own home.

13. Died November 28, 1810, aged 40, buried in Rye Church.

14. A widower with one daughter (Charlotte). She died soon after her father's second marriage on October 18, 1802, aged 5. Buried in Rye Church.

15. Daughter of Jesse Filmer, shoemaker, of Iden. Mrs. Holmes gave particulars to Ann Filmer of the last visit of Wesley to Rye. She married William Smith (Sunday School Superintendent), of Peasmarsh. Mrs. Smith died September 20, 1906, aged 89. Her daughter, Miss Mercy Holmes Smith, still lives in the old home, and delights in recalling bygone days.

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One of the members of the Rye Society,—Mary Christy,¹⁶—caught a severe chill 1789, when hop-picking in Mr. Haddock's gardens, and eventually became bed-ridden. The Haddocks,—and afterwards Mrs. Holmes,—contributed five shillings per week towards her support, during a period of 55 year.

Mrs. Holmes further bequeathed £50 "in trust, to continue the weekly payments after her death. She also left £600 to the "Trustees of the Rye Chapel," and £100 to "The Decayed Ministers' Fund," besides various other sums to needy Methodists and her servants.

Mrs. Holmes became very infirm and almost blind during the closing years of her life. Her end was most triumphant. The words "Victory," "Victory," "Vic—," were on her lips as she passed over on April 22, 1844, at the age of 81.

By her death almost the last link connecting Rye with the days of Wesley was broken.

EDMUND AUSTEN.

THE EVANGELICALS AND SOCIAL REFORM

The works of Mr. and Mrs. J. L. Hammond on the Industrial Revolution have been deservedly popular. They cover the period 1760-1832 and include *The Village Labourer*, *The Town Labourer*, *The Skilled Labourer* and *The Rise of Modern Industry*. They are well written and make full use of documents, reports and publications of every kind affecting social life. They have a strong bias against the Evangelical Movement and in dealing with the life of the labouring classes of England in this period, naturally they have much to say about Methodism.¹

The Rev. J. Wesley Bready in his *Lord Shaftesbury and Social-Industrial Progress* has made a very powerful reply to the assertion that the Evangelicals were indifferent to social wrongs. He covers the same ground as the Hammonds and shows that many of the leaders of the movement for reform owed their inspiration

16. I have in my possession a scarce booklet published by Rev. Thomas Ludlam in 1849, entitled "The Happy Experience of Mary Christy, in the Ancient Town of Rye."

Note. 1.—See also the Rev. J. S. Keeble's criticism quoted on pp. 218 to 221 of *Proc.* Vol. XV.

to John Wesley. This was eminently true of Shaftesbury who said "I have always regarded two men as the two most remarkable men in modern history: very diverse indeed, in the end which they proposed. I think that the two greatest ecclesiastical administrators I have heard of in history were John Wesley and Ignatius Cozola."

Mr. Bready has a very full bibliography at the end of his book including a long section on Wesley and the Evangelicals. He esteems very highly the work of M. Elie Haléoy in the *History of the English People in 1815* (Eng. trans. 1924). M. Haléoy considers Methodism to have been supremely important then.

A. W. HARRISON.

AN ENQUIRY FROM SWEDEN.

"HETTY WESLEY."

I.

The Rev. K. A. Jansson, D.D., writes to us from 19, Vallingatum, Stockholm. He has been a Methodist preacher for more than 52 years, and for several years a member of the *Wesley Historical Society*. He recalls with pleasure that he was the guest of Dr. W. T. A. Barber during the Ecumenical Conference in 1921, and again visited him in 1924 at the time when the monument to Christopher Sundius was restored and dedicated at City Road. We shall be glad to receive from Dr. Jansson some notes on one of the first members of our church at City Road (from 1780), and one of the first representations of Sweden on the committee of the B. and F. Bible Society; for such was Sundius.

Dr. Jansson is revered as a representative of our Church in Sweden. He has had a busy life as editor of all the publications of the M. Episcopal Church in Sweden. For ten years he was president of the Epworth League. He is President of the Theological Institute of the M. E. C., Upsala.

He is interested in Sir Arthur Quiller-Couch's "Hetty Wesley" (Harpers 1904) which he tells us "has been translated into our language" and much discussed in the Papers. He asks for a good English review of it. We therefore extract a portion of Dr. J. S. Simon's article in the *London Quarterly Review*. It is valuable as a critical and fair estimate of Sir Arthur Quiller-Couch's "Hetty" from the pen of the most recent of British historians of international Methodism.

"HETTY WESLEY." 1904.

SIR ARTHUR QUILLER-COUCH is known to every man who appreciates genial and vivid writing. He has humour and pathos, and, when he is in a good mood, it is hard to escape his thrall.

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From the days when we read *The Delectable Duchy* until now, his work has seemed to possess distinction and charm. His forte, undoubtedly, is the 'short story.' It is whispered that *Hetty Wesley* was written to prove that he could also maintain a prolonged flight without weariness. Authors are sometimes provoked to attempt risky experiments by suggestions that they can only do one kind of work. In their eagerness to prove the incorrectness of the criticism they often establish its accuracy. We think that Mr. Quiller-Couch has not altogether escaped the danger which threatens a man who suddenly quits the work to which he is accustomed. Still it is only fair to say that his book, considered as a work of art, bears the master-mark on all its pages.

In reading Mr. Quiller-Couch's heart-rending tragedy we have constantly reminded ourselves of the distinction between the novelist and the historian. *Hetty Wesley* is a novel 'founded on fact.' Mr. Quiller-Couch has consulted every available 'authority' which bears upon the incidents which he depicts. There can be no doubt that he reproduces, after his own style, some of the events which actually happened in the Wesley home. We know the ground over which he has travelled, and we can testify that he has read such books as Dr. Adam Clarke's *Memoirs of the Wesley Family* and Mr. G. J. Stevenson's *Memorials of the Wesley Family* with close attention. But, having borne our testimony to Mr. Quiller-Couch's diligence as an investigator, we must say that we are also conscious that he has, in several instances, availed himself of his privilege to treat facts in a flambuoyant manner. We presume that it will be admitted that a novelist has a right to suppress details which mar the literary perfection of his story, and that he may invent incidents which are unhistorical. If the liberty of suppression and invention is taken from him, his occupation is gone. He is like a painter who, in composing his picture, leaves out an ugly shed, trims an ill-balanced tree, and brightens up his canvas by putting in a rainbow such as never bent o'er land or sea.

While admitting the romancer's right to exercise his imagination and artistic taste, a question has arisen in our mind which demands some reply. When dealing with an historical character, has a novelist the right, out of prejudice, or in order to secure a certain effect, so to darken a man's character as to misrepresent him? The readers of *Hetty Wesley* are aware that scarcely one of the members of the Wesley family leaves Mr. Quiller-Couch's hands without having suffered depreciation in value. He points out the flaws which disfigure the images which

have hitherto been revered, with a minute and caustic faithfulness. Samuel Wesley, the Epworth rector, is damaged beyond repair; his wife, the admirable Susanna, is sadly disfigured. John Wesley is unrecognizable by a devoted Methodist. We cannot think that Mr. Quiller-Couch intended to smash the gods after this fashion. He is not a man of 'an inhuman disposition'; but nevertheless he has so laid about him in the Methodist pantheon that scarcely an image there remains intact. Cautious and fully informed readers will still retain their own estimate of the members of the Wesley family, but those who know little about them will gaze with astonishment at the effects of Mr. Quiller-Couch's iconoclastic raid.

We have only space to deal with the main incidents of Mr. Quiller-Couch's painful story. In doing so we will first, state the plain facts of Hetty Wesley's life as those facts, appear in Dr. Adam Clarke's *Memoirs* and in Tyerman's *Life and Times of the Rev. Samuel Wesley*.

Mehetabel Wesley was a girl who from her childhood was distinguished by the brightness and the strength of her intelligence. Tyerman says: 'The whole of the Wesley family were gifted with poetic genius, but Mehetabel perhaps shone the brightest, Samuel and Charles not excepted. She was gay and sprightly, full of mirth, good humour, and keen wit.' So ready was she in the acquisition of knowledge, that it is said she read the Greek Testament with comparative ease when she was only eight years old. Kirk, in *The Mother of the Wesleys*, tells us that 'her father delighted to have her as his companion and assistant in the study, where she followed her more learned pursuits under his immediate direction.' She was a lovely girl, beautiful in form and features, and must have brightened the dusky Epworth rectory as with summer sunshine. Hetty Wesley had many rustic admirers. When she was about twenty-seven years of age a young lawyer fell in love with her, and his passion was returned. The marriage was about to take place, when a rumour concerning her suitor's character reached the ears of the rector. This rumour led him to conclude that the man was 'unprincipled,' and he determined to stop the marriage. But Hetty Wesley was a woman who possessed a will as firm as her father's. She refused to give up her lover. Dr. Clarke says that had her suitor 'been equally faithful to her, the connexion would in all probability have issued in marriage; but whether offended with the opposition he met with from the family, or whether through fickleness, he in fact remitted his assiduities, and at last abandoned a woman who would have been

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an honour to the first man in the land.' Opposed by her father, and abandoned by her lover, according to Dr. Clarke and Tyerman, Hetty Wesley did an exceedingly foolish thing. She vowed either that she would never marry another, or that she would take the first man who might offer if his suit were approved by her parents. The offer soon came. Mr. Wright, a plumber and glazier in good circumstances, proposed to her : Dr. Adam Clarke says, 'as her parents saw that her mind was strongly attached to the man who had jilted her, in order to prevent the possibility of a union in that quarter, her father urged her to marry Wright.' She soon found that the man who had proposed to her was 'utterly unsuited to her in mind, education, and manners.' So far as we know, Wright's character, at that time, was good ; but Hetty Wesley, guided by an antipathy which intuitively recognized the calamities of the future, revolted against the match. She 'earnestly begged that parental authority might not be used to induce her to adopt a measure that promised no comfort to her, and might prove her ruin.' But her pleading was in vain. Samuel Wesley would not change his mind, and Hetty's own vow stared her in the face. The marriage took place. Hetty removed with her husband to London ; and there, after succeeding for a time in business, Wright's character broke down. He became a drunkard, and his abominable cruelty destroyed the happiness of his wife. She died in 1750. Before her death she was brought into sympathy with the religious views of her brothers, and became, as Charles Wesley says, 'a gracious, tender, trembling soul ; a bruised reed which the Lord will not brake.' She was harrassed with 'darkness, doubts, and fears,' but John Wesley testifies that for some years before her death she was 'a witness of that rest which remains even here for the people of God.'

Such, in brief outline, was the tragic life of Hetty Wesley as revealed in the pages of Dr. Adam Clarke and Tyerman. It is a pitiful story, which might well have been 'left to dumb forgetfulness a prey.' But Mr. Quiller-Couch perceived its artistic possibilities, and he has worked up the dreary details into a heart-moving romance. He has done more. Reading Dr. Clarke and Tyerman, the impression we receive of Hetty Wesley is that of a brilliant, light-hearted, pure-minded girl, who possessed in an extraordinary degree the Wesley dower of will and conscience. No moral stain disfigures her character. But Mr. Quiller-Couch knows a secret which has hitherto been well kept. We presume that in the pages of Mr. G. J. Stevenson's *Memorials of the Wesley Family* he met with the suggestion which he has used with such

striking effect. Speaking of Samuel Wesley's interference with the marriage, Stevenson says : 'Wearied of the opposition of the rector, the young lawyer at length resolved on a desperate experiment, and, using forced restraint, kept her away from home all night. She returned home next morning with a sad heart, from the sorrowful experience she had learned.' A letter containing the sad news was written by Mrs. Wesley to John Wesley, and that letter Mr. G. J. Stevenson saw and read before it was destroyed. John Wesley made an abridgement of his mother's letter, and the document came into Mr. Stevenson's possession. We think that there can be little doubt of the truth of the occurrence. Mr. Quiller-Couch has searched out the evidence concerning Hetty Wesley's fall from virtue, and he describes the episode in one of the most sensational chapters of the book.

The melancholy fact which Mr. Quiller-Couch has exhumed sheds light upon many things. Mr. Stevenson, speaking of Hetty's return after the fatal night, says : 'Her father's anger was furious, but her mother's sympathy prevented her from being at once turned out of home. Hetty, seeing that the issue would ultimately be her exclusion from home, made a rash vow to marry the first man that might offer to accept her hand.' This explanation of the 'vow' is much more reasonable than Dr. Clarke's and Mr. Tyerman's. The girl who had been ruined, and then abandoned by her lover, in her desperation might well form such a resolution. But, in addition, the incident explains to some extent Samuel Wesley's conduct. The disgrace that had come upon his home would make him frantic. Greater disgrace loomed in the future. He would be eager to seize the first opportunity to get Hetty married to some man who would consent to take her. The 'vow' was a weapon put into his hands, which he used relentlessly. We do not excuse his conduct ; but, in the circumstances revealed by Mr. Stevenson, we can understand it.

In writing his romance we can imagine that Mr. Quiller-Couch sometimes laid aside his pen and asked himself the question : 'Is it worth while to rescue these miserable events from oblivion ?' After pondering that question he resumed his work, because he felt that he had a 'mission' to fulfil. That 'mission' was to make the British public better acquainted with the real character of Samuel Wesley. Irritated by the saint-like demeanor of the Rector of Epworth as he appears in the pages of Tyerman, Mr. Quiller-Couch determined that the mask shall be forever torn from his face. But a somewhat pardonable irritation has hurried him into caricature. Because Tyerman pictured a saint, was it

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necessary that Mr. Quiller-Couch should paint a devil? Lest we should be accused of misrepresentation, we hasten to point out that the Satanic character of Samuel Wesley is suggested at the beginning of the book. Mr. J. Addington Symonds wrote a charming essay, which he entitled 'In the Key of Blue'; Mr. Quiller-Couch's descriptions of Samuel Wesley are all 'In the Key of Black.' Here is one of them. He sketches a pretty picture of the six Wesley sisters, seated on the eastern slope of a knoll a few feet above the desolate fen-land in the corner of the isle of Axholme, in Lincolnshire. Emilia, the eldest, is reading aloud from *Paradise Lost*—'reading with admirable expression, and a voice almost masculine, rich as a deep-mouthed bell.' After describing the loves of Adam and Eve, the poet continues:

Aside the devil turned

For envy, yet with jealous leer malign

Eyed them askance; and to himself thus plained:—

'Sight hateful, sight tormenting.'

Now let us listen to Mr. Quiller-Couch:

"Molly interrupted with a cry; so fiercely Hetty had gripped her wrist of a sudden. Emilia broke off—

"What on earth's the matter, child?"

"Is it an adder?" asked Patty, whose mind was ever practical; "John Whitelamb warned us"—

"An adder?" Hetty answered her, cool in a moment and deliberate. "Nothing like it, my dear: 'tis the old genuine Serpent."

"What do you mean, Hetty? Where is it?"

"Sit down, child, and don't distress yourself. Having rendered everybody profoundly uncomfortable within a circuit of two miles, and almost worried itself to a sunstroke, it has now gone into the house to write at a commentary on the Book of Job."

"I think you must mean Papa," said Patty; "and I call it very disrespectful to compare him with Satan; for 'twas Satan sister Emmy was reading about" (p. 36).

The key in which this scene is written is maintained throughout the book. Mr. Quiller-Couch's new portrait of Samuel Wesley errs by defect. It is a great work of art, but the likeness is left out. If some of the favourable features in the rector's character had been introduced, the bad portraiture might have been forgiven; but as we gaze upon Mr. Quiller-Couch's canvas we can only discern a face that suggests unrelieved stubbornness, selfishness, cruelty and Satanic malignity.

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We admit at once that Mr. Quiller-Couch's estimate of Samuel Wesley may be right ; if it is, then much testimony to the contrary will have to be thrown to the winds. For instance, Miss Sarah Wesley, his grand-daughter, says that 'his children idolized his memory.' That sentence looks very queer after the 'knoll' incident. Mr. G. J. Stevenson, who was not ignorant of the rector's defects, says : 'No one can read the history of Mr. Wesley's life without a feeling of admiration and even affection. After the lapse of more than a century, his nobleness of disposition, his heroic forbearance and endurance, his painstaking care of his children, his indefatigable search after truth, his loyalty to the king, and, above all, his ardent piety towards God, make his memory more fragrant as time rolls on.' We dare not venture to reproduce Mr. Tyerman's estimate of the rector's character, lest we should increase Mr. Quiller-Couch's irritability, so we will content ourselves by citing one more testimony. It is borne by the rector's son, who had some opportunities of becoming acquainted with his father's character. Samuel Wesley says :

When age, not hasten'd on by guilt or cares,
Graced him with silver crown of hoary hairs,
His looks the tenour of his soul express,
An easy unaffected cheerfulness ;
Stedfast, not stiff ; and awful, not austere ;
Though courteous, rev'rend ; and though smooth sincere ;
In converse free ; for every subject fit ;
The coolest reason join'd to keenest wit ;
Wit, that with aim resistless knows to fly,
Disarms unthought of, and prevents reply :
So lightning falls the mountain-oaks among
As sure, as quick, as shining, and as strong.
Skilful of sportive stories forth to pour,
A gay, a humorous, and exhaustless store.
With sharpest point and justest force apply'd,
The purport never dark and never wide.

Such was the man by friends and foes confest,
Worthy the glorious name of Parish Priest.

When we contrast these testimonies with Mr. Quiller-Couch's descriptions of Samuel Wesley, we are inclined to believe that many of his injurious statements, like the blessed St. Piran of *The Delectable Duchy*, have 'no visible means of support.'

II.

SAMUEL WESLEY OF WROOTE AND
EPWORTH AND HIS
"SAUCY LITTLE HETTY."¹

Some years ago the following was sent to me by the late Rev. Richard Green. It probably appeared in *Longman's Magazine* in 1900. Canon J. H. Overton's *John Wesley*, in the series of *English Leaders of Religion*, (1891), still remains the most fair and compressed appreciation of Wesley from the Anglican standpoint. Canon Overton writes "As a native of the same country, a member of the same University, a Priest of the same Church, a dweller in the same house, a worker in the same parish, a student for nearly twenty years of the Church life of the century in which John Wesley was so prominent a figure"

Samuel Wesley "held the living of Wroote in conjunction with Epworth for about seven years, during which he lived more frequently at Wroote than at Epworth. The Wroote of that day is stigmatised by saucy little Hetty as

A place
Devoid of wisdom, wit and grace.

Mr. Wesley was a pious and faithful parish priest, who left his mark upon his once turbulent, but by him much reformed, parish. He was also a writer of no inconsiderable merit, though he has not won a place among the immortals, and perhaps did not deserve to do so. There is a sort of perverted ingenuity about most of his literary work. What, for example, could be expected from poems published under the unpromising, not to say repulsive, title of 'Maggots,' his first, juvenile, work? Who *could* answer satisfactorily such profound questions as 'What became of the Ark after the Flood?' 'How high was the Tower of Babel?' 'What language was spoken by Balaam's ass?' 'Did Peter and Paul use notes when they preached?' which are really not abnormal specimens of the sort of questions which were asked, and laboriously answered, by Mr. Wesley in the *Athenian Gazette*,

1. This may be of interest to Dr. K. A. Jansson who has enquired for notes on the *Hetty Wesley* of Sir Quiller-Couch's novel, recently translated for Swedish readers.

a kind of seventeenth-century *Notes and Queries*. His poem on Blenheim suggests invidious comparisons with Addison's 'Campaign'; and though few will now endorse the estimate which contemporaries formed of the 'Campaign,' fewer will deny that Addison had a far more elegant and delicate touch than Wesley. His poem on 'The Life of Christ' and his 'History of the New Testament in Verse' are wonderful *tours de force*; but it required a Milton to do justice to such lofty themes, and Mr. Wesley was no Milton. The extravagant laudations with which the first of these poems was greeted naturally provoked a reaction. The author was put on a pedestal from which a fall was inevitable. His poetry, instead of being admired, began to be laughed at. And yet it was certainly not without merit. His translation of the Great Hallel proved that at any rate one thing the great Laureate Nahum Tate said of him was true; it is far superior to the version Nahum himself has given us; and his last work, the 'Dissertation on the Book of Job,' shows that the writer, if not a poet, was at any rate a learned divine and an excellent Latin scholar. By far the best of the poems attributed to Mr. Wesley is 'Eupolis' Hymn to the Creator.' But was it Mr. Wesley's? Dr. Adam Clarke, who saw the original manuscript, tells us that the dialogue in prose which preceded it was in Mr. Wesley's handwriting, but most of the poetry in his daughter Hetty's. Now the poetry reaches a standard which Mr. Wesley never reached, but which Hetty did. Is not the presumption that Hetty was the author? This would have been Dr. Clarke's opinion but for the classical allusions, which he thinks could only have been made by a first-rate classical scholar. This does not quite follow: a judicious use of Lemprière may make a very poor scholar rich in classical allusions; but supposing that 'Eupolis' could only have been written by one who was steeped in classical literature (as I think we may suppose) are we quite sure that Hetty was not? At the age of eight she could read the Greek Testament in the original. Is it not likely that so enquiring a mind would avail herself of the powers she possessed to become acquainted with the finest literature which the world has ever produced? Here is a specimen both of the beauty and classical tincture of 'Eupolis':—

The feathered souls that swim the air,
 And bathe in liquid ether there,
 The lark, precentor of the choir,
 Leading them higher still and higher.
 Listen and learn the angelic notes,
 Repeating in their warbling throats;

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And ere to soft repose they go
Teach them to their lords below.
On the green turf, their mossy nest,
The evening anthem swells their breast.
Thus, like Thy golden chain on high,
Thy praise unites the earth and sky.

'Liquid ether' is a bold reproduction of Virgil's 'liquidum æthera,' and 'soft repose' of 'mollem quietem.' So far, however, from agreeing with Dr. Clarke's opinion that 'it is without exception the finest poem in the English language,' I doubt whether it is even the finest written by its author—supposing Hetty Wesley to have been the author. Its classical dress gives a coldness to it which is very different from the strain in which she wrote of matters that touched her personally. Like most of her sisters, she was unhappy in the choice of a husband. The story goes that she was crossed in love, and rashly vowed to marry the first man who asked her. Presumably the first man who asked was Mr. Wright, a plumber and glazier at Epworth. There are conflicting accounts about his respectability, but all agree that he was quite unfit to be the husband of the refined and highly educated Hetty Wesley. She felt herself mated to a clown; and he, not unnaturally, perhaps, preferred the society he met at the public-house to that of his Titania at home. But we owe Mr. Wright one good turn. Hetty's sad fate lent a tender pathos to her poetry which otherwise it might not have possessed. There are few more touching lines than those in which she apostrophises her unappreciative husband. Here is a sample:—

O thou, whom sacred rites design'd
My guide, and husband ever kind,
My sovereign master, best of friends,
On whom my earthly bliss depends,
If e'er thou didst in Hetty see
Aught fair, or good, or dear to thee,
If gentle speech can ever move
The cold remains of former love,
Turn thee at last—my bosom ease,
Or tell me *why* I cease to please.

The address contains nearly a hundred lines, all of the same exquisite tenderness as the above. Equally graceful are her address to her dying infant, her epitaph on herself, her address to her sister Martha, and her epitaph on her Uncle Matthew—in fact all her poetry. One only wishes there was more of it.

TWO POLEMICAL PAMPHLETS.

DID WESLEY WRITE THEM?

John Wesley was always so ready with his pen that some writers have perhaps been a little too ready to ascribe works to him. The part which he played in the "Battle of the Books" with the Moravians, during the "Time of Sifting" (1740-50) is a case in point.

We may deplore the bitter spirit which crept in to the polemical pamphlets of the day, and we may admit that there were faults on both sides in the controversy; but the fact remains that Methodism and Moravianism had rather different functions, and at the time could hardly be expected to work well together. It is to be doubted whether any recent writer has expressed this distinction with such moderation and good sense as an anonymous contemporary, the author of "A Vindication of the Methodists and Moravians," which was published in London in 1751.¹ This queer pamphlet defends both parties alike from an allegation made in a sermon the preceding December, to the effect "that these things will at last issue in *Popery*." The writer of it believes rather that they are the heralds of the Second Advent. As to the followers of Wesley and Whitefield, "How many of the most profligate and wickedest Men, have they pluck'd as Firebrands out of the Burning (this is like casting out of Devils) and they have healed many Thousands of their Diseases, of Idleness, Drunkenness, and other evil Practices, who have since become great Blessings to their Families and the Civil State." He then proceeds to eulogize the Moravians, "who pick up chiefly the young, sober Party, their main Design being to raise up a Ministry, and send them two and two round about the Earth into all accessible Places, to preach God manifest in the Flesh, *Jesus Christ* and him crucified: who have had also great success in their Appointment. They are a sober, industrious, meek, quiet People."² The essence of the distinction seems to be, that *while the Brethren concentrate on strengthening the sober, the Methodists reclaim the riotous*. These different ends required different methods, and unfortunately entailed much misunderstanding.

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1. May be consulted in the British Museum Reading Room.
 2. pp. 5-6.

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We know, of course, that in 1744—very shortly after he had published, for the first and only time, an “Extract of Count Zinzendorf’s Discourses on the Redemption of Man by the Death of Christ”³—Wesley issued the fourth instalment of his *Journal*, which was more apologetic than autobiographical, and which found fault with the doctrine, discipline, and practice of certain members of the *Unitas Fratrum*. We know that in 1745 he reaffirmed this position in the “Answer to the Rev. Mr. Church’s Remarks,”⁴ and strengthened it with “A Short View of the Difference between the Moravian Brethren lately in England, and the Rev. Mr. John and Charles Wesley.”⁵ In the latter pamphlet, some relevant extracts from the *Journal*, and ten forceful propositions (adequately commented on by Tyerman, 1871 edition, i, 481-2), are followed by some hymns of topical interest, of which the following verse may be quoted :

“O wou’d’st thou break the fatal Snare
Of carnal Self-Security,
And let them *feel* the wrath they bear,
And let them groan their Want of Thee
Robb’d of their false Pernicious Peace,
Their Self-(imputed) Righteousness.”⁶

We know, too, that in the same year Wesley issued his popular penny tracts, the First and Second “Dialogues between an Antinomian and his friend.”⁷ Many of the phrases put in the mouth of the Antinomian are so reminiscent of Count Zinzendorf, that doubtless Wesley was again mainly concerned with the Moravians ; and in such a light the pamphlets were devoured by the public.⁸ When a Dublin man, John Roche, denounced the Brethren in 1751, in a pamphlet considerable alike in size and scurrility, he took it for granted that “Antinomian” was meant by Wesley to be merely the “proper name for Moravian.”⁹

The Wesleyan origin of the above works—except, of course, Roche’s—is beyond question. But now we come to two

3. Published at Newcastle. Dr. Sharp kindly allowed me access to the copy in the Conference Office. Collection of Wesleyana.

4. See *Works* (1809-13), xii, 281.

5. Published in London, 1745 ; reprinted in Dublin, 1747. Conference Office.

6. Page 22.

7. Reprinted in 1758 at Bristol in “A Preservative Against Unsettled Notions in Religion.” Conference Office.

8. The first “Dialogue” was almost an eighteenth century “Best Seller” ; three editions had to be published in 1745.

9. See p. 27 of J. Roche : *The Moravian Heresy*, (Dublin 1751), British Museum.

anonymous pamphlets about which the evidence is only circumstantial, so that we may be content to say "unproven." The first of these is entitled, "Hymns Composed for the Use of the Brethren. By the Right Reverend, and Most Illustrious C.Z. Published for the benefit of all mankind. In the year 1749."¹⁰ The idea of the author was to take the defendant from the dock and put him in the witness box against himself. Zinzendorf was condemned out of his own mouth, by quotations of most extravagant passages from his hymns—passages which the Moravians of to-day deplore as much as anyone—passages which dispose one to agree with the hymnologist when he says :

"In this Point, at this Season,
The Side-Hole has stole my Reason."¹¹

Neither compiler nor printer reveal their identity ; but the purpose of the publication is made clear in a note "To the Reader :

"The following hymns are copied from a collection printed, some months since, for *James Hutton*, in *Fetter Lane, London*. You will easily observe, that they have no affinity at all to that old book called *The Bible*: the illustrious author soaring as far above this, as above the beggarly elements of *Reason* and *Common Sense*."¹²

There is no mention of a price on the pamphlet, but its size corresponds with Wesley's usual penny publications, and in a Catalogue of Wesley's publications, dated 1749, occurs the entry "Moravian Hymns, price 1d." Moreover, R. Green, in his invaluable "Wesley Bibliography,"¹³ says that a footnote "cut from an old book" reads "See a Collection of Moravian Hymns, published by Mr. Westley ; and printed for Mr. Lewis, in Pater-noster Row." Lavington, Bishop of Exeter, was also, as we shall see later, under the impression that Wesley was responsible for the publication. We also know, too, that the Methodist leader was anxious to dissociate himself from the extremes to which the "Blood and Wounds Theology" had carried the able and pious Count. On September 9, 1756, he wrote "To the Monthly Reviewers :

"Where is the justice of coupling the hymns of Methodists and Moravians together? Lay prejudice aside ; and read with candour but the very first hymn in our first

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- 10. Conference Office (Prest Collection only).
 - 11. Hymn 61 ; page 7 of this pamphlet under review.
 - 12. Page ii of cover.
 - 13. Under heading, No. 137.

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hymn book ; and then say, whether your prose is not as nearly allied to John Bunyan's, as our verse is to Count Z——'s."14

The outspoken, downright address "To the Reader" reminds one of the manner of Wesley's numerous "Words," for though an eloquent and voluminous writer he well knew the effectiveness, on occasion, of brevity and simplicity of appeal. The presumption must therefore be that Wesley did have a hand in this pamphlet. Furthermore a fact which Green and others seem to have overlooked. We have evidence that Wesley *did* compile this collection or something very like it ; and nothing else of the sort is to be traced. In the *Standard Journal*, a vital paragraph, published in the original edition, but significantly deleted during the more peaceful eventide of Wesley's career, is restored. It refers to December 15, 1748, and reads :

"*Thur. 15.*—Having procured a sight of that amazing compound of nonsense and blasphemy, the last hymnbook published by Count Zinzendorf's Brethren, I believed it was my bounden duty to transcribe a few of these wonderful hymns, and publish them to all the world, as a standing proof that there is no folly too gross for those who are wise above that is written."15

We may well conclude, then, that Wesley was responsible for publishing the "Hymns" ; but no such clear case can be made out regarding the authorship of "The Contents of a Folio History of the Moravians or United Brethren. . . ." which was published in London in the following year.16 The pamphlet is a hostile review of the *Acta Fratrum Unitatis in Anglia* (1749),17 and, indeed, serves as a useful analytic guide to that rather cumbersome work, which is edited badly—a characteristic of much of Zinzendorf's work. The main part of the work is by "A Lover of the Light," and there is a postscript by "A Methodist," addressed "To those of the *Unitas Fratrum* who were once Methodists." The method of attack is practically the same as that of the "Hymns," for it is alleged that "the absurdities of this *History* are fairly confuted by only repeating them." The "Lover of the Light" gives useful, if biased, summaries of many of the official documents, and in reprinting "The Brethren's Method of

14. "Works" (1809-13), xvi, 20.

15. *Standard Journal*, iii, 309.

16. This is very rare. It is not to be found at the Conference Office, but recourse may be had to the British Museum.

17. British Museum.

Preaching the Gospel" makes comments upon the decisions of the Synod of Bern (1532) in a manner which one can only call "meteorological." Here are some samples :

1. 'That CHRIST alone is the whole of the doctrine.' Tolerably clear.

2. 'That GOD should be set forth to the people only in CHRIST.' Part clear and part cloudy. . . .

8. 'The Knowledge of Sin is to be sought in CHRIST, without Law.' Very dark from beginning to end."¹⁸

One may perhaps compare these phrases with the charming use of such expressions by Oliver Wendell Holmes in thanking a neighbour¹⁹ for the gift of a barometer !

The first few lines of the pamphlet consist of laudatory remarks about the founder of Methodism—in the third person ; a modern politician might conceivably write such things about himself, but hardly John Wesley. And one does not think that, with all his appreciation of the founder of the Order of Jesus, he would have burst out into the expostulation "O Count ! don't you see that these Expressions might have been used by Ignatius Loyola in Honour of *Holy Water* and his Wafer GOD?"²⁰ At the outset some of the extravagances of the Moravian Hymns are quoted—quite a superfluous proceeding by now, if done by Wesley. The "Lover of the Light" concludes with an exhortation to the Methodists—written, it would seem, from a rather detached standpoint—urging them to "Flee from men who love DARKNESS and reject the SCRIPTURES ; and cleave to those that love the LIGHT and can see their Faces in those INSPIRED WRITINGS. The "Postscript," by "a Methodist," sounds more like Wesley, and the work might quite feasibly have been submitted to him for a word of personal approval and of practical application. The conclusion is vigorous :

" . . . GOD *will not be mocked* ; if you will deceive yourselves and one another and dwell near the Borders (if not in the City) of *Sodom*, you will certainly be a Partaker of her Plagues : But rather, *come out from amongst them and be ye separate !*"

As to the authorship of the pamphlet, Heylin wrote in 1864,²¹ "I am not aware that it has ever before been attributed to him" [Wesley]. Heylin had not at his disposal all the inform-

18. See pp. 64, etc., of *Acta Fratrum* ; Section IV of "Contents of. . ."

19. Mr. James T. Fields.

20. Pp. 44-5.

21. Appendix to Tagg's edition of Stevens' *History of Methodism*, (London, 1864).

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ation we have ; it is certain that many contemporaries " attributed " the work to Wesley. Thus, Lavington wrote :

" The *Methodists* having now, for certain Reasons, no Fellowship with their *old Friends*, and War being mutually declared, a *Pamphlet* has been published, intitled, ' The Contents of a *Folio History of the Moravians*, ' &c. with suitable *Remarks* by ' a *Methodist*. ' This is supposed to be Mr. *Wesley* ; who is likewise thought to have published some of the *Moravian Hymns* ; which, as he observeth, have no Affinity at all to that *old Book called the Bible*. " ²²

Of course, the testimony of contemporaries is not always above suspicion ; even in the twentieth century there have been notorious instances of the literary world being duped as to the authorship of a book. At the same time, there is no record that John Wesley ever *denied* writing either work, and he was always prompt in replying to false statements about himself.

The Catalogue at the British Museum always invites respect, and the reference there is as follows :

" The Contents of a *Folio History*, " by " A Lover of the Light " (" A *Methodist* ") [i.e., J.W.]

One must demur from two assumptions in this entry. It is most unusual, to say the least, for a writer to adopt two *noms de plume* in one paper ; one cannot imagine " honest John Wesley " doing so ; and there is no ground in the pamphlet for identifying " A Lover of the Light " with " A *Methodist* " — rather the contrary. And while " a *Methodist* " *may* have been Wesley, it has hardly been *proved*, as far as we know, to the extent indicated by that " *i.e.* " But the Museum official is in good company. L. Tyerman says, " the most incredulous will find it difficult to doubt that Wesley was the author. " ²³ J. E. Hutton, the Moravian authority, also assumes that both the analysis and the appendix are by the same writer, and that writer John Wesley. ²⁴ R. Green, however, is with the sceptics. " There is not a particle of evidence " he affirms " that Wesley wrote this pamphlet, or that he had any hand in it whatever. He was extremely particular in dating his papers, and the preface " [N.B. *not* postscript] " to this pamphlet is dated ' London, Oct. 2, 1750. ' Wesley was at that

22. Page v, Preface to *The Moravians Compared and Detected*. Rev. J. N. Libbey courteously allowed me access to this, and many other works, at the Moravian Archives, Fetter Lane.

23. 1871 edition, ii, 97.

24. *History of Moravian Church*, enlarged edition, (1909) p. 349. See also his essay in Toat and Tait : Owens College Historical Essays.

time in Bristol,²⁵ and had been for some time. This is conclusive proof, if one were needed, that he did not write it. It is more probable that it was written by the Rev. Vincent Perronet, Vicar of Shoreham, by whose publisher it was printed,²⁶ and with whose tracts it was sometimes bound up.²⁷ We may add that it was *not* bound up with Wesley's collected works.

On the whole, and especially in view of Green's valuable suggestion, one is inclined to believe that while Wesley almost certainly compiled the 1749 "Hymns," and possibly wrote the Postscript for the 1750 "Contents," the main part of the latter pamphlet must be attributed to other hands. If any member of the W.H.S. could cast further light on this rather complex subject, it would be much appreciated.

LESLIE T. DAW, B.A.

SCOTLAND, METHODISM IN ELGIN.

Wesley passed through Elgin several times on his journeys to and from Inverness, but he only records preaching there on one of those visits. In his *Journal* (May 12, 1784) we find the following record:—"A church being offered me in Elgin, in the evening I had a multitude of hearers, whom I strongly exhorted to 'seek the Lord while He may be found.'" Wesley also preached twice in this Church during the following day.

The identity of the Church is difficult to establish. Had it been an Episcopal Church, Wesley would probably have noted the fact. We may assume, therefore, that it was a Presbyterian Church. Of this denomination, there were two Churches in the town. The larger, the "Muckle Kirk," seated two thousand persons. It stood on the site of a Church for which a charter

25. He was spending a month at Kingswood, writing.

26. J. Roberts.

27. R. Green, *Wesley Bibliography*, pp. 71-2.

The late Rev. Richard Green concluded in his *Bibliography* of the Works of John and Charles Wesley (*second edition, 1906*, p. 65) 'That the Brethren felt themselves compromised by the Count's hymns is obvious from the action taken in reference to his hymn-book: see Spangenberg's *Life of Zinzendorf*. They have their place in the history of the very painful discussion of that time; but they have long been expunged from the Hymn-book of the Moravian church.'

T.E.B

had been granted about 1189 by William the Lion, King of the Scots. Originally the "Muckle Kirk" had been part of old St. Giles' Church, but in 1621 the arch connecting the nave and chancel was built up, and never re-opened. The nave became the "Muckle Kirk," and the chancel, to which a new door was made, became the "Little Kirk." The fact that the "Little Kirk" was set apart for week-day services leads me to the opinion that it was there that Wesley preached. It was demolished in 1800.

Wesley's *Diary* proves that a Methodist Society was existent in Elgin as early as 1784, for on May 13th there is the note "society," indicating that Wesley met the Methodist Society that evening. Presumably this Society met in private houses, although there is a tradition that it met in an old malt barn at the foot of North Street. In 1800, however, the building occupied by the non-juring Episcopalians, in South Street, became vacant, and was secured by the Methodists. Eight years later, in 1808, the Methodist congregation, now of considerable numerical strength, entered into possession of a Church situated at the top of Batcher Lane, opposite Thunderton House. This Church had been built in 1804 by Mr. Robert Haldane,¹ an ardent Congregationalist. The minister appointed did not stay long, however, and as Mr. Haldane afterwards adopted Baptist views, the congregation was left without a head. In 1808 the property was acquired by Laird Lee, Lewis Sutherland, Geo. Mackenzie, and others, and held in trust for the Methodists. The building, which was the largest place of worship in Elgin, accommodated 1300 persons.

For various reasons, concerning which it is interesting to speculate, Methodism in Elgin declined. In 1817 the galleries of the chapel were removed, and a year later six rooms, two closets and a coal-cellar were let to a firm of straw-hat manufacturers. Other curtailments of the building followed, and about 1812 Methodism in Elgin completely died out, for in that year the building was sold to the Baptists. In later years it was used by a Free Church congregation, and finally, in 1859, it was sold for use as a furniture warehouse. "Sixty days had not elapsed from its exclusive devotion to mammon, until it was wholly consumed by fire." Such is the sad history, not only of the Methodist

1. A booklet, by the writer of the above, on *The Romance of Banffshire Methodism*—which includes Keith, Elgin, Buckie, Banff, and Cullen, with an account of James Turner's mission in 1860, and the developments since that date,—is now published. Copies can be obtained, post free for 1/-, from the Rev. Wesley F. Swift, Bay View, Portgordon, Banffshire.

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Chapel, but also of the Society which once it housed. To-day no trace of Methodism remains in this old Cathedral city.

In earlier years Elgin, as also Keith, was probably worked from Inverness and Aberdeen. In 1814 the "Elgin and Keith Circuit" was formed, with a resident preacher at Elgin. Its arrangement was abandoned in 1822 when the preacher was withdrawn and the Circuit amalgamated with Banff. The Society was apparently disbanded a few years later, simultaneously with the sale of the Chapel.

WESLEY F. SWIFT.

"VARIETIES OF CHRISTIAN
EXPRESSION :"

"METHODISM." (Methuen & Co.) 5/- NET.

A member of the Wesley Historical Society, the Rev. Bardsley Brash, M.A., B.D., B.Litt., who is on our Council, has contributed a volume on *Methodism* to the above series. A copy of this has come as we complete proofs of our present *Proceedings*. We hope to insert notes on it in our *June* issue. Some of our members may be glad to compare it with *The Varieties of Religious Experience* by William James, *Christian Mysticism* by W. R. Inge, *Studies in Mystical Religion* by Rufus Jones, and Wesley's remarkable publications from Macarius, Pascal, the "Cambridge Platonists," Feneton, Leighton, Bunyan, and his own "translations from the German."

T.E.B.

THE LATE REV. MARMADUKE RIGGALL'S
COLLECTION OF WESLEYANA.

At the end of May or early in June this collection will be sold by auction in London, ("Sotheby's"). It includes portraits in paintings, engravings, miniatures, busts; early editions of Wesley's publications, including *The Arminian Magazine* (1778) and the *Methodist Magazine*; Wesley's *Christian Library*; Biographies of the Wesley's, old and new; Histories of Methodism; portraits and letters of the presidents; pamphlets, letters, autographs, &c., &c. A catalogue will be published.

Members of the W.H.S. will watch the newspaper press for dates of the Sale.