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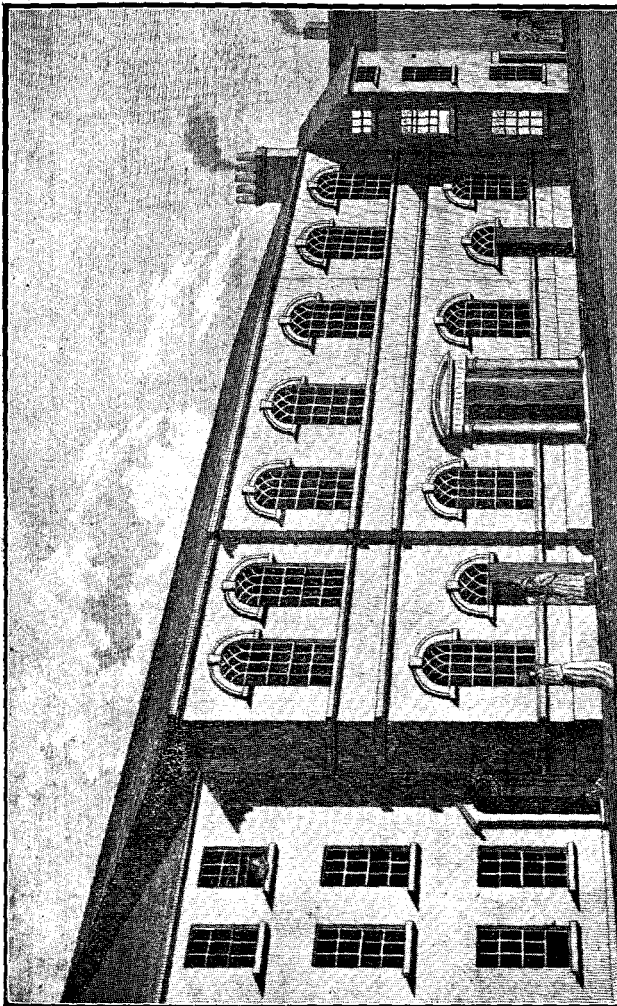
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GEORGE-YARD

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CHAPEL, founded A.D. 1786.

The Rev^d. John Wesley — *To whom*

*by his abill. humble Serv^t.
Thos. Briggs*

GEORGE-YARD CHAPEL. HULL.

We have found an old print of the above dedicated to Wesley between 1787 and 1791, of which we shall be glad to receive the exact date from some member of the W.H.S. attending the forthcoming Conference at Hull. The costumes of the ladies are in the late Georgian style. Who was "Thos Briggs"? And whose portrait of Wesley is engraved on the medallion?

One of the most readable and accurate of all the local histories is Mr. W. H. Thompson's *Early Chapters in Hull Methodism—Hull: A. T. K. Fretwell, Scale Lane, 1895*. It tells the story of the earlier Meeting House in Manor Alley and its relation to the ancient Suffolk Palace, or the Manor House, and its old tower in which early Methodists followed a Baptist congregation, about 1757. In 1771 the tower was pulled down, and the still-existing Manor Alley Chapel built in its stead.¹ Wesley preached here from 1764, and describes the chapel as "upon the whole one of the prettiest preaching houses in England." Here ministered Benjamin Rhodes, who wrote "My heart and voice I raise, To spread Messiah's praise" . . . and Thomas Lee and Joseph Benson were among the preachers. Mr. Thompson gives reminiscences of General Perronet Thompson (well known in connection with the Free Trade Agitation) who was born in Hull, and died at an advanced age in 1869. In a letter written in 1865, the veteran says:—

"I distinctly remember Mr. Wesley preaching on the grass plot of Mr. Terry's house at Newland,² and could almost point out the place of the preacher. The year I cannot assign, but it is very likely to have been 1789. I was so young that I remember I was allowed to wander away from the preaching, and botanise in the environs. I suppose I was about ten years old. . . . I remember hearing Mr. Wesley twice more, probably about the same time. Once, my impression is, in the old meeting house in Manor Alley ;

1. It is now a Custom House bond warehouse (1895).

2. Mr. Thomson reproduced photographs of Manor Alley Chapel, and Mr. Terry's house as they appeared in 1895. Are they still to be seen?

and once I was taken to Beverley. . . . Of the personal appearance of the preacher I have a considerably strong impression, but not of the matter. His manner, I recollect, was calm."

The writer possesses a curious little quarto: *The Methodist attempted in plain Metre*. Nottingham. Printed for the Author at G. Burbages's Office on Long-Road, 1780. Enquiry shows that the *Author* was James Kershaw. A label shows that this copy was once in Sand's Circulating Library, Newcastle-on-Tyne. It evidently fell into the hands of some anti-Methodist critic who wrote satirical comments in the margin. For some years Kershaw was a Methodist preacher. He ceased to travel in 1766, and settled at Gainsborough, where he became famous for his quack medicines. Atmore gives an account of him, and says he possessed considerable talents, and preached occasionally. Some of his "rhymes" relate to Hull, e.g.:

At Kingston upon Hull where Humber rolls,
There numbers are of gracious, happy souls.
There God of late has truly done great wonders,
And by His word in sev'ral Pulpits thunders;
Yet sounds the gospel in a milder strain
Which falls from *Rostrums* like refreshing rain,—

and goes on to tell us how 'Early and late the Clarion rends the air' at Hull, as well as

At Key, at Bridlington, and Scarboro' shore,
At Bay, at Whitby, and some places more.

But the term "rostrum" puzzled us until a Hull friend informed us that "for some years before the Methodists built the Manor Alley Chapel, they occupied a disused preaching house belonging to the Baptists. This was afterwards purchased by the Methodists, the building pulled down and the new chapel erected. In this preaching house the baptismal arrangement, used by the Baptists was covered over by a *rostrum*, as the ground space was limited." This does not conflict with Mr. Thompson's account. Was this the first "rostrum" in Methodism?

About 1786 it was decided to build a larger chapel and 'the outcome was the erection of George Yard Chapel.' Hence the date on our print.

Mr. Thompson writes delightfully on the traditions of George Yard in pre-Reformation days: 'Here stood an Inn much frequented by pilgrims proceeding to the famous shrine of St. John of Beverley. From this mediæval St. George and the Dragon, of which we may suppose the modern George Yard to be

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courtyard, we can imagine them setting out for the minster town on May mornings, as Chaucer's immortal pilgrims journeyed from the Tabard in Southwark. Certain it is, the houses with overhanging stories at the high Street end, with part of which line of buildings the hostelry has been identified, are of great antiquity. In addition to these buildings we have close by the ancient Quakers' house, where Penn is said to have stayed. Then there is Wilberforce's birthplace just across the way, in which same dwelling also Sir John Lister entertained Charles the First.'

George Yard Chapel, which connects us with Wesley's days, was opened in 1787, Joseph Benson preaching the opening sermon (Haggai ii, 9, "The glory of this latter house," &c.). Benson wrote a glowing account of the building to John Wesley, and received the now well-known reply, ending, "If it be at all equal to the new chapel in London, I will engage to eat it." When he visited George Yard in 1788, he had to admit it was nearly as large as City Road, "and that it was well built and elegantly finished, handsome but not gaudy." He gives an interesting account of his visit in his *Journal* (20 June, 1788), of his service at The High Church on the Sunday morning following, his pleasant dinner at the vicarage with Mr. Clark, "a friendly, sensible man, and I believe truly fearing God," and the afternoon service at the Church, when he preached again. In the evening he preached "in our own house to as many as could get in."

Wesley visited Hull once more, on Friday, June 25th, 1790, journeying from Beverley. Mr. Thompson gives details not found in Tyerman's or Taylor's accounts of the visit, but in a memoir of Joseph Gee, in the *Methodist Magazine*, 1836. A company of forty friends who had come in chaises or on horses from Hull, all dined with the veteran Wesley 'at his inn at Beverley. The company were having a good time of it with brisk conversation, when Mr. Wesley pulled out his watch, and started on his feet. Then bidding his friends good day he slipped into his carriage, and was gone before they had time to remonstrate with him, or wish him wait for the company. Horses forthwith were saddled, and carriages got ready with as much speed as possible, but by this time the old man was well on his way, and it was only with the utmost difficulty that the cavalcade overtook their aged father in sufficient time to do him public honour in the sight of their fellow townsmen; Wesley himself being considerably amused when he learned of the excitement of which his punctuality had been the cause.'

It was during this last visit to Hull (June 26th) that Wesley

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wrote his now well known letter to Bishop Prettyman (afterwards Tomline) of Lincoln¹ protesting against the persecution his people were suffering "under the colour of a vile execrable law, not a whit better than that *de hæretico comburendo*. O my lord, for God's sake, for Christ's sake, suffer the poor people to enjoy their religious as well as civil liberty."

In 1798 England had been at war with France for five years. The *Annual Register* for that year records the natural alarm, the terror of Napoleon, and the details of defence against invasion, curiously similar to those of recent years. Letters were addressed in April and May by the Archbishop of Canterbury to the clergy "amid the din of arms," to "co-operate with the preparations, at this time carried on for the reception of the enemy." The Methodists of Hull were following Wesley's appeals of an earlier period to take part in national defence. An old document in the handwriting of Joseph Benson has been preserved, which well records this. A meeting was held in the vestry of George Yard Chapel, of which the following is Benson's report :

At a Meeting of many principal Members of the Methodist Society & Congregation, held to take into consideration the propriety of opening a Book to receive subscriptions at the Vestry of their Chapel, for the defence of the Country at this critical juncture of affairs, the following sums were immediately subscribed.			Mr. Richardson	...	10	0	0
			M ^{rs} . Spence	...	10	10	0
			Geo. Mells	...	5	5	0
			Tho ^s . Good	...	5	5	0
			Edw ^d . Oxley	...	5	5	0
			Hea Green	...	5	5	0
			Will . Siciison	...	5	5	0
			Hanwith Horden	...	5	5	0
			John Harrop	...	5	5	0
			Jos. Benfon	...	5	5	0
			Sam. Holdsworth	...	5	5	0
			W ^m . Webster...	...	5	5	0
			Nath. Waddingham	...	5	5	0
			John West	...	5	5	0
			Avifon Terry	...	50	0	0
			Tho. Gleadow & Son...	...	50	0	0
			M ^r . Slater	...	10	10	0
			M ^r . Gibson	...	50	0	0
			George Wilson	...	5	5	0

T.E.B.

1. Abbey in his *English Church and its Bishops*, II, 241, says that Bishop Tomline 'was certainly a little inclined to intolerance, and to an over straitlaced and precise orthodoxy. Alas, like too many other prelates of his and the preceding age he was a nepotist, whose first thought in dispensing patronage was to benefit his relatives and friends. But he was a painstaking, hard-working bishop, who visited an extensive diocese with great regularity and care.' The change in his name, which occurred in 1803, has sometimes caused confusion. He is perhaps best known for his *Refutation of Calvinism*, 1811. He was strongly opposed to "Evangelical sentiments."

THE EVANGELICALS OF HULL. FROM TWO STANDPOINTS.

"The Town of Hull," lamented Dr. Croft, Bampton Lecturer in 1795, "affords an unfortunate instance of their (the Evangelical's) success, for all the churches there are occupied by these pretended favourites of heaven." There may have been a reference here to the Calvinistic doctrines preached by some of the Evangelical clergy in England and Wales. But there is no evidence to show that they "arrogated to themselves the title of Evangelical," as one of their bitter critics supposed, or that they were in the habit of self-glorification. Unlike the epithet *Methodist*, it was not generally regarded as a term of reproach in the eighteenth century. Like 'Methodist,' it was an old name revived. It had been an early word in English for adherents of the Reformation, the 'Evangelicalles' of Sir Thomas More's reproach in 1531. Who first applied the term to the clergy taking part in the later 'Evangelical Revival' is uncertain. One of them, Thomas Scott, writes of the body of men "called *Evangelical* clergymen (I do not say who gave them that name, I did not." In the early period they were often reproached as 'Methodists,' but later, as the Methodist Church organisation developed, the name Evangelical was generally reserved for the clergy who remained in their parishes emphasizing doctrines which they regarded as the Gospel in its fullness. The Anglican church-historian, Dr. Overton, who is regarded generally as 'a sound churchman,' says, "They were the salt of the earth in their day, and the Church owes a debt of gratitude to those holy men whose names it will never forget so long as personal piety and the spiritual side of religion are valued at their proper worth."

A recent writer in *The Nineteenth Century* (April 1920), like the Bampton Lecturer quoted above, deplores some of the successes of the Evangelicals, whom he associates closely with Wesley. He appears to be of the opinion that they might have rendered better service to the nation if they had laboured to revive, as he says, "the older Anglican tradition which expressed itself in *The Book of Sports*." He tells us how "Wesley and his friends burst" on our unhappy land, and made Sunday a dull day. If they had avoided this, read the *Book of Sports* from the pulpit, and formed a party that made secularisation of the Sunday an article of faith, the modern Dean of Exeter thinks "we should not have had so much to unlearn to day." He chides the Evangelicals twice for

lack of culture. He thinks they have encouraged that "middle class person devoid of culture," of whom we have heard before," a "militant teetotaler," and a Sabbatarian," and "no child of sweetness and light." By some "physical science was branded as impious." He mentions two parochial clergymen as Wesley's "prominent disciples, who seem to be little better than lunatics." The Dean has two notes to his article, one being a quotation from a quotation, and the other relating to Wesley's matrimonial misadventures, is from Watson's *Life of Bishop Warburton*! He appears to be under the impression that Wesley retained his early opinion that he was not a Christian at Oxford and in Georgia. Dr. H. B. Workman has well said, "Wesley's condemnation of his own religious life at Oxford as valueless, was limited to himself, and, as a matter of fact, in his later years was retracted."¹ The Dean closes his article with a worthy tribute to Wesley's "great name."

We have not space to deal with the Evangelical Roll of Honour as a whole, but as members of the W.H.S. will be present at the Wesleyan Conference of 1920, to be held at Hull, our notes must be confined mainly to Evangelicals associated with that city, referred to in our first quotation.

In 1770, Joseph Milner, Headmaster of Hull Grammar School and afternoon Lecturer at the Parish Church, adopted evangelical views after reading Hooker's sermon on *Justification*.² The Hull Mayor and Corporation of that day, and others who shared the sentiments of Dr. Croft, were horrified. His brother tells us that for years "few persons who wore a tolerably good coat would take notice of him when they met him in the street."³ Later we learn from his *Life*, and Mr. G. R. Balleine's *History of the Evangelical Party*, that although his friends dropped him, "the largest church in England was thronged to the door whenever he entered the pulpit. Drunkards and debauchees were reformed, the care of the soul became the topic of conversation, the sick sent for him to their chambers, and when he returned he found

1. *A New History of Methodism* vol. I pp. 31, 195 and Notes in Standard Edn. of W's. *Journal*.

2. Thomas Scott was also greatly influenced by the same sermon. Sir James Stephen says that Scott was "at once astonished and delighted to find that the great adversary of the Puritans, the illustrious champion of the polity of the Church of England, had announced that doctrine with as full an emphasis, and as fearless an unreserve, as the German Reformer, and as the founders of Methodism." *The Evangelical Succession*, p. 419.

3. It is due to the municipal authorities of Hull to note that in 1797, Joseph Milner was elected vicar of Hull by the Corporation.

his house crowded with visitors who had come for spiritual advice : great numbers of the poor and middle class became truly religious. As a schoolmaster he used his opportunities to the full, and the next generation of Evangelicals in Yorkshire was largely recruited from his pupils.'

It was at Hull that Henry Venn, of Huddersfield, heard Joseph Milner preach on a Wednesday in 1771, and reported : "I was transported . . . In my opinion he is much the ablest minister that I have ever heard open his mouth for Christ . . . He invited me to spend the evening with him. This was at the hazard of his character ; for there were persons at the church who knew me and were not a little gratified that Mr. Milner gave such proof of his Methodism." (*Letter in Venn Family Annals*, p. 89).

Joseph Milner's *History of the Church of Christ* (completed by his brother) had the merits and defects of the older "evangelical" literature. It had no charm of style. Its avowed aim was to describe "the real followers of Christ ; . . . genuine piety is the only thing I intend to celebrate ; . . . a history of the perversions and abuses of religion is not a history of the church," wrote Milner. His depreciation of "proud philosophers" gave the opponents of evangelism, as an exclusive system, a fair opportunity to express unfavourable opinions of the movement, and encouraged some of its obscurantist adherents to depreciate 'reason' and progressive research with almost Papal prejudice. In this respect their evangelicalism, like the Calvinism of some of them, was not John Wesley's. At the same time, as Dr. Overton says justly, "strong Protestant as Milner was, he showed a generous appreciation of the real good which existed in the Church of Rome ; a most unusual liberality in theologians of the eighteenth century, High Church, as well as Low." In this respect Milner did resemble Wesley, though no Bishop Lavington, of Exeter, arose to class him with Francis of Sales and Francis of Assisi, "arrant-shatter brained fanatics."⁴

Isaac Milner assisted his brother in Hull Grammar School. He was a big north-countryman who had forced his way up by

4. Nor did Wesley, either as Evangelical or Methodist, "brand physical science as impious," as the Dean of Exeter in his recent article tells us some Evangelicals have done. Wesley was not an authority on science, although as an educated and wide reader he was deeply interested in scientific theories emerging in his time. He wrote the first popular account of *Electricity*, and compiled from the writings of Charles Bonnet, F.R.S., and the *Transactions of the Royal Society* of which he possessed many volumes, some portions of his *Survey of the Wisdom of God in Creation* of which Prof. J. Y. Simpson has quoted several pages as evidence that in his later years Wesley turned from stereotyped views to a theory of *Creation by evolution*.

sheer strength from a weaver's loom, became Senior Wrangler at Cambridge, 'so far ahead of his competitors that the examiners added the word *Incomparabilis* to his name.' Later, as President of Queens' he made his college a stronghold of Evangelicalism. When he became Dean of Carlisle in 1791 he drew such crowds to the Cathedral that it was said, "When the Dean preaches you may walk on the heads of the people." He became intimate with Wilberforce, who introduced him to Pitt, and travelled with them both to the Continent about 1787.

As the Dean of Exeter has referred to some Evangelicals who "branded science as impious,"⁵ we may name at least one avowed evangelical [clergyman of this period who cannot be accused of this; William Farish, who was Senior Wrangler in 1798, Professor of Chemistry 1795-1813, and Jacksonian Professor of Natural Philosophy 1813-37. He was Fellow of Magdalene, and his popularity with the undergraduates enabled him to assist Charles Simeon in tumultuous times.⁶ There are racy notes on him in the *Venn Family Annals* (118, 123, 151, 189-195), by John Venn, F.R.S., F.S.A., President of Gonville and Caius College. And this delightful record of an illustrious succession of evangelicals tells us that his uncle, John Venn of Hereford, a stalwart evangelical, physically and spiritually, was "an early and strong advocate for total abstinence from alcohol." As he was of 'the old type,' there can be no doubt that he would be opposed to the restoration of the 'older Anglican tradition' of the Stuart and Laudian period. But we cannot think of him as the "militant teetotaller and Sabbatarian" referred to by the modern writer we have quoted.

To return to Hull.—Before Joseph Milner's death (1787),

5. Some support for this too indiscriminate charge may, however, be found in Richard Holt Hutton's *Essay* I. 369, n. 2nd edn. 1876, "At a May Meeting held by the so-called Evangelical Party some years ago, a Cambridge professor was branded as putting forth books *only fit* for Holywell-street, because he had called in question the scientific truth of the Mosaic account of the creation. The allusion was to the Rev. Baden Powell's book on *The Unity of Worlds*, in which he states the well-ascertained incompatibility of the Mosaic account with the facts of modern geology, and gives it as his view that moral and spiritual, not scientific truth, is all that can be looked for in the Bible. Wherever the Bible is deified, science is treated as calumny against God."

6. "Professor Farish, as Moderator, was well-known and popular with the undergraduates for some years before and after he was Proctor. 'The Saints,' as the young evangelicals were called, were then confined to Magdalene, where temperance and tea-drinking prevailed and waked the derision of more convivial colleges." *Cambridge*, by Arthur Gray, Master of Jesus College, pp. 270-1.

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Hull had become a strong evangelical centre. Among the younger men were John King, who became Vicar of St. Mary's in 1771, and Thomas Dykes who built St. Johns' (1791) for the dock labourers, and became the first incumbent. We shall be glad to receive details about Mr. Clark, Vicar of the High Church (Holy Trinity), with whom Wesley dined in 1785. When Wesley went to prayers at this church in April, 1752, and described it as "a grand and venerable structure," William Mason, father of Mason the poet, was vicar.

William Wilberforce, born at Hull in 1759 may be regarded as the most distinguished of Evangelical laymen if Lecky's judgment be accepted that 'the crusade of the Anglo-Saxon race against slavery ranks amongst three or four perfectly virtuous acts in the history of nations.'

He entered Parliament as member for his native borough when he was a stripling of twenty-one, and four years later represented Yorkshire. James Boswell was present at the great meeting of freeholders in the Castle Yard at York, when Wilberforce, after shivering in the March wind and hail, sprang upon the table which served as a platform, and held the vast crowd spell-bound for an hour. "I saw" says Boswell, "what seemed a mere shrimp mount upon a table, but as I listened he grew and grew until the shrimp became a whale." After his evangelical conversion Wilberforce became, as he said, "a new man," with new ideals in public life, and he wrote in 1786: "God has set before me two great objects—the suppression of the slave trade and the reformation of manners." He united with Sharp and Clarkson in their great campaign. His natural hilarity was transformed into conscientious kindness. He lost nothing of his personal charm: he gained in personal force and breadth of humanity. His avowed evangelicalism did not sever him from William Pitt; he remained as Lord Rosebery says, "one of Pitt's dearest friends, but one also whom in matters of public morals friendship could not sway." They were of one mind in the crusade against the slave trade, and Wilberforce writes: "Pitt recommended me to take its conduct. I well remember, after a conversation in the open air at the root of an old oak tree at Holwood just above the steep descent into the Vale of Keston, I resolved to give notice on a fit occasion in the House of Commons of my intention to bring the subject forward."

He gave his whole energies to preparation, and his health broke down under the strain. In 1788 physicians declared that he could not live a fortnight, and on his death-bed, as he believed,

he obtained from Pitt a promise to carry forward the work. In May, Pitt, supported by Burke and Fox, succeeded in getting a resolution passed that the question should be dealt with next session. Wilberforce recovered, and opened the debate in 1789 in a powerful speech of over three hours. In February, 1791, he received the famous letter from Wesley, written four days before the veteran died. "Go on, in the name of God and in the power of His might," wrote Wesley, "till even American slavery, the vilest that ever saw the sun, shall vanish away before it." Two months after receiving this letter, Wilberforce brought in his Abolition Bill, but it was defeated by 163 votes to 83.

Wilberforce appealed to the first Wesleyan Conference assembled after Wesley's death for co-operation in petitioning against the slave trade, and supplied the ministers with copies of the "Evidence," a striking and impressive publication. So revolting were some of the facts stated that they were considered unfit for printing, the omission being indicated by asterisks in the published evidence. A copy of this is in possession of the writer of these notes, an 18mo of 244 pp. entitled :

An abstract of the *Evidence* delivered before a Select Committee of the *House of Commons* in the years 1790 and 1791 ; on the part of the Petitioners for the Abolition of the *Slave Trade*. Bury, Printed by R. Haworth.

A list, with paragraphs on most of the witnesses examined by the Parliamentary Committee is given at the end. One of the witnesses was a well known Evangelical. He is thus described :

Newton, the Rev. John, Rector of St. Mary, Woolnoth, made five voyages to Africa : in the last in 1754 he was master of a slave ship. He lived on shore about a year and a half, chiefly at the island of Plantanes, at the mouth of the R. Sherbro.

"It was in 1792," says Lord Rosebery, "that Pitt set an imperishable seal on his advocacy of the question by a speech which all authorities concur in placing before any other effort of his genius To those who consider Pitt a sublime Parliamentary hack, greedy of power and careful only of what might conduce to power, his course on the Slave Trade, where he had no interest to gain, and could only⁷ offend powerful supporters, may well be commended."

7. "I am no worshipper of Mr. Pitt," said Wilberforce in the House of Commons, long after Pitt's death, "but, if I know anything of that great man, I am sure of this, that every other consideration was absorbed in one great ruling passion—the love of his country."—Lord Rosebery's *Pitt*, *Twelve English Statesmen* series, p. 286.

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The motion for abolition became an annual effort. An order of Council in 1805 slightly checked the traffic, and attempts were made to "regulate" the horrors of the "middle passage." The trade was prohibited in the newly-conquered Dutch colonies. Victory was in sight, but the anticipated triumph was saddened to Wilberforce by the death of Pitt, and a few months later his great rival, Fox, passed away. Lord Grenville, a strong advocate of abolition, became Prime Minister. Wilberforce, to his joy, discovered that Spencer Perceval, the Leader of the Opposition and his party, were willing to co-operate. Lord Grenville brought in a Bill into the Peers in January, 1807. Counsel was heard at the Bar of the House against the measure, the old prognostics of ruin to West Indian and British trade were repeated. But the "evidence" and the Abolition Society had done a good work in exposing the bugbears. Lord Howick (afterwards Earl Grey) introduced the Bill into the Commons. The second reading passed by 283 votes to 16.

One of the most memorable scenes in the long history of Parliament followed. The House rang with acclamations as Sir S. Romilly congratulated Wilberforce, who would, he said, "return to his home to receive the congratulations of his loved ones, and lay his head upon his pillow, remembering that the slave trade was no more." Wilberforce was touched by the reference to his peculiarly happy household life. His trusty friends, Sharp, Zachary Macaulay, Brougham, the brothers Grant and Henry Thornton, thronged to his room in Palace-yard. "Let us make out the names of the sixteen," said William Smith. "I have four of them." Wilberforce, who was writing at the table, kneeling on one knee, hastily looked up and said, "Never mind the miserable sixteen; let us think of our glorious two hundred and eighty-three!" The Bill finally passed the house of Lords on March 24, and received the Royal Assent on March 25, 1807.

Thus closed, after a struggle of twenty years, the first epoch in the history of this great reform. Wilberforce died only three days before the passing of the Act for the Abolition of Slavery in 1833. "Thank God," he said, "that I should have lived to witness the day in which England is willing to give twenty millions sterling for the abolition of slavery."

Mr. Benjamin Kidd well says that "the two doctrines which contributed most to the extinction of slavery were the doctrine of salvation and the doctrine of the equality of all men before the Deity."⁸ These were doctrines emphasised by Wesley the

8. *Social Evolution*, p. 171.

Methodist, and Leslie Stephen well says in his *Ford Lecture*: 'The movement which we call Methodist was essential moral and philanthropic.' Among the Evangelicals the philanthropic dynamic of a great Gospel exceeded the limitations of some of their traditional doctrines. "If Puritanism was more fruitful in theological literature . . . evangelicalism was infinitely more fruitful in works of piety and benevolence," writes Dr. Overton,⁹ "There was hardly a single missionary or philanthropic scheme of the day which was not either organised or taken up by the Evangelical Party." Both Wesley and Wilberforce were Evangelicals in the deepest sense, apart from questions of 'Party.' They were among the men described by Rufus Jones¹⁰ 'to whom there comes enlarging, expanding power, constructive spirituality, which makes them sure they are allied to a Being who guarantees the ultimate goodness of the world . . . They live more dynamic lives because of these experiences which rise within them.'

WESLEY AND THE SLAVE TRADE.

BENEZET AND CLARKSON.

John Wesley read "a book by an honest Quaker on that execrable sum of all villanies commonly called the slave trade," and in 1774 published his "Thoughts on Slavery." It had a rapid circulation, in three editions in one year. In his letter to Clarkson encouraging the work of the Abolition Committees he promises that a later large edition shall be distributed. Wesley's pamphlet begins with a history of the traffic, describes the African coast and the ravages of slave-hunting, and closes with stirring appeals: "Whether you are a Christian or no, show yourself a man! Give liberty to whom liberty is due, that is, to every child of man. Let none serve you but by his own act and deed, by his own voluntary choice. Away with all whips, all chains, all compulsion!"

An article on *Anthony Benezet*, the 'honest Quaker' to whom Wesley was indebted, was contributed to the *W.H. Proceedings*, Vol. v, 45-46, by the Rev. R. Butterworth, who gives an account of Benezet's literary output, and his correspondence with Queen Charlotte, Lady Huntingdon, Dr. Fothergill, Whitefield (who was his guest in 1740), and others.

9. *The English Church in the 18th Century*, II, 60.

10. *Studies in Mystical Religion*, Intro. xxxiii.

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In 1742, Mr. Butterworth informs us, Anthony Benezet became Master in the School at Philadelphia "founded by charter from William Penn." Here is another link with Hull, for opposite Wilberforce Buildings is an old house with overhanging stories. 'On the old oak beam over Bryant's court,' says Edmund Wrigglesworth, 'may yet be seen amongst the scroll work the initials of Richard and Elizabeth Sissons, who resided in this house, and who were amongst the earliest converts to Quakerism. In this house they entertained William Penn for some time previous to his setting out to found Pennsylvania.'

The following record of Wesley's correspondence with Thomas Clarkson is not generally known. It appears in Clarkson's *History of the Abolition of the Slave Trade*, and is dated 1787, when the Abolition Committee was formed. Methodists will remember this as the date of the opening of George Yard Chapel.

"Mr. Wesley, whose letter was read next, informed the committee of the great satisfaction which he had also experienced when he heard of their formation. He conceived that their design, while it would destroy the slave trade, would also strike at the root of the shocking abomination of slavery. He desired to forewarn them, that they must expect difficulties and great opposition from those who were interested in the system; that these were a powerful body; and that they would raise all their forces when they perceived their craft to be in danger. They would employ hireling writers, who would have neither justice nor mercy. But the committee were not to be dismayed by such treatment, nor even if some of those who professed good will toward them should turn against them. As to himself, he would do all he could to promote the object of their institution. He would reprint a new, large edition of his 'Thoughts upon Slavery,' and circulate it among his friends in England and Ireland, to whom he would add a few words in favour of their design. And then he concluded in these words: 'I commend you to Him who is able to carry you through all opposition, and support you under all discouragements.'

On the 30th of October, 1787, a second letter was read from Mr. John Wesley. He said that he had now read the publications which the committee had sent him, and that he took, if possible, a still deeper interest in their cause. He exhorted them to more than ordinary diligence and perseverance; to be prepared for opposition; to be cautious about the manner of procuring information and evidence, that no stain might fall upon their character; and to take care that the question should be argued

as well upon the consideration of interest, as of humanity and justice; the former of which, he feared, would have more weight than the latter: and he recommended them and their glorious concern, as before, to the protection of Him who was able to support them." T.E.B.

AN ORIGINAL LETTER BY HESTER
ANN ROE (ROGERS).
(1756-1794).

In Marshall Claxton's picture of the group around Wesley's deathbed is the kneeling figure of Hester Ann Rogers. She was almost as well known in early Methodism as Mrs. Fletcher, through her letters and memoirs. The death of her father, a devoted clergyman, when she was ten, nearly broke her heart. Her friends thought that novel reading and dancing would divert the child's mind from her loss. Richardson, Fielding, Smollet and their school were then popular, but failed to help her. From novels she turned to Roman and English History, Rollins, Stackhouse and similar solid volumes. David Simpson's preaching at Macclesfield Church deepened her consciousness of spiritual need. The last night she spent in a ballroom she danced until four in the morning. Then with characteristic thoroughness she went at five o'clock one morning to a Methodist service. Simple-hearted, faithful Samuel Bardsley was the preacher, and his sermon on "Comfort ye, comfort ye my people saith your God," came with healing to her heart. She joined the Methodists, met the difficulties of home life with tact and patience, then she was allowed to follow her own course, and went about doing good with Lady Maxwell, Lady Fitzgerald, Mrs. Fletcher, and Miss Massey of Buxton. She found a lasting friendship with John Wesley when she was twenty and he was seventy three, as his letters to her show. In 1784 she married James Rogers, and as a minister's wife and class leader toiled beyond her strength. Wesley tried to regulate her eager, self-sacrificing mood. He wrote, "We have no right to kill ourselves: our lives are not at our own disposal Remember this, and do not carry a good principle too far." At the close of Wesley's life she and her husband were living in the City Road House, as we have noted. She finished her work on this side of the grave at the age of

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thirty nine, but the life story of 'one of the whitest souls in the early annals of Methodism' rendered her influence wider after her death than during her life. One of her letters has been sent to us in which the difficulties of an enquiring soul are met with a discriminating sympathy and sound judgment.

T.E.B.

Mr. Wallington is right in saying that this letter in the Conference Office collection deserves transcription. He says it was written to 'Francis Swindells of Macclesfield ; a young man of twenty who was evidently making a stay in London at the time—for it is addressed to "Mr Francis Swindells, Bishopsgate Within, No. 55, London." In the *Methodist Magazine* for 1825, p. 425, will be found a short memoir of the letter which shows that the advice given by the writer was not unheeded.'

"I am glad to find your desires are still after God, and as your Aunt tells me dr. Mr. Wesley is now in London I have wrote to him as I promised and beg you will deliver the letter with your own hands—if you cannot see him immediately keep it till you do. May he be made a Blessing to your Soul. I wd. advise you to pray earnestly that he may before you go to him. You need not be afraid of speaking whatever lyes upon your mind, for I am sure he will hear you and answer any Questions you ask with pleasure. If you go to the New Chapel you will be most likely to find him, for he lives in the House adjoining. Do not give the letter to anyone else. And now let me again beseech you—look to Jesus and He will freely save you—without Money and without Price. Look through men and means to Him. He only can save, and He will. I hope I shall soon hear that you are happy in His precious [sic]. "He that asketh soon receiveth—He that seeks is sure to find : Come, for whosoe'er believeth, He will never cast behind." O come just as you are and He will save you and freely forgive you *All*.—I shall be glad to hear from you soon. I am, dr. fellow Pilgrim,

Yours affec^r for Xt's sake,

Oct. 20th, 1780.

HESTER ANN ROE.

Does anyone know the source of the hymn-verse in the above letter ?

A. WALLINGTON

JOHN WESLEY'S TRACT SOCIETY.

I have before me as I write, what I conceive to be one of the original prospectuses of this worthy effort. It is a printed sheet, 11" x 9", printed in the old style, and is headed :—

"A plan of the Society instituted in January, 1782, to distribute religious Tracts among the poor."

The following are the Rules of the Society.

1. Every member must subscribe half-a-guinea, a guinea, or more, annually.
2. A proportionable quota of Tracts shall be delivered yearly to each Subscriber, according to his Subscription, and as nearly as possible at prime cost and carriage paid.
3. Every Subscriber shall have a right to "chuse" his own Tracts, if he please; otherwise he will receive a proportionable variety of the whole.

Then follows a list of thirty items, with prices, which even in these advanced days strikes one as being preposterously cheap.

"A Serious Call to a holy life" is priced 8d., while "Alleine's Alarm" and "Baxter's Call" are 3½d. each.

The following Sermons are offered at 3/- per hundred.

- "Awake thou that sleepest."
- "The Great Assize."
- "The Trinity."
- "The New Birth."
- "The Way to the Kingdom."
- "The Almost Christian."
- "On Original Sin."
- "On Salvation by Faith."

Wesley's regard for the children is manifest by two items at least, "Instructions for Children" and "Tokens for Children" are priced at 1/1½d. per dozen. Oliver's "Hymn to the God of Abraham" is sold at 2d. per dozen.

Of his famous "Words," the following are detailed at 1/- per hundred :—

- "A Word to a Freeholder."
- "A Word to a Swearer."
- "A Word to a Sabbath Breaker."
- "A Word to a Drunkard."
- "A Word to a Prostitute."
- "A Word to a Condemned Malefactor."

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"A Word to a Smuggler" is 2/- per hundred. Did Wesley think these could afford to pay double for his rebuke, I wonder?

"A Word to a Soldier" and "A Word to a Sailor" are 1/6 per hundred, and the list closes with "John Janeway's Life" at 1½d., and "A Collection of Hymns" for 1d.

At the end of this list the following paragraph appears:—

"An Extract of the Original Proposals."

"I cannot but earnestly recommend this to all those who desire to see true scriptural Christianity spread throughout these Nations. Men wholly unawakened will not take the pains to read the Bible. They have no relish for it. But a small Tract may engage their attention for half an hour: and may, by the blessing of God, prepare them for going forward."

This is signed "John Wesley," and dated London, January 25th, 1782.

The scheme also has the endorsement of Dr. Coke, as follows:

"NEVER was an Institution established on a purer or more disinterested Basis than the present. And surely all who wish well to the propagation of divine knowledge must afford their Approbation at least, to so benevolent a plan. And, that God may incline the hearts of thousands, to administer an *effectual* assistance thereto, is the ardent prayer of
Thomas Coke."

Dr. Fitchett in his "Wesley and his Century" says:—

"Wesley was the first discoverer of that much-criticised form of literature, the "tract,"—and he anticipated the famous R.T.S. by many years. That Society was organised in 1799, but more than fifty years earlier,—in 1742,—Wesley was busy printing and circulating thousands of brief, pungent appeals to various classes of wrong-doers,—to drunkards, to swearers, to Sabbath-breakers, etc. By means of his helpers, Wesley scattered these earliest of Tracts like seeds over the soil of the three Kingdoms." (p. 473-4).

That the prices charged for the "Tracts" were "as nearly as possible at prime cost," is very evident. At the end of "A plain account of the people called Methodists, in a letter to the Rev. Mr. Perronet, vicar of Shoreham, in Kent, published in Dublin 1799,"—I have a list of 105 Wesley publications. From this I find that the sermons on "The Almost Christian," "Awake thou that Sleepest," and "Salvation by Faith," are advertised at one

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penny each. His various "Words" at 3/- per hundred. The "Serious Call to a Holy Life" is priced 1/6, and the "John Janeway's Life" at 3d.

ALBERT F. HALL.

The late Rev. Richard Green in his *Wesley Bibliography* p. 363, gave a list of 30 of these tracts. He wrote: "In 1762 Wesley and Coke instituted a "Society for the Distribution of Religious Tracts among the Poor." The "plan" of the Society was appended to the *Arminian Magazine* for November, 1784; and was reprinted in the *Wesleyan Methodist Magazine* for 1847, p. 269. A "List of Books already printed" was attached to the "plan." It contains thirty titles, most of them being sermons or "Words," written by Wesley, nearly all of which had been previously published. It is the first Methodist tract catalogue. On these tracts were printed the words: *This book is not to be sold, but given away.*"

[I have nearly all these, and an additional one not mentioned, *The Scripture Doctrine concerning Predestination.* T.E.B.]

NOTES AND QUERIES.

549. WESLEY ON "THE HIGHLANDS OF SCOTLAND" IN 1770,—(see *Standard Journal* v. p. 367, and *Note*)—Mr. W. C. Sheldon, sends a useful excerpt from Fullerton's *History of the Scottish Highlands*, edited by John S. Keltie, F.S.A.S., 2 vols. 1875. The Duke of Argyll, in his art. in *Chambers's Encyclopædia*, vol. v. refers to this book. We preserve the useful extract in our MS. Journal, and print another extract from a more recent work, also sent by Mr. Sheldon.

The following is extracted from CELTIC SCOTLAND by William F. Skene (Edinburgh: David Douglas, 1880) vol. iii p. 285.

"The boundary line which separated the Highlands from the Lowlands, and known as the Highland Line, was in the main an imaginary line separating the Gaelic-speaking people from those using the Teutonic dialect, but it likewise coincides in part with the natural boundaries formed by those physical features which have influenced the relative position of the Gaelic and Teutonic speaking portion of the population respectively. The southern part of this boundary coincides with the great barrier formed by the mountain range of the Grampians, and where this range is intersected by rivers which take their rise in the interior of the Highland region, and flow through this range to the eastern sea, in deep ravines or narrow glens, with high mountains on each side, were narrow

passes which formed the entrances to the Highlands, and were easily defended, rendering the country almost inaccessible, while similar passes characterise the northern portion of the line where it crosses the great rivers.

The Highland Line may be said at its southern end to commence at Loch Lomond, in the earldom of Lennox, where the pass of Balmaha between the lake and the commencement of the mountain region leads into the district of which this lake is the centre. The line then enters the earldom of Menteith, and crosses the Forth, here called the Avon dubh, at Aberfoil, and proceeds from thence to Callander, where the pass on the northern side of Lake Vennachar leads into the district formerly called Strathgartney, and the Pass of Leny forms the entrance to Strathire, and to the district of Balquhiddier. From Callander the line follows the range of the Grampians, through the earldom of Stratherne, and crosses the river Earn at Grieff, and the Almond at Findoch, where passes lead to the upper part of the Vale of the Earn and to Glenalmond respectively. From thence it follows the line of the Grampians to Dunkeld, where the King's Pass forms the entrance to Strathhtay, and through the district of Stormont in Gowry to Blairgowrie, where the passes lead into the district of Strathardell. From thence it follows the line of the Grampians till it crosses the Isla north-west of Alyth, and enters the earldom of Angus, where the minor range of hills forming the east side of Glenisla coincides with the line till it reaches the great chain of the Mounth, or backbone of the Grampians, at Cairn Bannock. There it enters the earldom of Mar, and proceeds along the west side of Glenmuich to the Dee at Ballater, where the Pass of Ballater leads into the districts of Strathdee and the Forest of Braemar. North of these districts includes likewise the district of Strathdon, crossing the river Don at Boat of Forbes, whence it proceeds to the river Spey at Craigellachie, including the district of Strathavon, and here a pass leads into the district of Strathspey, and separating the mountain region of the earldom of Moray from the level plains forming the southern seaboard of the Moray Firth, it terminates at the mouth of the river Nairn, which flows through the town of Nairn, and formerly separated the Gælic-speaking people on its left bank from the lowland population on the right. The Highland line thus intersects the old earldoms of Lennox, Menteith, Stratherne, Gowry, Angus, Mar, Buchan, and Moray, which represented

the older great Celtic tribes or Mortuath, governed by their Ri Mortuath or Mormaers, and the portion of each earldom included in the Highland line consisted of that part which retained its Gaelic population intact, while the rest of it became more or less colonised by foreign settlers.

W. C. SHELDON.

Wesley may have been mistaken in referring to "a line of cairns" (as the note in the *Standard Journal* suggests). But that cairns were in some places used as boundaries appears from one of the Duke of Argyll's articles: "Cairns, apart from their original (Sepulchral) purpose, have been used as boundaries, or as the meeting place of a tribe." "It is still the custom to erect cairns of stones at the halting places on the journey to the cemetery." Was it a series of such cairns that Wesley saw? and was he misinformed as to their purpose? T. E. B.

550. WESLEY AND JEREMY TAYLOR.—In the *Proceedings* v. 24, is an interesting note on Wesley's quotations "nudi nudum Chrystum sequi"! (March 7, 1736 *Journal*), but considering Jeremy Taylor's great influence over Wesley at that period is it not more likely that he was adopting the bishop's words in the sermon entitled *Via Intelligentiæ*: "ut nudi nudum sequantur crucifixum," (that with naked and divested affections they might follow the naked crucified Jesus,) than that he was quoting the motto of Francis of Assisi or the resolve of the Duke of Gandia?

Another instance of the influence of Jeremy Taylor, may, perhaps be found in the partiality which Wesley strongly and repeatedly expresses for the writings Ephrem Syrus. (see Standard edition of *Journal* vol. I, 284 and III, p. 284.) The Bishop there speaks: "Ephrem the great Syrian that stirred up the sluggish, and awakened the sleepers, and comforted the afflicted, and brought the young men to discipline: the looking-glass of the religious, the captain of the penitents, the destruction of heresies, the receptacle of graces, the habitation of the Holy Ghost."—R. BUTTERWORTH.

551. WESLEY AND SHAW'S TRAVELS.—[May 17, 1768] Mr. Butterworth writes in our M.S. Journal: Wesley considered the "great part" of Shaw's Travels "very dull and unenterprising; but some remarks are extremely curious." Among the "extremely curious" things in the work may be reckoned the family dinner given by the Emperor of Morocco to Dr. Shaw in which "a young whale, with a few sturgeons and porpoises fried round it, a brace of lions fricassed, the neck of a camel, a brace of ostriches, a griffin, a potted crocodile,

a dish of cranes and storks, and a roasted buffalo formed the chief features.

[Thomas Shaw, D.D., F.R.S. (1692-1751) wrote *Travels or observations relating to Barbary and the Levant*. Oxford, 1738-56. Chaplain to the Factory at Algiers. Returned 1733. Principal of St. Edmund Hall 1740 with which he held the Greek Professorship and the Vicarage of Bramley. The later Edition of his *Travels* contains a reply to Dr. Pococke, who also voyaged to the East, and attacked some of Shaw's statements.] T.E.B.

522. **BINGLEY MEMBERSHIP IN 1763.**—Mr. George Severs Ferncliffe, Bingley, inserts in the *M.S. Journal* a list of the members for 1763, which he has copied from Bingley Circuit Book. A similar list is found also in the Circuit Book of the Haworth Round (for the same year), and the Rev. J. Ward's *Hist. of M. in Bingley*. The list found by Mr. Severs, on a separate sheet, was made by the Rev. Wm. Fugill. Some of the names differ, although the occupations—cordwainer, spinner, weaver, yeoman, woolcomber, &c., remain, unaltered. Mr. Fugill's list is probably the more correct. Mr. Severs adds interesting notes on the names, and supplements the information given by Ward, and by Mr. J. W. Laycock in his *Heroes of the Haworth Round*. Appended to Mr. Fugill's list are four columns classifying the members, and indicating the spiritual condition of each person. The 'number of members in Bands' is given, showing that the statement in the *New History of Methodism* that each band 'had no fewer than five, or more than ten members' needs revision. Mr. Sever's painstaking list will be of such value to local historians, and will be lent to enquirers on application to the Rev. F. F. Bretherton.

553. **MISS WESLEY, HER BROTHERS, DR. JOHNSON.**—In our *M.S. Journal*, the Rev. R. Butterworth writes:—In one of Dr. Johnson's letters to Mrs. Thrale, dated October 20th, 1777, he says "I am just come home from not seeing my Lord Mayor's show, but I might have seen at least part of it. I saw Miss Wesley, and her brothers: she sends her compliments." Who was Lord Mayor that year?

[Sir James Esdaille was Lord Mayor.] T.E.B.

554. **EXETER METHODISTS; "THE PLAYHOUSE CHURCH; ANDREW BRICE THE BOOKSELLER.**—Mr. Butterworth also inserts the following in the *M.S. Journal*:— In Curwens' *History of Booksellers* appears the following: When the Play-actors (of Exeter) were purchased out of the theatre by the Methodists who converted it into a chapel, and indicted them

as vagrants, Brice, a bookseller, published a poem, *The Playhouse Church; or, New Actors of Devotion*, which so stirred up popular feeling that the Methodists were fain to restore it to its former possessors, who, under Brice's patronage, opened their house for some time gratis to all comers. In gratitude the players brought his characteristics of speech and dress into their dramas, and even Garrick eventually introduced him under, of course a pseudonym, in the "Clandestine Marriage." Does this incident appear in any Methodist history? Mr. Green makes no reference to Brice's work in his *Anti-Methodist Publications*.

EARLY METHODISM IN EXETER.—The late Mr. George Stampe possessed a copy of *A brief account of the late Persecution and barbarous Usage of the Methodists at Exeter, with a Vindication, etc. By an Impartial Hand. 1746.* 3rd edn. Exon. 12mo. In the *Meth. Mag.* 1871 a series of papers appeared: *Reminiscences of Methodism in Exeter* (by I. W. Thomas,) and we find two articles on Exeter in the *Meth. Rec.*, 1900 and 1908. Mr. Thomas's articles were re-published. In the *Proc. W.H.S.* iv. 149, quoted in a note in *Wesley's (Standard) Journal* vi 252, some details may be found, and the note adds a list of the 'Meeting houses' and states that the first was in Theatre Lane, behind the Guildhall (1745—possibly '43). The most recent *Hist. of M. in Exeter*, by Mr. Elijah Chick, was published in 1907.] T.E.B.

555. JOHN PAWSON'S SERMON ON "THE BALM OF GILEAD."—In *Lives of the Early Methodist Preachers*, under John Pawson's autobiography (vol. iv. p. 99) there is a mysterious reference to one of his sermons, the publication of which brought him into trouble. Adam Clarke mentions the fact thus: "When by the publication of his sermon on the Balm of Gilead he had given that occasion which he never designed to his adversaries to say all manner of evil against the work of God, he was exceedingly distressed. None can tell the deep agony his heart went through" I have just found some light upon this matter in a MS. volume which has recently come into the possession of the Book Room.¹ The author says: "While he [Pawson] was stationed in Leeds the second time (1799) he published a volume of sermons entitled *A Legacy to the Poor; or, Sermons on Various Subjects*, in one of which he published his views on the state of the clergy of the Establishment, which were deemed objectionable by the Conference. His remarks on the clergy occur in the

1. *Facts connected with the History of Methodism in Leeds and its vicinity.* By Thomas Wray. There are understood to be many vols. of this work, but only two, vols. ii. and v. can at present be traced. Can any member say where the rest are?

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thirteenth sermon of that volume, founded on Jer. viii, 22 : "Is there no balm in Gilead . . . etc." As the title of the work implies, he appears to have had the volume printed to give away. He had distributed several copies before the Conference had an opportunity of expressing an opinion on the character of the sermons. All the copies that were afterwards published are found without the obnoxious matter, and there is a discrepancy in the volume between pp. 324 and 331, six pages being abstracted. As soon as tidings reached Mrs. Pawson² that this part of the sermons was denounced, she went to all her friends in Leeds, before Mr. Pawson's return [from Manchester, where the Conference was held] and cut out the pages. She succeeded in every instance except one; and some others, who had allowed their volumes to be defaced, transcribed the objectionable pages from that copy, and had them bound up with the printed volume, in which state they still remain. It was from one of the volumes containing the MS. interpolation that the writer became acquainted with the nature of the proscribed part of the sermon. The philippic is too caustic in its spirit and too sweeping in its charges to bear reprinting.

Adam Clarke, on the page already quoted from, generously defends his friend and says that certain sentences were twisted and misinterpreted by his opponents, who hunted him down "as though he had been the most noisome of wild beasts and the most seditious and inhumane of men. May God forgive them!"

There are several of Pawson's publications in the Conference Office Library, but the book above-mentioned is not one of them. Has any member seen a copy of it? One of these, with or without the quaint interpolation added, would be welcomed as an addition to the many treasures already in the Library. And in any future reprint of *Early Methodist Preachers* this note may serve as the basis of a footnote to the passage referred to.—*A. Wallington.*

556. TO WHAT EXTENT AND ON WHAT GROUNDS, DID JOHN WESLEY ALTER HIS BROTHER CHARLES'S HYMNS?—To answer this fully would demand many pages. Some of the hymns were revised four or five times. We give one example only.

2. This was Pawson's second wife, née Frances Mortimer. See *The Experience of the Late Mrs. Frances Pawson.* by J. Sutcliffe, 1813,

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Hymns and Sacred Poems. 1740.

My steadfast soul from falling free,
Can now no longer move ;
Jesus is all the world to me,
And all my heart is love.

Hymns and Spiritual Songs, 1753.

My steadfast soul from falling free,
Can now no longer move ;
While CHRIST is all the world to me,
And all my heart is love.

Collection of Hymns. 1780. (Large H. Bk. 1st edn.)

My steadfast soul, from falling free,
Shall then no longer move ;
But Christ be all the world to me,
And all my heart be love.

So also *Second Edn., 1781* and *Eighth Edition 1793.*

But *1797* edition, published six years after John Wesley's death, has :

My steadfast soul from falling free,
Shall *then* no longer move ;
But Christ *is* all the world to me,
And all my heart *is* love.

This last may, or may *not* have been based on a revision by Wesley.

The original hymn contained *twelve* verses. All of these appeared until 1797. Critical taste, the adaptation of hymns to public use by abbreviation, or an attempt to express shades of doctrine more carefully, suggested most revisions. It will be observed that in the above example there is a slight modification of doctrinal ideas in each case. The writer inclines to the 1780, 1781, and 1793 as Wesley's final rendering. The above verse is omitted altogether from our modern versions ; 1876 (No. 361), and *The M. H. Bk.* (No. 537).
T.E.B.

