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

https://biblicalstudies.org.uk/articles_whs_01.php

Proceedings OF THE Wesley Historical Society

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JOHN WESLEY'S STUDIES AS AN UNDERGRADUATE

THANKS to his letters and diaries, Wesley's life and work at Oxford from his election to a fellowship at Lincoln in 1725 to his departure for Georgia ten years later, have been described in considerable detail. V. H. H. Green and Richard P. Heitzenrater, for instance, have used these materials to good effect.¹ Not much has been written, however, concerning his career as an undergraduate, and especially the course of study which he pursued between 1720, when he entered Christ Church, and 1724, the year he received his Bachelor of Arts degree. Dr. Green, referring to these studies, simply says, "There is no information available about Wesley's studies as an undergraduate but he doubtless performed conscientiously the barren exercises necessary for his degree."² The first clause in Green's statement is not correct. While much remains to be learned regarding Wesley's career between 1720 and 1724, it is possible to describe in some detail the studies he made at Christ Church.

Our knowledge depends upon a pair of manuscripts, the book of "Collections, 1699-1771", to be found in the Christ Church Library and Wesley's "Compendium of Bartholin's Physicks", which

¹V. H. H. Green, *The Young Mr. Wesley: A Study of John Wesley and Oxford* (London: 1961); Richard P. Heitzenrater, "The Oxford Methodists, 1725-1735" (Unpublished Ph. D. dissertation, Duke University, 1972). Dr. Heitzenrater's edition of *The Diary of an Oxford Methodist: Benjamin Ingham, 1733-34* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1985) throws additional light upon this period.

²Green, p.62.

belongs to Wesley's Chapel, London.³ The first of these documents lists certain textbooks which some of the undergraduates at Christ Church were expected to read during their four years in the college. As I will explain, Wesley read many and possibly all of these texts. The manuscript at Wesley's Chapel is a translation and abridgement of Caspar Thomeson Bartholin's *Specimen philosophiae naturalis*, published in 1697 and often reprinted thereafter.⁴ The Christ Church Collections Book mentions "Bartholini, Physica"; whether or not this entry refers to C. T. Bartholin's *Specimen* is a matter of debate. However that may be, Wesley wrote his "Compendium of Bartholin's Physicks" during the latter part of his undergraduate career at Christ Church, that is to say, either in 1723 or early 1724. The evidence for this dating will be given below.

Before listing the textbooks just mentioned and considering these points of interpretation, it will be necessary to describe the "collections" from which the Collections Book derived its name. The Old and New Testaments appeared among them; Wesley would of course recommend these books above all others. But he seems to have been favourably impressed by many (but not all) of the other books which he studied at Christ Church. In later life, whether he was organizing the curriculum at Kingswood School or recommending a course of private study to his correspondents, a fair number of these titles reappeared. To mark this line of continuity, these works will be cited in the footnotes.

The term "collections" refers to a series of annual examinations administered by the Christ Church faculty to some but not all of the undergraduates enrolled in the college.⁵ These examinations were based upon lists of readings which had been drafted by the Dean and his faculty colleagues. Apparently the lists were first formulated during the administration of Henry Aldrich.⁶

³I wish to thank the authorities at the Christ Church Library and Mr. Cyril Skinner, Managing Curator of Wesley's Chapel, for making these manuscripts available to me.

The Collections Book has attracted a good deal of attention lately. I refer to P. Quarrie's article in *The History of the University of Oxford*, Volume V: *The Eighteenth Century*, edited by L. S. Sutherland and L. G. Mitchell (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1986) and E. G. W. Bill, *Education at Christ Church Oxford 1600-1800* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1988). Earlier, Hugh Kearney had referred to the Book briefly (*Scholars and Gentlemen: Universities and Society in Pre-Industrial Britain 1500-1700* [Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1970] p.164). The "Compendium" was the subject of A. W. Harrison's article, "One of Wesley's Science Note Books" *Proceedings xviii* pp.8-11. Harrison was misled as to the date of this document; therefore, he did not connect it with Wesley's career at Christ Church.

⁴The date of publication is based upon the printed catalogue of the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris and the National Union Catalog issued by the Library of Congress. The date suggested by the British Museum catalogue, 1692, is speculative.

⁵Bill, p.209

⁶Ibid, p.210

Thereafter they were revised from time to time on a piecemeal basis; they did not change during Wesley's years as a student. Collections are to be understood in the light of the requirements for a Bachelor of Arts degree. These requirements were laid down in the University statutes, the so-called "Laudian code" of 1636. Candidates for the B.A. were expected to perform successfully in a specified number of disputations; to attend lectures on certain books or topics named in the code; and to pass a final examination based upon these texts, towards the end of their four year course.⁷ The directions concerning these books or topics were specific in some cases and permissive in others. The Dean and his colleagues worked within this framework to prepare men for the final examination and, more broadly, to ensure that their students received a broad liberal education. The way in which they handled one of the topics named in the code, Greek or Roman antiquities, is an illustration of their approach. The college faculty decided that a little of each, the *Iliad*, Virgil and a few other texts, would be appropriate. The men preparing for Collections were set to work reading these books, among others. They would then be ready to offer them later as subjects for the final exam. In the eighteenth-century prospective graduates could choose the books — no more than three in number — upon which they would be tested.⁸

As this example illustrates, the faculty had an opportunity to shape the graduation requirements by giving to the code's broad provisions (where they occurred) a concrete meaning. The faculty also felt free to bend the code in certain respects and to add to its provisions when it seemed advisable to do so. For instance, according to the statutes, the study of history, natural philosophy and metaphysics was reserved for prospective Masters of Arts. By the eighteenth-century, these subjects had been pushed down to the undergraduate level. Another example: The code made no provision for the study of Scripture and Christian theology by candidates for the first degree. However, these subjects were important parts of Collections and the Greek New Testament could be presented for the final B.A. exam.⁹

Collections were administered in the following manner. The undergraduates at Christ Church were divided into four years or classes. The college faculty prescribed texts for each of the classes; these were duly recorded in the Collections Book. In the ordinary course of events, the men reading the texts assigned to their year (and these names were recorded in the Collections Book as well)

⁷ *Statuta Selecta è Corpore Statutorum Universitatis Oxon.* ([Oxford]: Typis Guil. Turner, 1638) is a convenient summary of the code's provisions.

⁸ L. S. Sutherland, "The Curriculum", in Sutherland and Mitchell, p.475

⁹ *Statuta Selecta*, pp.11, 12; Sutherland in Sutherland and Mitchell, pp.472, 475, 477.

were examined over their particular set of books during the month of January.¹⁰ They were required to "collect" these books, that is, to make notes on their reading, and to present these notes to the examiners, hence the name, Collections.¹¹

Wesley's name does not appear in the list of classes for 1721. In the lists for 1722, however, his name appears twice, as a member of the first class and of the second; indeed, Wesley appears to have signed the book himself, once on the front side of leaf 40 (the first class) and again on the verso (the second class).¹² There is an "X" after Wesley's name in both of these instances;¹³ the significance of these notations is not immediately clear. E. G. W. Bill points out that an examination might cover the required readings for two or even three years, although this was not the customary procedure.¹⁴ Perhaps Wesley was tested over the work of the first two classes during the examinations conducted in January 1722. Be that as it may, for 1723 he is listed as a member of the third class and for 1724, of the fourth class.¹⁵ In these cases his name was entered by a different hand.

In the following paragraphs I will list the books which undergraduates in each class were often required to collect and offer a few comments concerning some of them. The following items (nos. 1-6) were assigned to the first class:

1. The Four Gospels in Greek;¹⁶

¹⁰Bill points out various exceptions to the standard procedure¹(footnote on p.215).

¹¹Ibid, p.209; For an example of Wesley's use of "collect" in this sense, see *Journal* (London: 1909-16; reprinted 1938), vol.i, p.59. Hereafter the abbreviation [JW] will be used for this work.

The following abbreviations will also be used for the works cited:

JWL *The Letters of the Rev. John Wesley, A. M.*, ed. John Telford, 8 vols. (London: 1931).

JWW *The Works of the Reverend John Wesley, A. M.*, ed. John Emory, 7 vols. (New York: 1831).

¹²University of Oxford. Christ Church. "Collections, 1699-1771".

¹³From this double entry for 1722, and the possibility that the first entry was an error, one might infer that Wesley did not collect the books assigned to the first class. Under the rules, he was not absolutely obliged to do so. This is unlikely, however. In several cases the assignments from longer books were spread across three years of study. It is unlikely that Wesley would be asked to read the middle and latter portions of these texts, as he was (see the lists to be given in the text) and not the opening portions of them.

¹⁴Bill, p.209

¹⁵"Collections", leaf 43 (recto) and leaf 45 (verso).

¹⁶The graduates of Westminster School read the Hebrew Psalms instead; their School placed particular emphasis upon the study of Hebrew (Bill. p.303). When Wesley came to draw up the curriculum for Kingswood School, he assigned the Greek Gospels to the eighth and highest class ("A Short Account of the School in Kingswood, near Bristol," JWW, vii, p.333). The advanced students, who were pursuing the collegiate-level "course of academical learning", read "Matthew to the Acts" during their first year of study and "Job to the Canticles" during the third (JWW, vii, pp.335, 336).

2. John Pearson, *Exposition of the Creed*, articles one to four (from "I believe in God the Father Almighty" through "was crucified, dead and buried," approximately 56 per cent of the book). Pearson (1613-86) was successively Master of Trinity College, Cambridge and Bishop of Chester. His *Exposition*, published in 1659, was often reprinted thereafter. Wesley continued to have a high regard for Pearson throughout his career as an evangelist (although he could criticize him on occasion).¹⁷

3. Cicero, *On the Orator (De Oratore)*, three books;

4. Homer, *Iliad*, books one to eight;¹⁸

5. Virgil, *Aeneid*, the first six books;¹⁹

6. Henry Aldrich, "Ars logica", i.e. *Artis Logicae Compendium*. Aldrich (1647-1710), to whom reference has already been made, was Dean of Christ Church from 1689 until his death. His *Compendium* was published in 1691. As Wilbur S. Howell has pointed out, there are two versions of the book, a longer form consisting of 107 pages and a shorter form containing sixty-seven.²⁰ The question arises, which of these versions did Wesley read? In 1750, he prepared a translation of the *Compendium* for the advanced students at Kingswood.²¹ This translation was based upon the short form, as the order of the books and chapters shows. (However, Wesley turned Aldrich's appendix on method into what he called chapter three of book two.) It seems likely that Wesley would use for his translation the text which he

¹⁷See, for instance, "A Farther Appeal to Men of Reason and Religion, Part 1", in vol. 11: *The Appeals*, ed. G. R. Cragg (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1975), pp. 163-66, 175; JWL, iv, p. 243 (May 13, 1764); 249 (June, 1774); vi, p. 314 (June 5, 1778); vii, p. 83 (September 8, 1781). For a critical comment, see JWL, iii, p. 174 (March 16, 1756). Wesley read several lectures on Pearson to a group of his preachers which he assembled at Kingswood School during Lent, 1749 (JWJ, iii, p. 391 [March 23, 1749]). That he used on this occasion the notes which he had collected from Pearson many years earlier seems plausible enough. The *Exposition* was assigned to the first year of the advanced course at Kingswood (JWW, vii, p. 335). It also appears on the reading lists which Wesley prepared for two women who were pursuing private courses of study, Margaret Lewen and his niece, Sarah (JWL, iv, p. 249 [June, 1764]; JWJ, vii, p. 83 [September 8, 1781]).

¹⁸The students in the eighth class at Kingswood read the first six books and those in the first year of the advanced course read the entire poem (JWW, vii, pp. 333, 335).

¹⁹The entire epic was assigned to the seventh class at Kingswood and the first year of the advanced course (JWW, vii, pp. 333, 335).

²⁰*Eighteenth-Century British Logic and Rhetoric* (Princeton: 1971), p. 43. Howell's section entitled "Dean Aldrich's Famous *Artis Logicae Compendium*" (pp. 42-60) is highly informative.

²¹JWJ, iii, p. 459 (March 24, 1750). The students read the *Compendium* during their first year of study (JWW, vii, p. 335).

had come to know at Oxford.²²

The following books (nos 7-14) were assigned to the men in the second class who were doing Collections.

7. The Acts of the Apostles, Romans and the Corinthian letters;²³

8. Pearson's *Exposition*, articles five to eight (from "He descended into Hell" through "I believe in the Holy Ghost", approximately 27 per cent of the text);

9. Cicero, *Brutus (De Claris Oratoribus)*;

10. Cicero, *Orator*;²⁴

11. Homer, *Iliad*, books nine to sixteen;

12. Virgil, *Aeneid*, books seven to twelve;

13. Cicero, *On Moral Obligation (De Officiis)*;²⁵

14. Eustachius, "Ethica", i.e. Eustachius a Santo Paulo (otherwise known as Eustache Asseline), *Ethica: sive summa moralis disciplinae, in tres partes divisa*. 1654 is the date of the first English edition. Eustachius (1573-1640), a French Catholic, was a doctor of the Sorbonne and a Prior in the reformed branch of the Cistercians known as the Feuillant Order.²⁶

Men in the third class read the following books for Collections (nos. 15-20).

15. The Greek New Testament from Galatians to Revelation;²⁷

²² Wesley tells us that he read a series of lectures on Aldrich to a second class of preachers assembled at Kingswood during Lent, 1749 (JWJ, iii, p.391 [March 23, 1749]). He might well have used for this purpose the notes which he had collected almost thirty years before. He also recommended Aldrich's *Logic* to Margaret Lewen, although he added, "I am afraid you cannot understand it without an instructor" (JWL, iv, p.248 [June 1764]; he recommended Isaac Watts' *Logic* to Sarah Wesley (JWL, vii, p.82)).

²³ The Westminster men substituted the Hebrew text of Genesis for the book of Acts. The pupils in the eighth class at Kingswood read Genesis; the students in the advanced course read the Hebrew Pentateuch during their first year and the rest of the New Testament following "Matthew to the Acts" during the second (JWW, vii, pp.333, 335).

²⁴ In March, 1747 Wesley wrote, "This week I read over with some young men a Compendium of Rhetoric . . ." (JWJ, iii, p.284 [March 4, 1747]). Might this refer to a Ciceronian work which he had collected at Oxford (nos.3, 9, 10)? This impression is reinforced by Wesley's next sentence, "I see not why a man of tolerable understanding may not learn in six months' time more of solid philosophy than is commonly learned at Oxford in four (perhaps seven) years" (loc. cit). On the other hand, he did not include Cicero's books on rhetoric in his curriculum for Kingswood School. This reflected his expressed dislike for "Ciceronian" oratory (On Wesley and Cicero, see George Lawton, *John Wesley's English* [London, 1962], pp.266-67).

²⁵ This book was assigned to the seventh class at Kingswood School and to the first year of the advanced course (JWW, vii, pp.333, 335).

²⁶ In 1747 Wesley read with some young men not only the "Compendium of Rhetoric" to which I have already referred but also a "System of Ethics". This could refer to Cicero, *De Officiis* or to Eustachius.

²⁷ The graduates of Westminster School read Deuteronomy in Hebrew. The Johannine Epistles were read by the seventh class at Kingswood; the students in the advanced course read the "historical books" of the Old Testament and the New Testament books following "Matthew to the Acts" during their second year (JWW, vii, pp.333, 335).

16. Pearson's *Exposition*, articles nine to twelve (from "the Holy Catholic Church" through "the Life Everlasting", approximately 16 per cent of Pearson's book);

17. Cicero, *Discussions at Tusculum (Tusculanae Disputationes)*;²⁸

18. Homer, *Iliad*, books seventeen to twenty-four;

19. Lucretius, *On the Nature of Things (De Rerum Natura)*;

20. "Bartholini, Physica" As indicated previously, there is some question as to the author and text to which this entry in the Collections Book refers. For simplicity's sake, I will go on to describe the work of the fourth and final class, before taking up this question.

Fourth year students at Christ Church were expected to collect two works (nos. 21-22).

21. The thirty-nine Articles of Religion, "expositio ab ellisio", i.e. John Ellis, *Articulorum XXXIX Ecclesiae anglicanae defensio*.²⁹

The first edition of Ellis's book under this title was published in 1694. An earlier version, called *Defensio fidei: seu Responsio succincta ad argumenta, quibus impugnari solet confessio anglicanae*, had appeared in 1660. John Ellis (1599?-1666) received the M.A. and B.D. degrees from Oxford and his D.D. from the University of St. Andrews. From 1646 onwards, he was rector of Dolgelly, Merionethshire.

22. "Burgersdicii, Metaphysica", i.e. Franco Petri Burgersdijck, *Institutionum metaphysicarum libri duo*.³⁰ Burgersdijck (1590-1635) was Professor of Logic and Natural Philosophy at the University of Leiden.

The last item which the Collections Book assigned to the third year class was "Bartholini, Physica." To whom and to what text does this entry refer? E. G. W. Bill identifies the author as Caspar Bartholin and the book as his *Enchiridion physica*.³¹ This must refer to Caspar Berthelsen Bartholin (1585-1629), successively Professor of Medicine and of Divinity at the University of Copenhagen. There was another Caspar Bartholin, however, C. B.'s grandson, Caspar Thomeson Bartholin (1655-1738). C. T. Bartholin continued the family tradition; as was the case with his grandfather, he belonged to the faculty at Copenhagen. P. Quarrie states that "Bartholini, Physica" in the Collections Book refers to C. T. Bartholin's *Specimen philosophiae naturalis*.³² Independent investigation leads me to concur with this judgment. Before stating some of the

²⁸This book was read by the eighth class at Kingswood and the students in the second year of the advanced course (JWW, vii, pp.333, 335).

²⁹Bill, p.304.

³⁰Bill, p.299 (quoting the title in a slightly different manner); for other references to the study of Burgersdijck at Oxford, see Kearney, pp.163, 265; Quarrie in Sutherland and Mitchell, pp.493, 504.

³¹Bill, p.308.

³²Quarrie in Sutherland and Mitchell, p.504.

arguments in its favour, I would advance a further suggestion. It is highly probable that the compendium of physics now at Wesley's Chapel is the set of notes on C. T. Bartholin's *Specimen* which Wesley submitted to his examiners at Collections in January 1723. Comparison of Bartholin's Latin and Wesley's English shows that the latter is based squarely upon the former.³³ The date of Wesley's compendium is right. At my request, Dr. Frank Baker has examined a photocopy of the handwriting and compared it to the holographs of letters which Wesley wrote to his mother from Christ Church and to his notes on "Metaphysics". Professor Baker dates the compendium to 1723 or early 1724.³⁴ Furthermore, Wesley's compendium is a fair copy; the careful way in which each page has been written out and corrected suggests that it is the work of an individual who is anxious to please and impress others, a young man appearing before his examiners, let us say.

The identification of "Bartholini" to which one is predisposed depends in part, I believe, upon how one interprets Oxford's reputation for "conservatism". As noted toward the beginning of this article, the faculty over the years had modified the undergraduate curriculum to a considerable degree. Insofar as I can tell, C. B. Bartholin's *Enchiridion* is an Aristotelian and scholastic work. C. T. Bartholin's *Specimen*, on the other hand, is a deliberate effort to combine the old and the new. It includes elements of Aristotle, to be sure, but it is equally if not more dependant upon Descartes and his followers. Occasional references to experimentalists such as Ottò von Guericke, William Gilbert and Robert Boyle are added for good measure.³⁵ This is the type of book, I suggest, which men were likely to adopt as a text, who valued the tradition which they had inherited but who were willing to make changes when convinced of the wisdom of doing so.

The publication history of C. B. Bartholin's *Enchiridion* and of C. T.'s *Specimen* tells in favour of the latter. The *Enchiridion*, a two volume work in Latin, totalling more than 950 pages, was published in 1625 at Argentinae. The finding aids and library catalogues at my disposal list no reprintings of the *Enchiridion* in England. "Bartholini" was required at Collections from 1717 to 1755 and from 1760 to 1762.³⁶ If the Dean of Christ Church had expected

³³Note, for instance, Wesley's word order and the use of English derivatives from the Latin.

³⁴Letter, Frank Baker to John C. English, July 28, 1988.

³⁵C. T. Bartholin rarely cites specific works of Aristotle. On the other hand, he frequently mentions (30 times at least) an author whom we have already met, the Dutch Aristotelian F. P. Burgersdijk. Bartholin refers to Descartes, and especially his *Principles of Philosophy*, at least sixteen times. He is more likely to cite two of Descartes' followers, Antoine LeGrand (21 times) and Jacques Rohault (19 times).

³⁶The title employed in the Collections Book is "Physica" from 1717 to 1743 and "Physicae Compendium" from 1744 to 1755 and 1760-62.

students to read the *Enchiridion*, would he not have arranged for its reprinting occasionally? When we turn to C. T. Bartholin's *Specimen*, a different picture emerges. The book was published in Amsterdam (1697); it was reprinted at Oxford in 1698 and at least four times thereafter, in 1702, 1703, 1713 and 1724.³⁷ This steady demand strongly suggests that the *Specimen* was in constant use at Oxford and that the phrase, "Bartholini Physica" refers to it.³⁸

In a future communication, I intend to return to Wesley's "Compendium" and to the book upon which it is based, Bartholin's *Specimen*. These works are important for the history of ideas and for the history of education. The reception of Descartes at Oxford is a subject which has not been explored in depth. The adoption of Bartholin as a textbook shows that Descartes' natural philosophy, at least, was not entirely unacceptable. Of greater interest to church historians, Bartholin raises the possibility that Cartesianism may have influenced Wesley's intellectual development. The fact that he repeatedly cited Nicolas Malebranche, one of Descartes' more distinguished followers, suggests there is nothing inherently impossible about this. These matters await further study.

JOHN C. ENGLISH

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³⁷This information is based upon the printed catalogues of the British Museum and the Bibliothèque Nationale and the National Union Catalog of the Library of Congress.

³⁸Two minor points are worthy of note: (a) As stated previously, Burgersdijk was often cited in Bartholin's *Specimen* and his *Institutionum metaphysicarum* was required of the fourth year men doing Collections. Two books which shared a certain perspective would make a nice "package" for undergraduates to read. This seems to favour the identification of "Bartholini, Physica" as the *Specimen*. (b) The difference in length between the *Enchiridion* (over 950 pages, rather small ones, to be sure) and the *Specimen* (145 pages) may be significant. Eighteenth-century Oxford was not as somnolent as the now traditional picture has made it out to be; even at best, however, academic expectations were not terribly high. Under such circumstances, shorter texts — at least those to be read within one academic year — probably would have been preferred to longer ones.

WESLEY COMMEMORATION HISTORIES

What Hath God Wrought edited by R. C. Gibbins (Wesley's Chapel, 49 City Road, London, £3.00) brings together in one volume the first seven of the annual lectures given to the Friends of Wesley's Chapel between 1982 and 1988. They include lectures by Gordon Rupp, Frank Baker and Raymond George. The majority have appeared as separate pamphlets and have been noticed in these pages.

Nigel McMurray has written a detailed and well-illustrated guide to the stained glass of Wesley's Chapel which will be of interest to many visitors. Nineteen windows are described, eighteen in the chapel and one in the House, all inserted between 1888 and 1947. The booklet is obtainable from the Chapel at £2.00 plus 22p postage.

CHARLES WESLEY (1707-1788)

(Every year Christ Church, Oxford commemorates one of its alumni by a speech in his honour before the Encaenia Gaudy. In 1988 the subject was Charles Wesley. This is the text of the Christ Church Gaudy Oration delivered on Wednesday, 22nd June, 1988).

As you enter Christ Church Hall for dinner this evening, notice, to the left of the door as you go in, the portrait of John Wesley. There is no portrait there of his brother Charles, the subject of this commemoration address. The next time you visit Westminster Abbey, familiar to Charles from his schooldays, look for the Wesley memorial: both brothers are depicted in stone, side by side. And the next time you pick up the *New Oxford Book of English Verse*, open it at page 430 to read Charles Wesley's poem "Wrestling Jacob", better known, perhaps, as the hymn "Come, O Thou Traveller unknown". John Wesley's works, poetry and prose, are little read today, even if a few phrases from his *Journal* occasionally surface in the speeches of modern politicians.

I single out these three things — the portrait, the memorial tablet and the poem — because each is a tangible sign of a place in posterity. They offer symbolically a neat triangle of points from which to consider the life and work of Charles Wesley. The portrait represents the purely human point of view, measuring social achievement, historical distinction, and national prominence. The tablet represents a God's-eye-view, Charles Wesley considered *sub specie æternitatis*. The poem stands for a view from a realm that — in a manner of speaking, at least — partakes of the human and the divine, and bridges the gap between them: the realm of art and literature. If my three symbols are signposts of a place in posterity, a kind of immortality, they also indicate that there are *different* kinds of immortality, and this is an especially important caveat for Charles Wesley, whose fate it has been to be considered almost exclusively in the shadow of his brother John.

The year 1988 is the two hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the conversion of both brothers, but the celebrations throughout the country have not unnaturally focused on the conversion of John, the 24th May, three days after that of Charles. I say "unnaturally" because what is being celebrated nationally is the kind of immortality symbolized by the portrait and the kind that Charles does not enjoy. Historically speaking, it was principally John who, with enormous single-mindedness and dedication, provided the impetus for the foundation and subsequent development of Methodism. However, the Christ Church Gaudy Oration is not a

Methodist sermon to commemorate the conversion that founded a church. By a chronological coincidence, 1988 is also the two hundredth anniversary of the death of Charles, and is thus an opportunity to attempt an appreciation of those individual merits and characteristics that distinguish him from his brother, and which are not easily represented by the honour of a portrait in Christ Church Hall.

It was these individual qualities of Charles's that were the spark of Methodism. The so-called "Holy Club", designed to promote and deepen individual piety, formed around him as a result of his personal contacts with fellow-undergraduates in the spring of 1729. He wrote of his neighbour in college:

I have a modest, humble, well-disposed youth living next to me, and have been (I thank God!) somewhat instrumental in keeping him so. He was got into vile hands, and is now broke loose. I assisted in setting him free, and will do my utmost to hinder his getting in with 'em again . . .

He was of opinion that passive goodness was sufficient, and would fain have kept in with his acquaintance and God at the same time!

Charles helped set him to rights, and such ministrations as these inspired others to join with him in leading an especially rigorous and devout life. John was not closely involved at the outset; he had moved by this time to a Fellowship at Lincoln, no Studentship of Christ Church being forthcoming. His portrait, incidentally, is in this respect slightly anomalous, since, unlike almost all the others pictured in the Hall, he never became a Student. A fellow-anomaly, ironically enough, is Dr. Pusey: they have almost nothing else in common! Despite his removal to Lincoln, John very soon felt a characteristic need to impose some kind of ordered form on the activities of the "Holy Club", and became its unofficial leader and spiritual director. One of the members of the "Holy Club", John Gambold, described Charles as "a man made for friendship"; John might equally well have been called "a man made for leadership" — and it is leadership rather than friendship that earns portraits.

The tenor of the group was strict, but essentially intimate: the solidarity of friendship was what helped them to withstand the opposition of their arrogant and complacent contemporaries and of the traditional Anglican establishment. Charles's relations with authority, including his brother's rather autocratic style at times, were always characterized by uneasiness. By taking Communion weekly, instead of monthly as was usual since the Reformation, by organizing frequent Bible-study groups and prayer-meetings in his rooms, Charles was acting in the spirit of an exhortation from the Vice-Chancellor of the University, Dr. Butler. This consisted of an open letter calling for "frequent and careful reading of the Scriptures and other such books that may serve more effectually to promote Christianity, sound principles and orthodox faith". Yet

Charles disliked the formalism and impersonality of contemporary Oxford religion, and made this dislike evident enough to provoke Dean Bradshaw's disapproval, and even scorn. The Dean, whilst deploring the laxity of most undergraduates, could hardly have been expected, in the Oxford of the 1730s, to have much sympathy with Wesley's zeal. Charles was trapped between the taunts of his peers and the suspicions of his seniors.

Throughout his life Charles was never wholly for nor wholly against the established Church. In his later years, he found himself in a very uncomfortable position: he had been banned from preaching in several parishes, he had been dismissed from his curacy in St. Mary's, Islington, on charges of "irregularity", he had incurred the censure of Archbishop Potter — the man who, as Bishop of Oxford, had ordained him deacon in Christ Church Cathedral. And yet, all this notwithstanding, he was adamant against schism and vehemently disapproved of John's so-called "ordinations". In 1760 he had written to a friend, "Rather than see thee a dissenting minister, I wish to see thee smiling in thy coffin". Strong words from a man known for his friendliness! In a final emphatic gesture of distaste for secession, he insisted on being buried in the graveyard of his parish church at Marylebone, and not in the grounds of the Methodists' City Road chapel, as John had wished. It is inconceivable that John could have made such a gesture, even had he wanted to: it is only because Charles was *not* in John's pre-eminent social position that he could entertain such ambivalence. Or conversely, it is only because he was so ambivalent that he could never present as plain and unambiguous a public face as his brother. He was in no position to gain the kind of historical recognition that is earned by the single-minded.

The corollary of all this is that memorial tablet in Westminster Abbey. The God's-eye-view is unconcerned with whether the respective personalities of Charles and John led to public recognition and portraits in the Hall. Uncompromising honesty to God, however manifested, marks both brothers; it is rewarded in a manner that defies representation and is but faintly symbolized in the memorial tablet. Ambivalences and ambiguities are of no consequence here.

They were of no consequence, either, as regards Charles's ministry to the individuals of the communities he visited. His zeal for good works and his faith were inseparable, and if the exact doctrine of the relationship between them grew progressively distinct from John's, he was never any the less prepared to continue the personal ministry he had begun in Christ Church in the late 1720s. He faced howling mobs, violent crowds and the slings, if not the arrows, of many an outraged Anglican congregation. Oxford, as one might expect, was civil to him, when not welcoming, but in

places such as Ludlow, for example, he had to preach against the not inconsiderable distraction of a shower of eggs and other less fragile missiles. But he maintained this courage, and with it the resilience needed to withstand the unrelenting emotional battering that his prison-visiting must have represented. They are quite distinct from John's almost naïve singleness of purpose, and can only have stemmed from his own special relationship to God. This is not the place, and I am not the person, to start questioning the details of Charles's conversion: to judge by the other evidence of equivocation in his character, though, Ronald Knox's suspicions about its finality and crystal-clarity are probably well-founded. Where John was more straightforward, deriving his strength to follow the path from the sight of the goal itself, Charles drew his intensity from a heart-beat rhythm of acquiescence and scepticism. The memorial tablet commemorates John's strength and Charles's intensity, and refuses to make a value-judgement about them.

Charles was always able to recognize and admit his brother's ascendancy over him in worldly terms. He gave up his academic ambitions to join John's ultimately disastrous mission to evangelize in Georgia, despite encouragement towards seeking a Studentship from his brother Samuel, who had also been up at Christ Church. Samuel had become head usher at Westminster School just before Charles had won a King's Scholarship there at the age of thirteen: having supervised his education closely, Samuel was well aware of Charles's academic potential. John's wishes prevailed, however, because real firmness of purpose is persuasive to one in doubt. The roles were only occasionally reversed, but there is one episode, which, read in skeletal form, is slightly reminiscent of a Hollywood screen-play, and in which Charles is the clear-thinking, smart-acting villain. After officiating at his brother's wedding, John makes a tour of Ireland accompanied by a middle-aged widow. During this tour the two come to an understanding and even exchange promises to marry. But John has a rival, a fellow-preacher, whom the lady has spent two years nursing and with whom she has also come to an understanding, and exchanged promises. She keeps both men dangling on a string for some time, until John summons up his resolve and decides to marry her. Enter Charles, who disapproves of the match, remonstrates with John, but fails to convince him. Uncharacteristically decisive, he rides post-haste to ensure that the widow is safely married to the rival before John arrives. There is, I believe, a "musical" written about the peregrinations and preachings of the Wesley brothers. I know nothing about its actual composition, but to make this episode prominent would make good dramatic sense.

That, of course, is the point of recounting the episode here, at the risk of seeming unjustly trivial. John appears to have lacked the

sense of *personal* drama that Charles never lost. At the heart of drama there is conflict, and it is not, I hope, a *rapprochement forcé* to propose a link here to the permanent state of undeclared conflict that I have made so much of in Charles under the name of ambivalence. When the tension of ambivalence resolves itself, there is born the decisive personal action or statement. It is not the kind of tension that produces a sustained example for others to follow, firm leadership or a place of honour in the social history of a nation.

What it does and did produce was poetry, and specifically hymns. Ironically, it was Charles's hymns about which John had most ambivalent feelings. They express often a mysticism that John found "poisonous", whilst at the same time — to use John's words again — talking "common sense" with "the purity, the strength, and the elegance of the English language". The hymns have a coherent theology personal to Charles Wesley but accessible to everyone. The most common theme is the incarnation of God and the deification of man, or as Charles himself puts it,

Our God contracted to a span,
Incomprehensibly made man.

* * *

He deigns in flesh to appear,
Widest extremes to join;
To bring our vileness near,
And make us all divine.

Wesley trusts profoundly in the "sure pledge of ecstasies unknown", and desires nothing more than "to work, and speak, and think" for God in "acts of faith and love". Often, only an image will convey the sensation of mutual interpenetration of the soul and God:

Plunged in the Godhead's deepest sea,
And lost in Thine immensity.

More often than not, the hymns treat of an encounter of an "I" with a "Thou", giving direct expression to an experience of faith without refracting it through abstracts and the encumbrances of theological technicalities. Thus "Wrestling Jacob", the hymn singled out in the *New Oxford Book of English Verse*, is a first-person address to God. Wesley would here have broken into song; forgive me if I merely *recite* the first stanza:

Come, O Thou Traveller unknown,
Whom still I hold, but cannot see,
My company before is gone,
And I am left alone with Thee;
With Thee all night I mean to stay,
And wrestle till the break of day.

The theme of the poem is those tensions between man and God that constitute Charles's faith, their resolution and synthesis in Love. The answer to the question "But Who, I ask Thee, Who art Thou?" is "Pure universal Love Thou art . . . Thy Nature and Thy Name is Love". Instead of the ambivalences of the poet, we have the paradoxes of the poem: strength and weakness, defiance and submission, personal and universal, hope and fear. None of these elements was unique to Charles Wesley, although their combination certainly was.

The Cathedral in which Charles Wesley was ordained was then and is now very far from being a Methodist chapel — yet a large proportion of the hymns sung there daily is by Wesley. This is a reflection not only of how prolific a writer he was but how successful he was in providing a bridge over that gap between the human and the divine. His bridge, whilst the design and execution of a unique combination of characteristics, stands for all to use. John's consistency worked best directly on those who surrounded him, and established a solid foundation for future Methodists; Charles's ambivalence was somewhat of a hindrance in this immediate context, but the very rarity and rapidity of his moments of synthesis concentrate their force and increase their durability. John gave his message in his actions, and his portrait is the symbol of the deep impress of these actions on our history. Charles gave his message in words, and his hymns are the more permanent symbols of an impermanent constellation of one man's feelings. Neither merely statements of doctrine, nor merely expressions of piety, they fuse thought and feeling, imagination and reason. Because they are art and not dogma they can capture the dynamism of truth without degenerating into static and lifeless monuments. Where a tract prescribes and limits, a poem stimulates and amplifies.

The observation, then, that there is no portrait of Charles Wesley in the Hall is no reproach to Christ Church. His kind of immortality is simply *different* from his brother's. That this is not a value-judgement is the message symbolized in the memorial tablet. In any case, we commemorate Charles and John together in one of the new windows on the North side of the Hall. The portraits of Auden, Dodgson and Locke are proof enough that Christ Church does not neglect its men of letters and thought.

I have perhaps not quite escaped the temptation inevitably offered by religious subjects, which is to deliver a sermon rather than an appreciation. But I make no apology for not being impartial. The Gaudy commemoration is quite properly also a celebration. And if you are to be subjected to a sermon before dinner, then there is no point in spoiling your appetite with hellfire and brimstone.

ROBERT L. VILAIN

(Robert Vilain B.A. is a graduate of Christ Church and a literary critic)

THE SPILSBURY PORTRAIT OF JOHN FLETCHER

ON April 13th 1987, at a simple ceremony in John Wesley's Chapel in Bristol, Squadron-Leader Dermot Finlay presented the chapel with a magnificently restored portrait of John Fletcher, Wesley's great friend and 'designated successor'. There are good reasons for believing that this is the original portrait painted by Jonathan Spilsbury at the request of Squire Ireland of Brislington in 1776 or 1777. It is fitting that it should now be permanently located in the Fletcher room of John Wesley's Chapel.

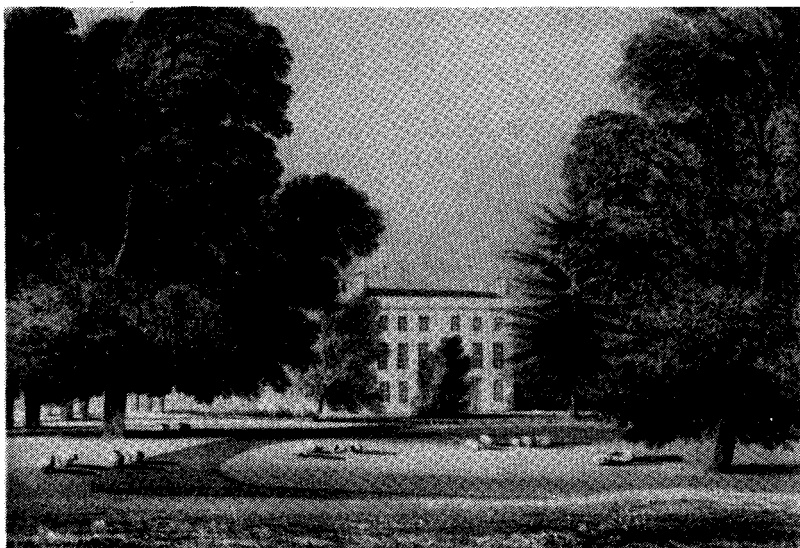
Before dealing with the evidence leading to the conclusion that this is the original portrait of Fletcher it may be of interest to record how the picture was discovered. Brislington School is a large comprehensive school in the Bristol suburb of that name. The History department in the school has made a special feature of local history and built up over the years an impressive collection of primary sources — maps, photographs, census books, diaries and letters. One aspect was always missing — material about the local Squire's family, the Clayfield-Irelands. The last Squire died in 1923, the estate was sold and family papers had been dispersed or destroyed. It was known that the last Squire's heir was a distant cousin, a Colonel Armstrong, but his whereabouts were unknown. Then, in 1985, a local resident came across a cutting from a 1939 newspaper announcing the death of Colonel Armstrong, of Garry Castle, Banagher, King's County, Ireland. At last there was a lead and we wrote, with excessive optimism, to 'The Occupier, Garry Castle...':

Surprisingly, a reply came within a week. The letter had been opened and delivered by an enterprising postman, to the last member of the Armstrong family in Banagher, a Mrs Boyle. Garry Castle had ceased to be inhabited in the fifteenth century and is now the name of a district. Mrs Boyle referred us to her brother, Squadron-Leader Finlay in Suffolk. We found he was within a day or two of selling the last of the Clayfield-Ireland portraits from Brislington Hall. He had been given them about 1949 by a cousin who inherited them from Colonel Armstrong. By a quick decision the school was able to acquire three magnificent nineteenth century portraits of the family and at last names became faces and real people.

Some months later, in the spring of 1986, we received a letter from Squadron-Leader Finlay.

My wife and I are about to move to a flat. We have come across another picture in the attic. It belonged to the Clayfield-Ireland collection. It shows a ghostly figure in clerical dress, with left hand on a skull and an open bible at the front. It is not a picture we could live with. I imagine it shows a member of the Clayfield-Ireland family at some date in the 19th century. Do you know if any of them was in the church? The condition of the painting is very bad — there are numerous tears in the canvas, damp stains and there is no frame. I showed it to a dealer in Cambridge some years ago. He gave me £20 for the frame but was not interested in the picture.

We knew that no member of the Clayfield-Ireland family was a clergyman. Who was the mystery figure? By coincidence, an A level pupil at the school had recently completed for her examination a piece of research on the connection of John Wesley with Bristol and Brislington. She came across references in Wesley's *Journal* to his visits to James Ireland (1724-1814) at Brislington Hall and his high opinion of this sugar merchant turned country squire. More significant were the references to Ireland's friendship with John Fletcher. At the time when Squadron-Leader Finlay's letter arrived we were using Benson's *Life of Fletcher* in the County Library. The frontispiece was an engraving of Fletcher looking remarkably like the picture found in the attic in Suffolk. A photocopy to Squadron-Leader Finlay confirmed the similarity. Could the painting be the original from which engravings and copies had been made?



Brislington Hall, pencil and sepia wash by T. L. S. Rowbotham c.1826 (reproduced by permission of Bristol City Art Gallery). This was the house of Squire Ireland, friend of John Wesley and John Fletcher. He commissioned the portrait of Fletcher in 1777 and it hung here until 1923.

Over the following months efforts were made to fill out the story of the friendship between Ireland and Fletcher. In Fletcher's *Works*, vol viii¹ are twenty-six letters from Fletcher to the Ireland family, written between 1766 and 1785 (in fact the last he ever wrote was to James Ireland). More important were the fourteen unpublished letters in the Methodist Archives from Ireland to Mrs Fletcher, written between the death of her husband in 1785 and 1811.² There was also one undated letter from Ireland to Fletcher himself. Mary Wimbush at the National Portrait Gallery reported that two portraits of Fletcher were known to exist — one, painted by Jonathan Spilsbury, of which three versions were recorded (at Westminster College, Cambridge; at Wesley House, Cambridge and at Epworth House, London) and a posthumous portrait by John Jackson at Epworth Old Rectory.

What evidence is there for supposing ours to be the original portrait by Spilsbury?

First, in his short biography of Fletcher, John Wesley refers to the visit of the Irelands to Fletcher at the Greenwoods' house in Stoke Newington in 1776. There he was undergoing treatment for consumption by bleeding and purging:

It was not without some difficulty that Mr Ireland at length prevailed upon him to sit for his picture. While the Limner was drawing the outlines of it he was exhorting both him and all that were in the room not only to get the outlines drawn but the colourings also of the image of Jesus on their hearts.³

This is the only reference to Fletcher ever sitting for a portrait. It is very unlikely that Ireland would have allowed anyone else to own the portrait which he had obtained 'not without some difficulty'. This appears to be confirmed by a reference in a letter Ireland wrote to Mrs Fletcher from Brislington Hall on September 27th 1785, only six weeks after Fletcher's death:

I hope I did not grieve you in refusing Mr Gilpin a sketch of the picture — I would not refuse you anything but I must see you before I can suffer a print to be taken from it — I leave it when I go out in the care of Mr Tandy with a charge *that no person is suffered to Copy it.*⁴

Second, the Ireland family in succeeding generations regarded the portrait as important. Almost illegible writing on the back of the canvas (unfortunately destroyed during restoration) recorded a dispute about ownership of the picture in the 1830s and referred to it as 'an invaluable heirloom of the Estate of the late J. Ireland

1 *The Works of John Fletcher*, 1836 ed.

2 Fletcher-Tooth correspondence, Methodist Archives (MAM F1.4.1)

3 John Wesley, *A Short Account of the Life and Death of the Rev. John Fletcher*. (London, 1786) p.80

4 Fletcher-Tooth correspondence, Methodist Archives.



Portrait of John Fletcher formerly in the Clayfield-Ireland collection at Brislington Hall, now in The New Room, Bristol.

Esq.⁵. The family had gone to law to obtain the return of the picture from the Butterworths, hardly the action they would have taken for a mere copy. Since the return of the picture in 1838 it had not left the collection.

Third, the friendship of Fletcher and Ireland was so close that Ireland would have wanted to keep the original portrait he had commissioned. They probably first met in 1765 when Fletcher spent four weeks preaching in the Bristol-Bath area soon after the opening of the Countess of Huntingdon's Chapel in Bath. Their friendship was deep. Fletcher often stayed at Brislington Hall and Ireland frequently sent him generous presents — 'a hamper full of wine and broad cloth', 'a rich present of meal', 'a large hogshead of rice and two cheeses'⁶ and many gifts for 'my poor of Madeley'. Ireland accompanied Fletcher on two long journeys round Europe in 1770 and 1777. At his death he referred to him with deep emotion: 'I have often felt that I would have divided my last shilling with Mr Fletcher. We were once for months together, day and night, and when we parted we both wept,' and 'the dearest friend I ever knew . . . I cannot write of him without weeping.'⁷ For his part, Fletcher dedicated his 'Plan of Reconciliation', at the end of the Calvinistic controversy to him as a 'son of peace, whose heart, hand, and house are open to Calvinists, Arminians, and 'neuters.'⁸

Fourth, Ireland was a keen collector of paintings. His second wife, Frances Godde was painted by Joshua Reynolds in 1767 (the picture is now in the Musée des Beaux-Arts, Dijon), his elder surviving daughter was painted by John Downman in 1785 (now in Suffolk) and his son-in-law, Edward Clayfield by William Hobday in 1803 (now in Brislington School). Many more pictures have disappeared. It was natural he should want to keep the portrait of his greatest friend in his collection. The only person to whom he might have given the original painting was Fletcher's widow but a letter to her on October 3rd 1786 makes it clear that she was provided with a miniature copy by the artist.

I have lately been in London and have pushed Mr Spilsbury to finish this picture it is at last Completed and I was agreeably surprised to see it so well finished and such an Elegant picture — it is admired by every person who has seen it I am very cautious of trusting it in any persons

5 The inscription reads: 'This Portrait/illegally if at all/was given by/Sir R. & Lady Vaughan/to/Joseph Butterworth M.P./who left it by Will to . . ./his widow/M.A. Butterworth/reclaimed by James Clayfield Ireland in/the year 1834 but not returned till May 19th, 1838 . . . an invaluable heirloom of the/Estate of the late J. Ireland Esq. . . .' (information supplied by Katharine Woodgate-Jones)

6 Letters of 1766, 1769, 1774 in Fletcher's *Works*

7 Letters of Nov 1785 and Jan 1786 to Mrs Fletcher in the Fletcher-Tooth correspondence.

8 Dedication to Fletcher's *The Reconciliation; or, an easy method to unite the people of God*, dated 16 April 1777. I owe this information to Peter Forsaith.

hands lest they should steal a Copy: it is a striking likeness and you can in its case carry it in your Pocket. I have been looking out for a safe hand by whom I can send it to you if I don't meet with one soon I will send it by the Stage and order it to be left at the Iron Bridge — Permit me to beg your acceptance of it as a token of love Xtian love to you the partner of my dearly beloved friend now in Glory.⁹

Jonathan Spilsbury was an artist Ireland would have known in Bristol before he migrated to London. He worked in Bristol in the 1760s and married the daughter of a Canon of Bristol Cathedral. Spilsbury's brother John was well known as an engraver and used Spilsbury's portraits for that purpose.¹⁰ What more natural than that Ireland should keep for himself the original portrait he had commissioned and eventually allow copies to be made?

Thus it is a happy ending to Fletcher's connection with Bristol that his portrait should have a permanent home in the New Room where he often preached. John Wesley would have been pleased: 'Within fourscore years I have known many excellent men, holy in heart and life. But one equal to him I have not known; one so uniformly and deeply devoted to God. So unblameable a man in every respect I have not found either in Europe or America. Nor do I expect to find another such on this side [of] eternity.'¹¹

Note: The restoration of the portrait was paid for by Mrs Eleanor Edwards, widow of the Rev. Dr. Maldwyn L. Edwards, a former Warden of the New Room.

BARRY WILLIAMSON

(Barry Williamson has taught History in schools in India and Bristol for 25 years. He is at present Head of History at Brislington School)

9 Fletcher-Tooth correspondence.

10 Ruth Young, *Father and Daughter* (London, 1952)

11 John Wesley, *A Short Account of . . . John Fletcher* p.225.

LOCAL HISTORIES

The Story of Methodism in Cubbington by John Randerson: copies, price £1.00, from the General Secretary.

150 Years of Methodist Witness in West Devon: Broadley Chapel 1838-1988 by R. F. S. Thorne (8pp): copies from the author at 31 St. Mary's Park, Ottery St. Mary, Devon EX11 1JA.

Hythe Methodist Church, Souvenir Brochure: free copies, on receipt of s.a.e., from John Hudson, 66 Stade Street, Hythe, Kent CT21 6BD.

The Story of Methodism in Doncaster & District 1743-1988 by G. M. Morris (60pp): copies from the author at 133 Melton Road, Sprotborough, Doncaster DN5 7NS, price £3.00 post free.

NEWS FROM OUR BRANCHES

IT is inevitable that such a movement should have some central organisation, but it is earnestly hoped that individual churches and societies will develop their own plans. It would be most helpful if some evenings during the coming winter could be devoted to a study of the causes and consequences of the Evangelical Revival . . ." So reads the leaflet published by the Conference committee to prepare for the celebration of Wesley Day on May 24th . . . 1938 but how did societies such as ours respond to the challenge? Events from the WHS viewpoint were summed up by F. F. Bretherton in *Proceedings*, (xxi, pp.144-151). He had little to say about winter evening groups and concentrated on the big set pieces — one Archbishop preached at St Paul's, his junior colleague preached at York to 3000, Robert Bond conducted worship at City Road. He mentioned services in other places at home and overseas, several of which were in cathedrals. He rounded off his report in the next issue (pp.163-168) by mentioning ten exhibitions of Wesleyana and activities around the country from Liverpool to Leamington.

In 1938 celebrations were focused on the one day — May 24th — but in 1988 celebrations seemed to go on for most of the year, so what special events did our branches organise? It was probably inevitable that WHS branches and members would be so deeply involved in church, circuit, District and Connexional activities that there would be little opportunity or need to arrange specifically WHS events. However, the news coming back from the branches is that while members and officers were greatly in demand for help and advice they still managed to make independent and imaginative contributions.

At **Bristol** our branch supported the "immense activity" in the New Room and there is more to come this year including 300 Americans. In **Ireland** Mr Jeffery, the President of the Irish Branch, was invited to preach in Belfast Cathedral and finished the celebrations in January 1989 with a lecture on John Wesley in Belfast. Other members lectured or helped with displays of Wesleyana. We have another overseas branch and this had a busy year too, including the almost obligatory cathedral service in Peel on the **Isle of Man**, as well as several lectures and an exhibition in the Manx museum. A postscript to last year's Report — this branch is planning a Methodist reference library to be housed in Douglas. In **Cumbria**, the local secretary, Mrs Jean Coulthard, wrote a dramatised life of Wesley, *The world was his parish* and members supported a wide variety of local events, especially the celebrations in the Convention tent at Keswick in July. **East Anglia** members supported local activities but enjoyed a special one of their own in September, an outing and pilgrimage to Walsingham.

The **Lancashire and Cheshire** branch was well represented at the crowded service in Manchester Cathedral and organised a Wesley Walkabout around key sites in Manchester and Salford.

Our **Lincolnshire** branch held its Spring meeting at Epworth and commemorated three things at once — the Wesley celebrations, the 25th anniversary of the branch and the 100th anniversary of the Epworth Memorial Chapel. Appropriately John Newton spoke on "Wesley's

theology in historical perspective". The **London** branch took a decision not to relate their year's activities to the celebrations. Instead their feet were guided around the East End by Douglas Wollen and their thoughts around the subject of chapels by Christopher Stell. With the national celebrations focused on London this branch had the best of both worlds. In the East Midlands the local secretary, Sidney Richardson was largely responsible for the script for a "Wesley Sing" — is this an expression new to Methodism? There was also "Williams on Wesley", "Wesley in Queens Park" and "Wesley Pageant"... Our **West Midlands** branch co-operated with the Birmingham and Midlands Institute in staging not only a major exhibition but also a record recital based on music referred to in the *Journal*. The programme comments that Wesley's views on music were based on prejudice rather than musical knowledge, but it included *Carnival of the Animals* and a Mozart *Flute Concerto*.

Further North, our **North East** branch invited Jack Bowmer and Geoffrey Milburn to lecture and staged an exhibition in Newcastle Central Library. Down in a milder climate the **Plymouth and Exeter** members supported the packed cathedral service and had a celebration of their own listening to a lecture by John Lawson. **Shropshire** celebrated in Shrewsbury Abbey and the branch organised a small exhibition (which brought to light hitherto unknown artefacts and documents). Not least although last in this report, our **Yorkshire** members shared in a safari to Methodist sites and an exhibition in Leeds. Their high spot must have been the Spring meeting when Ann Buckroyd talked about the "Halifax Big Sings 1831 to 1890". These were quinquennial gatherings of Sunday schools which became an important local cultural activity.

I am grateful for the information I have received already about the 1988 Celebrations and the leaflets, cuttings and reports will be deposited in our Library, but I should be glad to receive any more material before I do this. I have been glad to have comments on a variety of topics to do with the running of our branches, including the printing and publishing of branch bulletins. It would be helpful to share our experiences and ideas. I should be very glad to have details of printing costs and methods and print runs.

LOCAL BRANCHES ,

Additions and alterations to the list printed in *Proceedings*, xlvii, pp.154ff, are as follows:

Membership

Bristol	110
East Anglia	36
Ireland	199
East Midlands	90
London etc	91
North East	187
Shropshire	48

Secretaries

East Anglia: Mrs. C. Cripps, 10 East Mill Green, Bentley, Ipswich,
IP9 2BW

Ireland: Mr. R. O. Christy, 32 Ward Avenue, Bangor, Co. Down,
Northern Ireland BT20 5HW

ROGER F. S. THORNE

BOOK REVIEWS

Business and Religion in Britain edited by David John Jeremy (Gower, Aldershot, 1988, pp.ix, 216, £30.00)

The title of this work is apt to deceive, suggesting a treatment far more all-embracing than the one actually on offer. The geographical focus is really England rather than Britain, the chronological framework is essentially the nineteenth century, the denominational range is heavily skewed towards Nonconformity, and the intellectual standpoint is that of the historian and not of the social and pastoral theologian (of the eight authors six are economic historians and two are, by training and reputation, church historians). Within these limits however, most of the individual contributions constitute important and original additions to the literature on the interaction between Christianity and capitalism.

Two of the eight essays attempt an overview of the subject, and six are denominational case studies. David Jeremy's introductory chapter is one of the more disappointing in the book, marred by an oversimplified perception of the ecclesiastical background, for instance, the claim that Wesleyan Methodism was not founded until 1784 or that a 'fully-fledged administrative structure did not emerge until after Methodist Union in 1932'; by a disregard of the insights afforded by earlier historiography (it is grossly misleading to describe this as 'a huge unresearched field', and although the major collection of lectures on *The Church and Wealth*, edited by William Sheils and Diana Wood, Oxford, 1987, in the Studies in Church History series, may have been published too late to have been taken into account, the same can hardly be said for the classic debate — originating with Max Weber — on the Protestant Ethic thesis which is imperiously dismissed here); and by a propensity to ask strings of questions, many of which can either never be answered at all, because the evidence to do so simply does not exist, or demand resolution on a theological and ethical plane which is largely beyond this work's remit. Where Jeremy does perform useful service is to list, in an appendix, the religious affiliations of 553 (including 68 Methodists) of the 1,181 captains of industry active between 1860 and 1980 whose biographies appear in the five-volume *Dictionary of Business Biography* (1984-86), of which he was editor, and, in the text, to make tentative comparisons of the resulting aggregated data with estimates of denominational strength in 1901 (by this yardstick, of the various Methodist groups only the Wesleyans seem to have achieved parity between their shares of the business elite and religious density in the whole population). The other general study is by Roy Campbell who reasons that 'the creation of wealth is a Christian obligation' and provides a robust defence of the values and behaviour of the Christian businessman, countering accusations of paternalism and arguing that, within the context of joint-stock companies, business efficiency and not social philanthropy should be the primary objective; as the editor freely admits, with a measure of injustice to the author perhaps, this platform is 'a highly controversial one which moral theologians would challenge' and which 'presently rests more on rational economic thinking than on a thorough historical investigation'.

The case studies do not attempt to cover the whole denominational spectrum. Roman Catholics, Presbyterians, Unitarians, Baptists, Jews and the minor sects are completely ignored. The Anglicans are represented by only one essay, an impressive analysis by Jane Garnett and Tony Howe of the contribution of the Lancashire cotton masters to the local and national development of the Church of England between the commercial crisis of 1847-48 and the First World War. The Congregationalists are surveyed by Clyde Binfield who, in a tortuously-written piece, discerns a fundamental harmony between the Congregational ideal on the one hand and business paternalism on the other but notes several paradoxes, not least in the career of W. H. Lever (1851-1925) whose autocratic style was at odds with his denomination's polity and who could dabble with Christian Science and spiritualism or become a Freemason yet repudiate formal church membership. The Quakers form the subject of two chapters, one by Thomas Corley who, in a mere 19 pages of actual text, paints a brilliant group portrait of 92 Quaker industrialists from 25 manufacturing concerns between 1860 and 1914, differentiating between those who stayed 'plain' (45), those who became 'worldly' (10) and those who resigned (37); this easily outclasses some more popular collective biographies such as *The Quaker Enterprise* by David Burns Windsor (1980) or *The Chocolate Conscience* by Gillian Wagner (1987). The other chapter is by Maurice Kirby who examines the role of the Peases of Darlington, 1830-1902, and especially of Sir Joseph Whitwell (1828-1903), as humanitarians and progenitors of Lib-Labism in the North-East; this essay largely synthesizes the evidence assembled for his earlier monograph *Men of Business and Politics* (1984).

Finally, of course, there are the Methodists. Names such as Jesse Boot (1850-1931), W. P. Hartley (1846-1922), Joseph Hepworth (1834-1911), Isaac Holden (1807-97), Robert William Perks (1849-1934), Joseph (1854-1943) and Joseph Arthur (1888-1972) Rank, and Josiah Charles Stamp (1880-1941) spring readily to mind but do not find their historians in this volume despite that fact that, with the exception of Boot (the subject of a biography by Stanley Chapman, 1974) and Holden (considered in a Bradford University Ph.D. thesis, 1982, by Elizabeth Jennings and in *Technology and Enterprise* by Katrina Honeyman and Jordan Goodman 1986), no modern full-length studies exist. Instead, we are offered two fascinating sketches of Methodist New Connexion entrepreneurs. John Briggs, best known as a Baptist historian, investigates the careers of John (1785-1860) and William (1787-1864) Ridgway, pottery manufacturers of Hanley and Shelton, demonstrating their commitment to enlightened employment practices, liberal politics and philanthropic deeds; his evidence is drawn mainly from local newspapers, blue books and New Connexion printed sources. David Jeremy, meanwhile, discusses 'The Toffee King', John Mackintosh (1868-1920), and his life-long association with Queen's Road chapel, Halifax, demonstrating how the chapel environment facilitated the acquisition of his business-related skills and investigating the extent to which he used his influence and wealth in later years to sharpen commercial techniques in the management of the chapel's property and financial affairs; his data are drawn from the standard biography of Mackintosh by George Crutchley (1921) and from the surviving records of Queen's Road chapel preserved in the Calderdale District Archives. Jeremy's essay would have been improved

by a sounder knowledge of the Methodist New Connexion background, both connexionally (Ranmoor College, we are told, was situated in Leeds), and locally.

Methodism's entrepreneurs are deserving of more sustained academic research than they have hitherto received, and hopefully, in time, an entire volume on them may be possible. Until then, however, we must remain grateful to David Jeremy for his efforts — through the *Dictionary of Business Biography*, the work under review, and a forthcoming monograph *Men of Profit and Piety: Business Leaders and the Churches in Britain, 1900-1960* — in keeping such a fascinating subject in scholarly view.

CLIVE D. FIELD

The Great Awakening in Wales by Derec Llwyd Morgan. Translated from the Welsh by Dyfnallt Morgan (London: Epworth Press, 1988. pp.xii + 323, £25.00)

One of Gordon Rupp's last services to scholarship was to persuade the Epworth Press to get this book translated from the Welsh and to publish the English version; and students of early Methodist history without accomplishments in Welsh will be very grateful to them both. The wordy and exuberantly rhetorical production of a man who does not scruple to describe the early Methodist societies as 'enveloped in the kind of mist which casts a spell of strangeness over the earth on many a lovely morning', and of a translator who dares to use the jargon of his own day to reproduce the impact of eighteenth-century hymns on theirs, *The Great Awakening in Wales* is with all its oddities a doubly notable event.

It is a work of literary criticism by a professional scholar in that field which is usable (and comprehensible) by historians, a rare thing in this country. And in the effort to get under the skin of the revival in Wales by considering its literary output as a whole, it does for Wales what has not been attempted at all for England, and is being attempted for the much larger market of Germany by less entertaining computerized methods. Morgan's model is Perry Miller (Miller's successors do not get a mention; the Welsh edition was too early to be influenced by Norman Fiering). In a variety of metaphors the author claims that the vocabulary of the literature produced in the revival 'acted as a scaffolding which supported the imagination of members', as prompting self-awareness, and generating a 'shared imagination'. It is this literature which illustrates most concretely the difference between the new evangelicalism and the old Puritanism or the old Orthodoxies, and the very verbosity and rhetoric of the author is a testimony to its original nature and latter-day power. Here biblical words and concepts gave shape to experience (and in the long run to some mindless clichés).

Like his heroes Derec Morgan sets out to persuade; and where so much is persuasive it is important to keep in mind the limitations of the book. Part of his case is that the sheer quantity of the output of the revival men set them apart from those predecessors who were championed against them

by Geraint Jenkins; this is true, but the fact that Morgan's *Great Awakening* could be said without gross caricature to consist mostly of Williams Pantycelyn is a salutary caution. And there are two ways in which the author's Welshness and literary training impart their own limitations. He is well aware of the international context of his story, but his attempt to state it on pages 11-12 is a fantasy, and the original Moravians will be turning in their graves at the allegation that they are 'of Lutheran stock'. And late in the book when the author describes (well) the emergence of a tribal vocabulary, he seems unaware that he is dealing with the Welsh version of the creation of the 'language of Canaan' which was going on not only in England, but in Central Europe, for somewhat different reasons. But, be it said again, the reason why the reader needs his critical faculties about him is that the book is so good and so continuously vivacious.

W. R. WARD

The Making of the Modern Church. Christianity in England since 1800 by B. G. Worrall. (SPCK, 1988, pp.312, £9.95)

The British, their Religious Beliefs and Practices 1800-1986, edited by Terence Thomas. (Routledge, 1988, pp.247, £9.95)

A History of English Christianity 1920-1985 by Adrian Hastings. (Collins, 1986, pp.720, £25.00; paperback ed. £7.95)

B. G. Worrall provides a sound textbook covering a wide field with competence. He is particularly good in outlining theological developments and in showing the role of evangelism and mission in the modern church. There are lively chapters on the Free Churches, Roman Catholicism and Ecumenism with a sympathetic approach to the revival of Evangelicalism and the Charismatic Movement. The paragraph on Methodist divisions on page 140 is not entirely accurate! Recommended as a good introduction to modern English church history.

The essays, edited by Terence Thomas, cover the same period but the style is very different, reflecting changing emphases. 'Religion' includes the great world faiths and cults like the 'Moonies'. Ieuan Ellis tackles nineteenth century theological debates, Thomas himself deals with thinking about other faiths in late Victorian England, Anthony Dyson, in a controversial chapter, outlines the Christian religion this century. His discussion of apologetic ignores C. S. Lewis entirely! There are two historical chapters, both excellent. Sheridan Gilley in 'Official Religion' reveals the amazing energy of the Victorians with a rising and declining Dissent clashing with an increasingly truculent Anglicanism. Wesleyanism was, says Gilley, 'an optimistic-minded body open to reason and immune to premillennial enthusiasm'. Comparisons between Catholicism and Dissent are apt.

Religion includes the 'Popular Religion' of camp meeting, society classes and Sunday school. David Hempton (like Gilley) summarizes a vast amount of research not least on Primitive Methodism and the role of women following Deborah Valenze, a 'world turned upside down' indeed! Hempton, too, shows how complex is the concept of secularization. Both chapters have excellent bibliographies.

Adrian Hastings's book is of a different order again. Here is a full scale treatment of the English churches in their context since World War One. Scrupulously fair, yet writing from a Roman Catholic and therefore 'dissenting' stance, Hastings shows the relationships of church, state and society in each decade, for this is no narrow 'churchy' book. On the Free Churches and Methodism he is excellent and fair showing us 'warts and all'.

His generalizations are usually sound and his pen-portraits of the great characters — Davidson, Temple, Tawney, Ramsey, Heenan, Forsyth, Dodd, ecclesiastical statesmen and theologians, are often superb. Popular writers like C. S. Lewis are given their rightful place as are the preachers, the Sangsters and Weatherheads of yesteryear. Hastings's political comments are sharp and perceptive, if controversial, and occasionally journalistic, in the last few chapters. This book will be enjoyed by the general reader and the historian alike. The second edition corrects many of the minor errors in the hardback edition. Make no mistake, Roman Catholics are now making outstanding contributions to history and breaking many old stereotypes.

JOHN MUNSEY TURNER

The Arminianism of John Wesley by Herbert McGonigle (Occasional Paper No.3 of the Wesley Fellowship, 1988, pp.36 £1.25)

Strong doctrines of grace and a depreciation of human 'works' in salvation have generally produced crops of predestinarian ideas of which Calvinism is only one historical example. The Evangelical Revival predictably saw this happening yet again after a period in which an explicit or implicit Arminianism had become dominant in England. That the issue has ceased to be central in modern theology should not be allowed to obscure the fact that it was a major source of splits in the eighteenth century evangelical forces and that here John Wesley, as an 'Arminian', was really the odd man out.

Mr McGonigle's careful study begins with an analysis of Arminius (1560-1609) and continues with the development of Arminianism in England, Wesley's attitude to Calvinism and his and Fletcher's battles against it. Arminius taught a Calvinism modified at crucial points to allow for the fact that Christ died for all and that God decrees that all who repent and have faith in him will be saved, the rest being damned. Though God foresees who will be saved this does not imply that he foreordains them to be so: all are open to salvation but are free to accept or reject it. Although various reasons are suggested for Wesley's rejection of Calvinism the fact is that most Anglicans of his day had rejected it and Wesley was typical in doing so though he did make some intellectual compromises for a time. What is more remarkable is that unlike many other evangelicals he continued to reject it after his conversion. The new Calvinists tended to adopt their views from experience or under the influence of Puritan practical writings and they generally lacked any profound knowledge of the old scholastic

theology and Wesley's knowledge of Arminius at first hand is far from certain. What made Wesley hostile to Calvinism was his belief that it dishonoured God and undermined all moral effort as well as his favourite doctrine of perfection. For their part the Calvinists were horrified at Wesley's teaching about the possibility of perfection in this life and suspected that Wesley was allowing too much to human freedom and works and indeed was sliding back into a Catholic picture of salvation by a mixture of faith and works. Neither side was entirely fair to the other and many evangelical Calvinists like Whitefield were suspected by more extreme men of preaching as if all men could be open to salvation, nor did most fall into neglect of the moral law. But it has to be remembered that those who had slipped away from the old Calvinism in the eighteenth century also seemed to be liable to go further — into denial of original sin, substitutionary atonement and the divinity of Christ and the Trinity. Wesley avoided this but it was hard for his opponents to believe that his stress on effort and drive for perfection had not undermined the Reformation tradition of grace. His balancing act here was difficult to sustain in terms of traditional formulae and his perfectionism and its implications made him a very untypical 'evangelical'. He usually did better when he fell back on simple assertions of the need to cultivate holy love rather than when he split hairs in the traditional manner of controversy.

Mr McGonigle expounds the issues clearly though he might have laid greater emphasis on the way in which Wesley's obsession with perfection and the Catholic sources he drew on for expounding it consorted oddly with his more 'Protestant' ideas and made him much more than a disciple of Arminius.

HENRY D. RACK

The Two Worlds of Joseph Race by Steve Race (Souvenir Press, 1988, pp.190, £12.50)

Those who heard the broadcast by Steve Race on his grandfather Joseph Race and his grandmother Hannah, will welcome the extended work in book form, for here is a vivid account of a brief but exciting life of a Wesleyan missionary who began life in Weardale and ended it in China.

Steve Race discovered in the diaries and letters of his grandparents material which could be brought to life and he does it with characteristic style. Joseph's call to the ministry led him to the further call to go to China and whilst he had no real intention to exercise his scanty medical skills, yet in many ways his success was in the field of almost amateur practices. Hannah joined him later and their lives together were full of deep love and a concern for people. It was all so short for after a few years Joseph died and Hannah returned to England with a son — the father of Steve. The book is stimulating from beginning to end and provides a piece of missionary history and biography which would otherwise have remained hidden. It forms no part of the book to relate that Hannah remarried another Methodist minister and four of her sisters also married Wesleyan ministers one of whom was Thomas Cook, principal of Cliff College.

WILLIAM LEARY

Methodist Celebration, A Cornish Contribution ed. Sarah Foot, (Dyllansow Truran, 1988, pp.90, £4.50, ISBN 1 85022 040 9)

It might seem invidious to select from among the sixteen contributions to this book those of particular importance, but a few can be singled out as significant in one way or another. The President of the Conference (the Rev. Richard Jones) gives a most interesting account of life in the Camelford and Wadebridge circuit in the 1940s which deserves reprinting. Ian Haile surveys the whole field of early Cornish Methodism. Kathleen Evans writes a splendid evocation of Billy Bray and tells how those who have signed the visitors' book in his Three Eyes Chapel have included Catholics, Quakers and Russian Orthodox. She describes a bunch of flowers on his tomb at Baldhu, their red petals dancing up and down, waving in the west wind — in memory and imitation of that other 'Little Dancer'. Roger Thorne writes about one of his enthusiasms, the chapels of East Cornwall which are within the Plymouth and Exeter District. The accompanying illustrations of twelve of them clearly show their distinctive style in contrast to those in mid and west Cornwall. Charles Thomas's important article on Methodism in Cornish literature breaks new ground and opens a rich lode that should one day be worked further.

THOMAS SHAW

250 Years of Chiltern Methodism by B. P. Sutcliffe and D. C. Church (Moorley's Ltd, Ilkeston, 1988, pp xviii, 398, £5.95)

The authors of this comprehensive book state that their purpose is 'to chronicle the history of the Methodist Church in this area . . . to bring together in one place whatever is available'. They have assembled and edited material submitted to them from both the Methodist and the Free Methodist High Wycombe circuits. They have undertaken much research, as seen in the copious lists of ministers, membership figures and the like. All is neatly and aptly illustrated by photographs and drawings. Full justice has been done to the Hannah Ball tradition. Although the authors acknowledge large gaps in the story, they have given much detailed information, and have made a solid contribution to our knowledge of High Wycombe Methodism.

Inevitably many contributions make for an uneven quality, and there are questionable general statements, such as 'Wesleyan doctrines had much in common with the evangelical section of the Church of England'. The Calvinist-Arminian controversy might never have happened! Another is 'The "Prims" suffered much persecution from the Wesleyans', which says more about Methodist folk memories than about the undoubted suffering of the Primitives themselves. Perhaps the biggest of the gaps is that there is little or no attempt to place Methodism in the context of local history. The authors rightly use the word 'chronicle' for their work; but it is a chronicle that will be indispensable to the eventual historian of High Wycombe Methodism.

M. S. EDWARDS

NOTES AND QUERIES

1421. THE BARBER FAMILY

Over the last two years or so I have collected a number of picture postcards connected with the Barber family. Miss Nellie Barber married the Rev. J. Opie Urmson and they had a son named John and a daughter named Margaret. The name of the second son is not known. Mr Harry Barber (Nellie's brother) was at Richmond College with Opie Urmson (1904-8). If any member is descended from either the Barber or Urmson families mentioned above or knows of their whereabouts I would be pleased to hear from them, as I hope to gather more information on these families.

†

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1422. WESLEY MEDALLIONS

A similar medallion to that quoted by Dr Beckerlegge in Note 1396 is signed 'M & P'. According to Forrer, Nathaniel Marchant (1739-1816) was employed to make medals for Lewis Pingo (1743-1830), a coin and medal engraver in London. Pingo was following his father, Thomas Pingo who was responsible for one of the mortuary medals of George Whitefield.

Other medallions in this series of 'a stamped thin steel effigy with brass finish' are of the Rev Charles Wesley and Fletcher of Madeley. The latter is item 43 in the Lawson Collection at Methodist Archives. Although it is uncertain how many were struck I believe them to be scarce.

Reference was also made to James Heeley, manufacturer of fine steel toys, Birmingham. The only other Methodist medallion credited to Heeley & Co was to commemorate the Wesleyan Conference of 1838. The details are: Struck in silver, copper and white metal, diameter 46mm by Heeley and Co.

Obverse: Half length portrait of John Wesley three-quarters left preaching from a pulpit with his right hand raised and his left hand resting on an open bible. REVD JOHN WESLEY A.M. NAT. 1703 OBT. 1791/WHAT HATH GOD WROUGHT

Reverse: THE NINETY-FIFTH CONFERENCE OF THE WESLEYAN METHODISTS BEGUN JULY 25 1838 AT BRISTOL. THE REVD THOS JACKSON PRESIDENT THE REVD R. NEWTON SECRETARY. THE REV. T. WAUGH & REV. J. F. MATHEWS REPRESENTATIVES FOR IRELAND. MEMBERS IN SOCIETY THROUGHOUT THE WORLD 1,049,401 NUMBER OF PREACHERS 4478.

Similar medals exist for the 93rd and 94th Conferences but these were by Ottley, not Heeley & Co.

GRAHAM KIRBY

1423. 'WESLEY BONES'

We have within the Modern department collection a "Wesley Bone" (our own name), that is, an animal's vertebra (probably from a horse or an ox) with a figure in clerical robes painted on to it. In our case the person depicted is Thomas Coke, although I believe that it is more usual to find John Wesley used as the model.

I have attempted to discover more about this item. There is an example depicting John Wesley at the Wesley Museum in London, another has been sighted in an antique shop in Brighton (with a price tag of £160 on it!), and our example was donated by a lady from Cornwall. However, Mr Peter Brears, Director of Museums in Leeds, informed me that they are also to be found in West Yorkshire (where they are known as "Wesley's"), Lincolnshire (called "Bishop Bones") and Northumberland.

I realise that they were probably produced in a 'cottage industry' type situation rather than manufactured on a large scale and therefore personal recall rather than formal written records will prove to be the key to uncovering any available information about these items — so, can anyone give me some clue to why, where or when they were made? If any member owns a piece like it I would be interested to hear about how it was acquired; a general idea of the number of these intriguing items in circulation would be most useful. Please write to me at The Museum of London, London Wall, London EC2Y 5HN.

ANDREA MILBURN

WESLEY COMMEMORATION HISTORIES

The Wesley celebrations of 1988 produced a remarkable crop of commemorative publications. We list below booklets received for which lack of space prevents an individual review. Copies can be obtained from the address given. Prices **do not** include postage.

John Wesley in Leicestershire, J & R Stevenson, 552 Bradgate Road, Newtown Linford, Leicestershire LE6 0HB. £1.50.

John Wesley comes to York, O. A. Beckerlegge, 74 Grange Garth, York YO1 4BS. £1.00.

John Wesley and Lincolnshire Methodism, M. G. White, 17 Charles Avenue, Scotter, Gainsborough, Lincs DN21 3RP. £1.50.

Charles Wesley . . ., J. C. Bowmer, 8 Ashbrooke Mount, Sunderland SR2 7SD. 50p.

John Wesley and the coming of Methodism to the Isle of Man, Rex Kissack, Borodaill, Glen Mooar, Kirk Michael, IOM. £1.00.

Wesley's Taunton, Herbert White, 17 Daw's Mead, Bishop's Hull, Taunton TA1 5HQ. £1.50.

John Wesley and Oxford, V. H. H. Green, Lincoln College, Oxford. £2.00.

John Wesley and his World, Rolle College, Exmouth, Devon. No price stated.

John Nelson and the Evangelical Revival in West Yorkshire, John Hartley, 41 Marlborough Road, Shipley, West Yorkshire BD18 3NX. £1.50.

A Kindled Fire — the Methodist Revival in the Leeds Area, P. Forsaith, 21 Wakefield Road, Garforth, Leeds LS25 1AN. 50p.