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Proceedings

OF THE

Wesley Historical Society

Editor: REV. JOHN C. BOWMER, M.A., B.D.

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THE WIVES OF CAPTAIN THOMAS WEBB AND THEIR KIN

[We are pleased to print this article from the pen of one of our American members. It is partially based on the author's research for his doctoral dissertation on "The Wesleyan Movement and the American Revolution", presented in the University of Washington, Seattle, Washington, U.S.A., 1962.—EDITOR.]

IN a well-known and often-quoted letter, dated 11th April 1768, a certain Thomas Taylor of New York described Methodist beginnings in that place for John Wesley. In doing so, he necessarily wrote at some length of Lieutenant (familiarily called "Captain") Thomas Webb's activities in bringing about the chain of events connected with that phase of early American religious history. Lieutenant Webb had recently established the first Methodist society on Long Island, and of the circumstances of that happening Taylor wrote:

About this period, Mr. Webb, whose wife's relations lived at Jamaica, on Long Island, took a house in that neighborhood, and began to preach in his own house and several other places on Long Island.¹

Not the least interesting feature of these words of Thomas Taylor is that they form the point of departure for any effort to learn the identity of the first wife of the foremost hero of Anglo-American Methodism. A knowledge of the identity of this lady and her family could lead to new research on the man who, next to John Wesley, is probably the most loved character in the literature of his faith, but of whom thus far the world has been profoundly ignorant. At any rate such information would, at least partially, close the gap in our knowledge of Captain Webb between the time he lost his right eye

¹ Wade Crawford Barclay: *Early American Methodism, 1769-1844*, vol. I, "Missionary Motivation and Expansion", p. 15.

at the battle of Montmorency² in 1759 and the time of his conversion to Methodism in 1765.

Happily, this portion of the gap can now be closed. For more than two hundred years the bond of Captain Webb's American marriage, a photo-copy of which is before me, has lain in the archives of the state of New York, unnoticed and unused by Methodist historians. Unfortunately, in 1911, a disastrous fire destroyed many of New York's colonial records. The Webb marriage licence was among the badly-damaged documents, such important items as signatures and the name and address of the applicant being for ever obliterated. The names of the couple to be joined in matrimony, however, are clearly readable. They are "Thomas Webb . . . of the one Part and Mary Arding of New York, Spinster, of the other Part". Since, like all legal documents, a marriage licence is conventionally worded, the missing parts may be supplied with a rather high degree of accuracy. In the following effort at reproduction, missing or illegible words are enclosed within brackets.

[Know all Men by these Presents that Thomas Webb, Lieutenant in his Majesty's 48th Regiment of Foot is held and firmly bound unto our] Sovereign Lord, George [the Second], by the Grace of God of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, King, Defender of the Faith, &c. in the Sum of five hundred Pounds current Money of the Province of New York, to be paid to his Majesty, or his Heirs and Successors: for the which Payment well and truly to be made and done, We do bind ourselves and each of us, our and each of our Heirs, Executors, and Administrators, and every [one] of them, firmly by these Presents. Sealed with our Seals, dated the twenty-ninth Day of August in the thirty-fourth Year of his said Majesty's Reign. *Annoque Domini*, One Thousand Seven Hundred and Sixty.

The Condition of this Obligation is such, That whereas the above-bounded Thomas Webb obtained a License of Marriage for himself of the one Part and Mary Arding of New York, Spinster, of the other Part. Now if it shall not appear hereafter that they or either of them the said Thomas Webb [and Mary Arding] have any lawful Let or Impediment of Pre-contract, Affinity or [Consanguinity] to hinder their being joined together as man and Wife: Then the Obligation is to be Void and of none Effect; or else to stand, remain, abide, and be in full Force and Virtue.³

² Some writers have stated erroneously that Webb lost his eye on the Heights of Abraham, others at the siege of Louisburg. Webb himself wrote that the wound was received "during an attack on the French lines at Montmorency, near Quebec". See the "Memorial of T. Webb, Late Lieutenant in his Majesty's 48th Regt. of Foot to the Earl of Dartmouth" (Dartmouth MS. No. 18). The writer is indebted to the Rt. Hon. the Earl of Dartmouth for permission to use his historical manuscripts, which have been deposited in the William Salt Library, Stafford. A vivid account of the battle of Montmorency in General Wolfe's own words may be read in Breckles Willson: *The Life and Letters of General James Wolfe*, pp. 454-60.

³ New York Marriage Bonds, vol. III, p. 274, New York State Library, Albany, N.Y. The Dartmouth MSS. are the authority for Webb's rank and regiment. Other missing or illegible words are taken from the model printed in *Names of Persons for Whom Marriage Licenses were issued, Previous to 1784*, by the Secretary of State for the Province of New York, p. v.

Of the Arding family little, unfortunately, now is known. However, a further delving into New York marriage records reveals that a Charles Arding and an Effie Schuyler were married on 29th April 1738. They were probably the parents of Mary Arding Webb. Another Charles Arding was married to Abigail Van Wyke on 26th June 1766.⁴ He was certainly the brother of Mary Arding Webb.

A number of interesting facts concerning the younger Charles Arding have been found here and there in the early New York records. In 1769, for example, he was associated with a group of New York Methodists in a land speculation venture. Beside himself, the group included Captain Webb, George Robinson (late of Newcastle-upon-Tyne and Wesley's friend), Charles White, Richard Sause, William Lupton, James Jarvis, Paul Heck and Henry Newton, all of whom were prominent in the genesis of New York Methodism.⁵ In a petition dated 27th March 1769, they asked the Crown, that is the Governor and Council of the colony of New York, for a grant of ten thousand acres of land "upon the branches of the River Susquehannah called Tienanderrah and Otago within the County of Albany". The Governor and Council, incidentally, granted the request.⁶

This Charles Arding, the hitherto unknown brother-in-law of the Methodist hero, was probably a physician, as a "Doct. Charles Arding" was among those exercising the right to vote in Jamaica in 1775.⁷ Six years later, "being under the necessity of leaving this country", he offered for sale the farm on which he lived, "near Jamaica, of sixty acres". The house was described as "large and neatly finished", with "a spacious arched hall through the middle and every accommodation for a gentleman".⁸

Whatever his reason for going abroad, Arding returned to Jamaica, where he died in 1797. His will, probated in December of that year, is the final and most substantial of the evidence that his sister was the wife of Captain Thomas Webb. He named his nephew, Charles Webb, as an heir and executor of his considerable property. He left his sister's son £1,000 payable at once, and, upon the death of his wife Abigail, a house and whatever money was left after the payment of debts and numerous other bequests.⁹ Charles Webb was clearly Charles Arding's favourite—perhaps his only—nephew.

Some time before the year 1772 Mary Arding Webb died. Circumstantial evidence points to late 1764 or early 1765 as the likely

⁴ *ibid.*, p. 9.

⁵ John Wesley's *Letters*, vi, p. 249; J. B. Wakeley: *Lost Chapters Recovered from the Early History of American Methodism*, pp. 74-93 et passim.

⁶ New York Colonial Manuscripts Indorsed "Land Papers", vol. XXV, p. 86, New York State Library; New York Council Minutes, vol. XXIX, p. 311, New York State Library.

⁷ Peter Force (ed.): *American Archives*, 4th series, III, 1931.

⁸ Henry Onderdonk, jun. (ed.): *Documents and Letters Intended to Illustrate the Revolutionary Incidents of Queens County, New York, with Connecting Narratives, Explanatory Notes, and Additions*, 2nd series, p. 28.

⁹ *Collections of the New York Historical Society: "Abstract of Wills"*, XV, 121.

date. In the summer of 1764, Lieutenant Webb was recommended for a captaincy and the command of a company in the 48th Regiment, in which he had served throughout the Seven Years' War. This opportunity for promotion, however, he did not accept, his reasons being that the Regiment was about to "return to the Irish Establishment" and "no vacancy immediately offered". Instead, he gave up his rank, was placed on a lieutenant's half-pay for life, and was given the barrackmastership of Albany, the duties of which he took over on 2nd July 1764. As the old soldier later wrote, his decision not to go home with his regiment was made because of strong family ties in America. From the material standpoint, the decision was perhaps not a wise one, for Webb would have been a major before the year 1787, and he probably could have retired with an even higher rank than that.¹⁰

The year following his appointment to the post at Albany, Webb paid his first visit to England since going to America with the ill-starred Braddock expedition eleven years before. His wife did not accompany him, the reason almost certainly being that she was no longer living. Indeed, it is not unreasonable to believe that sorrow occasioned by his loss was a reason for his making the trip, for a change of scene is frequently a palliative for a distressed mental or spiritual state. His grief, moreover, could have prepared him for the conversion experience he underwent while in his native land, and which led to his well-known activities in the propagation of the tenets of Methodism in England and in America.

In the summer of 1772, "Captain" Webb, as he had come to be called since his retirement from the Army, paid a second visit to England in order to lay before the Methodist Conference, meeting that year in Leeds, the need for the reorganization of Methodism in the colonies as well as the need for additional missionaries there. As every student of Methodism knows, the result of his appearance before the Conference was the appointment of George Shadford and Thomas Rankin to the American field of labour, the latter as superintendent with the title of General Assistant. Webb remained in England for about a year, and while there he married Grace Gilbert—his second wife. The wedding took place at Whitchurch in Shropshire, with John Fletcher, the vicar of Madeley, officiating and with Mary Gilbert and Thomas Hatton serving as witnesses.

The exact identity of Grace Gilbert has been almost as difficult to determine as that of Mary Arding, but a relationship with the Gilbert family of Antigua has long been suspected. "There has been some difficulty in deciding the exact relationship of [the second] Mrs. Webb to the Gilbert family," wrote a renowned Methodist scholar more than twenty-five years ago. "Mr. Bretherton,"¹¹ he went on

¹⁰ "Memorial of Thomas Webb, Esq., Late Barrack Master of Albany . . . to the Honorable Commissioners appointed . . . to inquire into the Losses and Services of the American Loyalists", P.R.O., A.O., 13: 56.

¹¹ i.e. the late Rev. F. F. Bretherton, B.A., sometime President of the Wesley Historical Society.—EDITOR.

to say, "using information later than Tyerman, is of the opinion that she was the sister of Francis Gilbert, and he has no doubt at all that Mary Gilbert was the wife of Francis Gilbert."¹² Documentary evidence proving that Bretherton was correct will be given presently. But first, some further word concerning the Gilberts of Antigua is necessary.

Nathaniel Gilbert was a prominent citizen of Antigua, and served as Speaker of the Assembly there. In 1758, while on a visit to England, he was converted to Methodism. Returning to his island home, he organized there a Methodist society, which at the time of his death in 1774 numbered about sixty members. After Nathaniel died, his brother Francis went to Antigua to carry on his work; but, after a year, failing health compelled him to return to England, where he died in 1779. His widow then sailed for Antigua, where she spent ten years carrying on the work so nobly begun by her brother-in-law and her husband.¹³

The first document casting light upon the problem is a letter of 1774 from Captain Webb to General Thomas Gage, then commander-in-chief of the British North American forces. The two men were well known to each other, having served together from Braddock's defeat to the fall of Quebec; and when Webb, to quote his own words, heard "that the government prepared some new appointments by way of commandants to some of the frontier posts, & that they were to be given to those officers who, by long service & wounds, were rendered incapable of active service", he felt no restraint at all about asking his old friend for a command. After recalling their old friendship, he gave his reason for desiring an appointment:

About a month ago, I received a letter from the West Indias [sic], informing me of the death of Mrs. Webb's brother, & that he had left his affairs so much embarrassed, and that the whole estate would be little more than sufficient to discharge the lawful debts. By this means her little fortune of £2000, which she used to receive six per cent for, will in all probability be sunk, as one thousand pounds was immediately in her brother's hands and the other upon the estate.¹⁴

A deposition of Francis Gilbert and Mary Horne substantiates Webb's letter to General Gage:

This is to certify that Francis Gilbert & Mary Horne, joint attornies appointed by Mr. Thomas Webb to receive & remit him one hundred & twenty Pounds, being the yearly Interest of Two Thousand Pounds Sterling secured upon an estate in the West Indies has been stopped by order of the trustees which has greatly embarrassed his affairs. Witness our hands . . .

March 17, 1779
No. 14 Gloucester Street
Queen's Square

FRANCIS GILBERT.
MARY HORNE.¹⁵

¹² John S. Simon: *John Wesley: The Last Phase*, p. 22. ¹³ *ibid.*, p. 43.

¹⁴ Thomas Webb to General Thomas Gage (Gage Manuscripts, William L. Clements Library, Ann Arbor, Michigan).

¹⁵ P.R.O., A.O. 13: 56.

Thus Mrs. Webb's deceased brother was undoubtedly Nathaniel Gilbert, who, as is well known, died that very year.

When Captain Webb and his bride of 1773 arrived in America, they settled in New Mills (now Pemberton), New Jersey. There Grace Webb formed a strong friendship with Margaret Morris, a widow and a devout member of the Society of Friends, who lived in nearby Burlington, the provincial capital. This friendship continued after the Webbs returned to England as a result of the Revolutionary War. In her first letter to Mrs. Morris after the opening of communications between the two countries at the war's end, Mrs. Webb wrote at some length of the alterations in her family, amongst which was the death of her brother Francis. She wrote :

Our family are greatly reduced ; since my arrival in England, I have lost two brothers and a sister. My brother Francis has made his escape to the realm of eternal bliss. His widow is now in Antigua.¹⁶

The final document bearing upon the Webb-Gilbert relationship is in several respects the most interesting. It is a letter from Sir Ralph Payne, later Lord Lavington, to an unnamed recipient, seemingly a highly-placed treasury official. Sir Ralph Payne was a native of St. Christopher's Island and the son of that Sir Ralph Payne who was first the chief justice and later the governor of St. Kitts. After completing his education, the younger Payne served in the assembly of his native island ; then, going to England once more, he sat in Parliament from 1768 to 1771. In the latter year he was knighted and appointed Captain-General and Governor-in-chief of the Leeward Islands. He was recalled in 1775, much against the wishes of the citizens, who petitioned for his return.¹⁷ He was not, however, re-appointed, and from 1776 to 1784 he was again in Parliament. During these years, Captain Webb asked him for a letter in support of his claim to compensation for losses as a result of his loyalty to his King and country during the American Revolution. The letter indicates that its author knew the old soldier rather well, and that the Gilberts of Antigua were much more than casual acquaintances. So revealing is the letter that it is offered in its entirety.

SIR RALPH PAYNE TO ?

My dear Sir :

I have been confin'd to my Chamber by a severe Fever for the Space of ten Days Past, or I should in the Course of that Time have certainly done myself the Pleasure of calling upon you. I have wish'd very much to speak a Word to you in behalf of a Lieutenant Webb who is, I believe, a Man of real & considerable Worth, and has now a Memorial before the Board of Treasury. The Memorial is so well vouch'd and

¹⁶ Grace Webb to Margaret Morris, 23rd February 1784 (Edward Wainton Smith Collection, Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa.).

¹⁷ *Dictionary of National Biography*, vol. XV, pp. 564-5. The petition of the Council and Assembly of Antigua is printed in *The Daily Advertiser* (London), 7th August 1775.

supported by Recommendations of various Persons of Distinction¹⁸ who have been personal witnesses to his Merit, that it cannot want the Aid of so inconsequent an Advocate as myself; but he has solicited me so hard for a Line to you, that I have not been able to refuse it to him; and I am thus led, my dear Sir, to give you this Trouble.

Perhaps I am the more induc'd to gratify Mr. Webb's Solicitation to me upon this Subject, by the Consideration of his having married a Lady of Antigua, who was born & bred to a much superior Fortune & Station in Life to that which she endures at present. She was the Daughter of Mr. Gilbert, who was many years President of the Council of Antigua; a Man of as much real Worth and perhaps of more Understanding of Literature than falls to the Lot of one Millionth Part of Mankind. His Life, tho' confin'd to so humble a Sphere as Antigua, was one Career of brilliant Reputation; and he died justly and universally deplor'd.

But I will trouble you no more (after having fulfilled my Promise to Mr. Webb) than to beg that you will with your wonted Goodness and Indulgence, pardon this Intrusion upon you, of

Grafton Street
15th Sept. 1779

My dear Sir!

Your very affectionate
& faithful Servt,

RALPH PAYNE.¹⁹

Thus the relationship of Grace Gilbert Webb to the Gilberts of Antigua is indisputably established. But who was the father, the President of the Council of Antigua, whose understanding of literature was so great, and who merited such high praise from Sir Ralph Payne? Perhaps some reader can supply the answer.

MARVIN E. HARVEY.

¹⁸ Among the "Persons of Distinction" were John Wesley, General Thomas Gage, General Thomas Sterling, Joseph Galloway, Oliver De Lancey, Colonel Isaac Barré, Thomas Rankin and Martin Rodda. Their testimonials are in the Public Records Office.

¹⁹ P.R.O., A.O. 13:67.

OUR CONTEMPORARIES

We acknowledge, with thanks, receipt of the following periodicals:

Journal of Ecclesiastical History (October 1962).

Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research (November 1962).

The Amateur Historian (Summer, Autumn 1962).

The Journal of the Presbyterian Historical Society of England

(June 1962).

Transactions of the Congregational Historical Society (Oct. 1962).

Transactions of the Unitarian Historical Society (October 1962).

The Journal of the Friends' Historical Society (Spring 1962).

The Baptist Quarterly (April, July 1962).

Wesley's Chapel Magazine (April, July, October 1962).

The Epworth Witness (April, September 1962).

The Journal and Proceedings of the Australasian Methodist Historical Society, celebrating "The Hundred and Fiftieth Anniversary of Methodism in Australia", carries articles entitled "The Beginnings of Methodism in Australia", "The Early Bellringer and Methodism", and "The Little-known Poetry of the Wesleys".

NON - WESLEYAN CLASS TICKETS

A Postscript

IN *Proceedings*, xxxii, pp. 34 ff, I dealt with the class tickets of the smaller branches of Methodism from material that was available to me at that time. Especially in the opening years, in the information relating to the Methodist New Connexion, there were considerable gaps, but a recent acquisition now makes it possible to describe tickets then not known. The gap concerned is that between 1832 and 1859.

Methodist New Connexion

By July 1840 (index letter W) to **July 1841** (A) the type had changed; the ticket has a decorative border of conventionalized flowers, etc.; size as before, with the index letter in both top and bottom border. I suspect that several borders were used concurrently, as I have tickets with three different borders for July 1840. There is now a space at bottom for the name.

October 1841 (B) to **July 1842** (E)—As last, but with a border of tall scallops similar to the Wesleyan Reform border. (Cf. *Proceedings*, xxxii, p. 50.)

October 1842 (F) to **July 1844** (N)—As last, but larger index letter set in bottom border only.

October 1844 (O) to **July 1847** (Z)—New decorative border—or rather, more than one style, used concurrently.

October 1847 (A) to **July 1849** (H)—Slightly larger, now 3 by 2 ins. Decorative border. "Methodist New Connexion" now in bolder sans-serif type in one line. Two rules for name and initials.

October 1849 (I) to **July 1855** (G)—Similar various decorated borders, running concurrently. "Methodist New Connexion" in one line in various smaller simple founts. Paper slightly blued.

October 1855 (H) to **July 1856** (L)—Similar. Simple decorated border, simple sans-serif capitals. Bluish paper.

October 1856 (M) to **July 1857** (P)—As last, but white.

October 1857 (Q) to **July 1861** (F)—Border of scallops, as described in *Proceedings*, xxxii, pp. 34-5.

October 1861 (G) to **July 1874** (H)—Border as October 1855 onwards; otherwise as last.

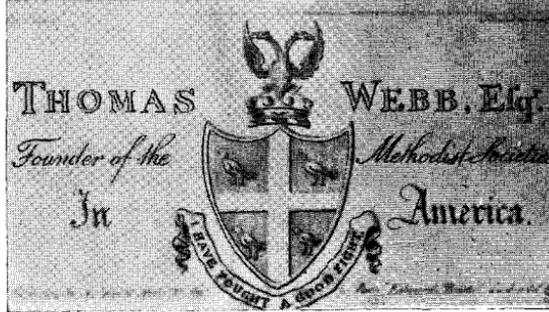
October 1874 (I) to **July 1879** (C)—As described in *Proceedings*, xxxii, p. 35, under heading "By July 1877".

On Trial Tickets. To the note on the page just mentioned I can now add that the standard ticket was used as late as 1883. It thus had a life of at least twenty years.

The Teetotal Wesleyan Methodists

On page 34 in the article already referred to, I noted that the smaller sections of Methodism all issued class tickets, but that some had not come to light. I have recently seen—and hold—two tickets of this small body that existed in the west of Cornwall. The denomination dates from 1841, when a substantial number of members seceded from the St. Ives circuit. The tickets I have are identical in style. They measure $3\frac{1}{4}$ by $2\frac{1}{2}$ ins., and the text runs: "Teetotal Wesleyan-Methodist Society / Established 1841 / Quarterly Ticket for March 1850". Then follows the text and reference (Leviticus xxv. 11), the index letter (M) and a space below it for the name, the whole being within a neat decorative border. It seems likely that these were issued from 1841. As a matter of interest, the two tickets emanated from Sheffield, Paul, near Penzance, where was one of the Teetotal societies.

OLIVER A. BECKERLEGGÉ.



CAPTAIN THOMAS WEBB (1723-96)

METHODISM IN BERWICK - UPON - TWEED

WHETHER we think of Scotland as beginning at the Tyne (as some southerners are said to believe), at Hadrian's Wall (as the Romans thought proper), at the Tweed (as some extreme Scottish nationalists would have it), or at the tiny hamlet of Lamberton (as it actually does), it remains true that, as we follow the Great North Road northwards from Newcastle, a marked change in ecclesiastical climate is quickly felt, and the influence of the Scots Presbyterian tradition is unmistakably evident. This is already apparent at Morpeth (still 52 miles south of the border); and farther north there is scarcely a village without its Presbyterian Church, whilst the Methodist chapel becomes more and more rare.¹ Much of what Mr. Wesley Swift wrote about the factors hampering the progress of Methodism in Scotland² is true of this area too, and especially so in the case of the "Border town", Berwick-upon-Tweed. Berwick, standing on the northern bank of the River Tweed, still gives the impression of belonging to neither England nor Scotland; but though, for ceremonial purposes, it glories in the title of "the County of the Borough and Town of Berwick-upon-Tweed", it is administratively a part of Northumberland, and has been English since 1482. Prior to that date it had changed hands no fewer than thirteen times, and it continued to be a storm-centre in the struggles between England and Scotland right up to the union of the kingdoms on the death of Elizabeth I, and a garrison was maintained in the town throughout the sixteenth century.

It was in such circumstances that John Knox found Berwick in 1549. He stayed two years in the town, and Berwick's historian, John Scott, regarded Knox's preaching as being responsible for the "quietness of the people" and "their tendency to dissent which has characterised them to this day". It is reported that on his arrival "the town was in so disgraceful a condition that the dead and dying were uncared for",⁴ and of the vicar at that time, Sir Robert Selby, that "the Dean of Durham, who is patron of the Church of Berwick . . . can declare the ineptness of the Vicar of Berwick and Norham . . . to take care of any Christian people".⁵ Of his ministry in Berwick, Knox himself wrote to the Scottish Queen: "I ashame not, Madam, further to affirm that God so blessed my weak labours that in Berwick (where commonly before there used to be slaughter, by

¹ It is interesting to notice that this situation is *not* paralleled at the south-western end of the border. In Carlisle there are only three Presbyterian churches as against eight Methodist; and in only one of the Cumberland villages served by the Carlisle circuit is any Presbyterian cause to be found, viz. Longtown (Church of Scotland).

² *Methodism in Scotland* (Wesley Historical Society Lecture, 1947).

³ John Scott: *Berwick-on-Tweed: the History of the Town and Guild* (1888), p. 135.

⁴ *ibid.*, p. 134.

⁵ Sir Francis Leak: *State Papers of Queen Elizabeth* (1560), cit. Scott, *op. cit.*, p. 351.

reason of quarrells that used to arise amongst soldiers) there was a great quietness all the time I remained there, as there is this day in Edinburgh."⁶

Berwick's "tendency to dissent", as Scott puts it, expressed itself in 1719 in a revolt of "the leading merchants and inhabitants . . . from the Episcopal form of worship",⁷ leading to the introduction of Scottish Presbyterianism. A second Presbyterian meeting started in 1724, but English Presbyterianism was introduced in 1771 in dissent not only from the episcopal Church of England but also from the Presbyterian Church of Scotland.⁸ Dissenters indeed! Thus, although Berwick's "tendency to dissent" went back to Knox, and although the Guild of Berwick's Freemen had sheltered non-conforming ministers during the years of persecution, Presbyterianism in Berwick was less than thirty years old when John Wesley first visited the town on 20th July 1748.

Of his first congregation in Berwick (estimated at 2,000, and assembled near the house of the commander of the garrison) Wesley says: "I found the generality of them just such as I expected, serious and devout, but not easy to be convinced of anything. For who can tell them what they did not know before?"⁹ A small society was in existence before his visit,¹⁰ and this had probably been formed through the labours of one Robert Sutt, whom he later reports to have fallen seriously away.¹¹ Twenty visits are recorded during the next forty years, usually (from 1751 onwards) in the course of journeys to and from Scotland. On his early visits he had preached out of doors, often on the Bowling Green (near the sea), and he speaks again and again of cold, piercing air, and sharp winds. On 1st June 1759 he arrived in Berwick in rain, and obtained permission from the mayor (either Henry Hodgson or William Hall) to preach in the Town Hall; and on most of his subsequent visits he preached in this building. The Methodist society seems to have met there until a chapel was built in 1797. The hall was not strictly a town hall, but a Guildhall belonging to the freemen of Berwick. It had been built largely through the efforts of William Temple, mayor of Berwick in 1749 and 1753 (the great-grandfather of the first Archbishop Temple), and it was completed only two years before Wesley first preached in it. A fine building, it had a spire and a peal of bells, whereas the parish church (opened in 1653, one of the very few churches erected during the time of the Commonwealth, a very plain building through Puritan influence, and often referred to as Cromwell's church) had

⁶ Lorimer: *John Knox*, p. 16.

⁷ Scott, *op. cit.*, p. 369.

⁸ Some members of the High, Low and Middle Meetings (Church of Scotland) "were desirous of a purer dispensation of the Gospel and a stricter exercise of discipline than were afforded in the connexion to which they had previously belonged."—Mackelvie's *Annals and Statistics of the United Presbyterian Church*, p. 100.

⁹ *Journal*, 20th July 1748.

¹⁰ *Short History of the People Called Methodists*, para. 49.

¹¹ *Journal*, 13th September 1749.

neither. The bells of the Town Hall were rung at service times.¹²

Wesley seems to have preached to large congregations on most of his Berwick visits, but his references to the town were rarely complimentary—"this poor, barren place" (May 1766) and "poor dead Berwick (1768)—but in 1780 he seemed more hopeful: "Such a congregation I have not seen there for many years. Perhaps the seed which has so long seemed to be sown in vain may at length produce a good harvest."¹³

Other visitors to Berwick in the early days of the society were Thomas Rankin, who records preaching there in 1759, and Christopher Hopper (1759 and 1763). Thomas Mitchell had been in Berwick in 1752. "It pleased the Lord", he says, "to prosper my labours in Berwick upon Tweed." He tells of a poor woman coming to him wanting help. He had only ninepence, and

had thirty miles to ride the next day, and I thought I could not spare her anything . . . but my heart pitied her, so I gave her sixpence out of my little stock, and had threepence left. But I trusted in God's providence, and knew that He would provide for me. After preaching the next morning, a poor soldier put two shillings into my hand. So God rewarded me fourfold.¹⁴

Until 1783 Berwick was in the Newcastle circuit, but the nearest society on the English side would have been that at Alnwick (30 miles away), and there are reasons for supposing that Berwick was worked from Edinburgh. In a letter written from Berwick on 20th April 1780,¹⁵ Joseph Pilmoor, who was then the "assistant" in the Edinburgh circuit, tells of having "preached four times in the Hall" (i.e. the Town Hall), and complains of the smallness of the collection: "Two shillings on the plate yesterday morning! As I eat nothing at home, hope to collect a few baubees for to pay my way to Dunbar." He speaks of having been "to break bread with Mr. Tanner", but no other reference has been found to this man. Pilmoor tells too of having been twice to "Cromwell's Church",¹⁶ and of having doubted whether the "Parson" would keep awake during his "wondrous Preachment" in the afternoon. The incumbent (Joseph Rumney, 1767-1805) received a grant of £30 a year from the Berwick Guild for delivering a weekly Sunday afternoon lecture.

Some of the Berwick Methodists seem to be mentioned in a letter dated 14th March 1783 written in Berwick by Joseph Saunderson, superintendent of the Edinburgh circuit, to his colleague Samuel Bardsley. Those named are a Mr. Jameson (whose youngest child was badly scalded), Mrs. Pearson, Mrs. Cannon, and Mrs. Richardson. The suggestion that the Berwick pulpit was being supplied

¹² Cf. Robert Burns: A town without a town hall,
A church without a steeple,
A bridge without a centre-arch,
And a d——d conceited people.

¹³ *Journal*, 16th May 1780.

¹⁴ *Lives of Early Methodist Preachers*, i, p. 251.

¹⁵ See *Proceedings*, xxxi, pp. 12 ff. ¹⁶ Holy Trinity Church (see above).

from Edinburgh is supported by another letter from the same Joseph Saunderson, revealing that he was still in Berwick on 21st April 1783, and was proposing to go to Edinburgh in early May. He says (in the earlier letter):

Blessed be God, we are going on well here. The Classes meet well and the people come out well to Sermon. Last Sabbath we had good congregations of attentive hearers. I am well satisfied with them.

In that year a Berwick-on-Tweed circuit was formed, with William Hunter as its first superintendent. He stayed there for four years. The circuit was staffed with two preachers, and in 1786 a third preacher was added. In 1784 the circuit membership was only 52, but by 1788 it had risen to 111. It is not clear whether at this time there were other societies in the circuit beside the Berwick one, but it is difficult to understand why three preachers should have been appointed if there were not, especially as only two years later (1790) the Berwick society had, according to the Alnwick circuit records, only 22 members. Societies are known to have existed at various times at Duns (Berwickshire), Galashiels (Selkirk), Melrose and Kelso (Roxburghshire), but scarcely any information has survived concerning them. At Melrose there was actually a chapel, but no dates are known for it. The society in Kelso was definitely in existence when the Berwick circuit was formed. John Wesley had first visited the town in 1757 with William Coward (whose death he records—at Alnwick—on 19th June 1770), and he was there again on 14th June 1782. He tells of being cordially received by a Dr. Douglas, and asks: "How shall they keep awake unless 'they that fear the Lord speak often one to another'?" Was it unwillingness to "meet in class" that was the trouble here?¹⁷ Whatever was true in 1788, a few years afterwards there were more definite references to these other societies. *Minutes of Conference* 1792 directs that the Berwick and Kelso preachers change with each other. In 1794-5 the circuit is styled "Berwick, Kelso and Melrose". After 1795 no further attempt seems to have been made to form a "Borders" circuit, and the other societies were subsequently linked with Edinburgh. Galashiels and Melrose are approximately the same distance from Edinburgh as from Berwick (37 to 40 miles), but both Duns and Kelso are considerably nearer to Berwick, being only 15 and 23 miles respectively away. It is true that a circuit including these four border towns with Berwick would have been extensive, but no more so than the arrangement linking Berwick with Alnwick or with Edinburgh. Duns and Kelso appear for the last time in the Edinburgh society book in 1806, and Melrose in 1808.¹⁸

Whether the fortunes of Methodism about the Borders would have been different if the association of these societies had continued cannot be estimated; but to return now to Berwick itself: John Wesley again visited Berwick on 23rd May 1788. It was a fair-day, and the "market-house" (? Town Hall) was not available; so "Mr.

¹⁷ Cf. Wesley F. Swift, *op. cit.*, p. 83 f.

¹⁸ *ibid.*, p. 66.

Atcheson", he says, "offered me the use of his chapel. It was a large commodious place." This gentleman would have been the Rev. James Aitchinson, minister from 1782 to 1797 of the "Low Meeting", which had its building, seating 600, on the east side of Hide Hill. It is noteworthy that at this date this would have been a Scottish Presbyterian "meeting", although since 1771 there had been an English Presbyterian church (in Golden Square, the forerunner of the present Wallace Green church, later to appear in our story). He has not given us the benefit of his opinion of Berwick Methodism on this visit.

The following year Berwick ceased to be a separate circuit, and was joined with Dalkeith for a year, and then for two years was in the Alnwick circuit. A membership roll of the Alnwick circuit, commenced in 1791, includes the Berwick society for its first two years, giving the membership as 20 in 1791 and 28 in 1792, the latter figure being reported to the Quarterly Meeting by Thomas Spence, presumably the Berwick representative. In this year the Berwick circuit was re-formed, with one preacher, and it continued as a separate circuit until 1800, except for a break of one year (1797-8), when it was again linked with Alnwick. Membership fluctuated, but never in this decade rose above 48 (1796), and in 1800 had dwindled to 15.

In 1797 the Berwick society had built its own chapel, with preacher's house adjoining, on a site in Walkergate Lane. An "indenture of lease and release" dated 27th and 28th February 1795 shows the land as having belonged to Isabella Smith and William Smith Carpenter. The first trustees are named as Robert Dall, preacher, William Scott, weaver, and Thomas Button, plasterer. The building has been twice enlarged, but is still in use today.

From 1800 to 1817 the Berwick society was again a part of the Alnwick circuit. Jonathan Brown went to Berwick in 1806, and found only 15 members. On his first visit he preached on the Town Wall. During his ministry the membership increased to 70.¹⁹ This increase was not maintained, however, for when the Berwick circuit became independent again in 1817 the membership was only 47, and only in 1823 did it rise to 60. During those years the Methodist New Connexion had some work in both Alnwick and Berwick, and in 1812 Berwick is shown as a separate circuit, with its minister J. Wilson. There does not seem to have been a chapel, and the membership was only 14. Berwick does not appear again after 1813.²⁰ It is interesting to note in passing that James Everett (who was born in Alnwick) visited Berwick in either 1803 or 1804, apparently in the company of one of the junior preachers from Alnwick, and was "importuned to address the people". He had never before preached in a chapel, and he had a difficult time. "When I left the pulpit I

¹⁹ This note was supplied by the late Rev. Wesley F. Swift, and the source of the information is not known. It is not clear *which* Jonathan Brown it was; for, rather oddly, both Jonathan Brown, sen. and Jonathan Brown, jun. were stationed in the Alnwick circuit in 1806-7.

²⁰ See *Proceedings*, xxviii, p. 122.

slunk away from the chapel, ashamed to look my hearers in the face, and resolving never to take another pulpit exercise."²¹ He does not seem to have visited Berwick again, and certainly the UMFC does not figure in Berwick's history.

From 1817 the Berwick circuit remained independent of neighbouring circuits for almost a century. A considerable debt seems to have remained on the property until 1825, when it was discharged and extensive alterations were made to the building. In December 1825 Thomas Ballingall (stationed at Berwick 1823 and 1824) wrote to the *Methodist Magazine* :

The Methodist cause at Berwick-upon-Tweed has of late been greatly relieved and assisted by the Christian liberality of one individual. A debt of £542 upon the Chapel and Preacher's House was, during the last year, entirely discharged. This year the chapel has been much improved; the old gallery has been taken down, and a new one erected; which, with the other alterations, will accommodate about 130 additional hearers. The seats are well let, and on the Lord's Day evening the chapel is well filled with attentive hearers. The whole expense, which was upwards of £150, is also paid.²²

In spite of the increase in seating accommodation, the membership remained static. In 1829 it was 50; and it was in that year that Primitive Methodism came to Berwick. William Clough came on 4th January from the North Shields circuit, and preached in Wallace Green and on the Town Hall steps. He seems to have been very well received. In 1830 a chapel, schoolroom and manse were built in College Place (only a few yards from Walkergate Lane), the chapel accommodating 400 hearers. This mission was not confined to Berwick itself, but was extended to towns and villages both north and south of the border. There was a temporary setback to the work—attributable, says Kendall, to "ministerial bickerings of which the public were but too fully aware". In 1833 William Lister (President of the Primitive Methodist Conference in 1868) was appointed superintendent of this Berwick circuit: he found six places on the plan, but only one chapel. In the course of a three-year ministry, financial difficulties were removed, membership was increased by 120, and, in all, nineteen places were missioned.

It is worth noting that, though over eighty years of Wesleyan Methodism in Berwick had failed to result in the formation of any societies in the surrounding villages, the Primitive Methodists established quite a number of village societies. In some ways the most outstanding was the strong cause at the little Berwickshire fishing-town of Eyemouth, which in the middle of the century was to be the scene of some remarkable revivals. The cause is still a flourishing one, and is the only Scottish society in the Berwick circuit (and in the Newcastle District).²³ In North Northumberland societies were

²¹ Chew's *Life of James Everett*, p. 53.

²² *Methodist Magazine*, 1826, p. 47.

²³ Cf. the position of Dumfries in the Carlisle circuit.

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ERRATUM

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Page 50, line 17. For "1882" read "1802"

[The Index has been compiled by our Manuscript Journal Secretary, Mr. John A. Vickers, B.A., to whom our gratitude is hereby expressed.—EDITOR.]

formed and still exist at Scremerston, Allerdean,²⁴ Donaldson's Lodge (Cornhill-on-Tweed), Belford, Lowick, and Wooler. Further PM societies existed at Norham-on-Tweed and at Branxton (near the site of Flodden Field), both right on the border, but these ceased to exist in the 1940s. The PM circuit also took over in the 1830s certain Bible Christian societies (the "Northumberland Mission") which had been formed by women preachers.²⁵

What was the effect of the coming of Primitive Methodism on the eighty-year-old Wesleyan society? Certainly it lost none of its members to the new cause; but it seems to have benefited little, if at all, from the movement of revival in the area. An extra preacher was appointed to Berwick in 1836, and there were two preachers for the next four years; but it is not clear how this extra preacher was employed. The circuit membership rose slightly (from 68 in 1836 to 83 in 1839), but there is no evidence of any new society. Financially there was scarcely any variation in collections and Class Moneys during these years. A society account book of the Berwick society kept by Robert Gardner, and begun in April 1835, quietly changes its page-heading from "The Methodist Society" to "The Wesleyan Society" at 3rd July 1836.

After 1839 the membership dropped gradually until in 1863 it was only 34. It never again fell below that figure, but it continued to fluctuate through the rest of the century. In 1901 it was 55, and in 1912 it had risen to 78, but it was down to 67 the following year when the circuit ceased to have a separate existence. For three quarters in 1863 a separate membership figure was shown for Tweedmouth, but this must have been a class: it cannot have been a separate society. For the major part of this period only one class is shown—the minister's.

In 1859 the little PM chapel in Eyemouth (eight miles away) was the scene of a great revival associated with the ministry of John Snaith (grandfather of Dr. Norman H. Snaith). Its effect was felt in places as far distant as Duns, Grantshouse, and Chirnside; whilst in Eyemouth itself the "Morrisonian" church (Evangelical Union, and now Congregational) was a direct outcome of this revival. But the wave of new life seems to have had no effect at all on the Berwick Wesleyans.

That a circuit with so small a membership continued a separate existence for so long, and continued to support a minister in Full Connexion, is truly remarkable. Its financial difficulties were ever present; e.g. in the year ending March 1852, out of a total expenditure of £102 3s. 8d., only £40 12s. 5d. was met by local collections and Class Money. There was a regular grant from the Contingent Fund, but the circuit's deficiency grew from quarter to quarter. Occasionally a legacy or a special effort would wipe out the debt, but there was soon another. Nevertheless in 1871 (with a membership

²⁴ Though formed in the 1830s, it was as late as 1903 when this society built a chapel.

²⁵ See *Proceedings*, xxix, p. 78; xxxi, p. 39.

of only 35), the circuit embarked on an ambitious scheme of "removing the minister's house, erecting a suitable front to the chapel, with fencing, and purchasing a residence for the minister in some other locality". A house was purchased in Ravensdowne in 1873 (replaced in 1886 by one in North Terrace), and the alterations to the chapel were completed in 1878, the debt incurred being discharged in July 1884. The arch over the main entrance to the chapel bears two dates—"1797 . . . 1878", and the building today is substantially as it was after this second alteration.

After 1890 the financial difficulties became more and more serious, until in March 1912 the circuit sought permission to have an unmarried probationer appointed, and to be allowed to let the manse; but the Synod would not agree to this arrangement. The following March the Quarterly Meeting, with Dr. J. T. Wardle Stafford present as Chairman of the Newcastle District, unanimously agreed to petition the Synod and the Conference again on the same lines, and this time the Synod approved the petition, but recommended the linking of Berwick with the Amble circuit. So, in 1913, the Berwick circuit lost its independence for the last time. The house was let, and the furniture placed at the disposal of the Alnwick manse. The petition had made the following points:

(a) . . . It ought to be borne in mind that Berwick is a place of settled pastors, and the Presbyterian spirit of the place fails entirely to understand the changes already frequent enough without being made more so.

(b) . . . the Berwick Circuit is a Circuit of one society only, and its membership is almost the smallest in the Connexion. . . . Our membership is only 67, and of that number 23, or more than a third, are covered by only five households.

After being linked to the Amble circuit, Berwick continued to have a resident minister for a further five years. The membership fell again, and there is no further mention of Berwick in the Amble circuit schedules after June 1915, though an Amble circuit plan for January to April 1918 shows Berwick as still having 50 members. In February 1918 an informal Leaders' Meeting at Berwick approved a scheme for "amalgamating" with the PM church and with Wallace Green (English) Presbyterian church for Sunday services from May to August. The minister of the Wallace Green church, Mr. Macaskill, was serving with the Y.M.C.A. As Wallace Green was the largest building, these services were all held there, and the Methodist ministers conducted them. In fact, most of them were taken by the Wesleyan minister (the Rev. George Mills), as the PM minister had other circuit commitments; but both ministers were present to conduct a combined communion service on 28th April. According to the Wallace Green Session minutes,

the Communion at 6.0 p.m. was conducted by both the Methodist ministers, when Sacrament was dispensed to 310 together with 11 visitors.

The united services continued for only four months, but a number of the Wesleyan members continued to attend the Presbyterian church

afterwards, and never returned to Methodism. This is not surprising, as a shortage of ministers, resulting from war-time conditions, made it necessary to withdraw the Wesleyan minister from Berwick that summer. Now, for the first time for 135 years, the Berwick society had no resident minister; and, though services continued, the little flock, with their nearest minister thirty miles away, soon dwindled. Two years later they gave up the struggle, and entered into a voluntary amalgamation with the PM society around the corner. It is impossible to tell how many Wesleyan members joined the united society, but the membership of the PM circuit increased by 27 between 1920 and 1922. As the Wesleyan building was larger and better equipped than the PM, it was decided to use it for the united society, and in January 1921 the remaining fifteen trustees sold to the twelve PM trustees "the land and buildings hitherto used as a Wesleyan Church at Walkergate Lane Berwick-upon-Tweed and the fixtures and fittings therein". The proceeds of the sale (£400) were invested by the Amble circuit. The PM building was sold shortly afterwards, and is in use today as a garage. The original 1797 chapel has continued in use, and is still today the head of the Berwick circuit. The trustees own another site near Meg's Mount for possible future development, but there is not at present any scheme for building on it.

In 1962 the Berwick society had 114 members, and still included a few who had belonged to the old Wesleyan society. That Methodism has continued to maintain its witness in this predominantly Presbyterian area²⁶ has been due, very largely, to a constant stream of immigrants from Tyneside, Durham, and Carlisle, brought by their employment to this fascinating "Border town". In 1962 two-thirds of the local preachers were such "immigrants", and only three names of truly local people appear on the list of officers of the circuit and of the Berwick society. A convincing proportion of the members are true "Border" people, of both Scots and Northumbrian ancestry; but it is mainly those whose Methodist training elsewhere has equipped them for such service who have really maintained Methodism "on the Border". None the less, it is exciting to find in this unlikely environment this probably unique anticipation of "1932". In the preacher's vestry of this original 1797 chapel hang photographs of the stewards in office in 1921, one a Wesleyan and the other a Primitive Methodist—a fitting memorial to an amalgamation carried out a dozen years before Methodist Union.

KENNETH TIBBETTS.

²⁶ Berwick has six Presbyterian churches, four Anglican, one Baptist, and one Roman Catholic.

The Rev. Thomas Shaw, the Secretary of our Society, has written and produced the fourth publication of the Cornish Methodist Historical Association, entitled "St. Petroc and John Wesley, Apostles in Cornwall"—an examination of the Celtic background of Cornish Methodism. Copies, price 2s. 6d., may be obtained from the Association's Publications Manager, Mr. J. C. C. Probert, 1, Penventon Terrace, Redruth, Cornwall.

A METHODIST TOBY JUG

ALTHOUGH the Toby jug has been known for more than two centuries, its manufacture has been mostly in the hands of English craftsmen, and its present-day appeal to collectors is in the main to English people. The humorous nature of the grotesque faces, which are an integral part of the jugs, evokes a greater appreciation among our countrymen than elsewhere.

There are very few jugs, particularly those of the type made prior to the first World War (1914-18),¹ which do not indicate that the man concerned is engaged in or looking forward to a drinking carousal of some magnitude; the drinking capacity of the characters portrayed appears to be remarkable.

The only woman known to be modelled in a Toby jug—Martha Gunn, who controlled the bathing machines on the Brighton beaches in the middle years of the eighteenth century, also looks to be fairly well addicted to the bottle, whilst of the few male characters not so depicted, some are devotees of the snuff-box.

One model which illustrates neither of these common habits of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries is known as "the night-watchman", and this forms the subject of my short article. Of this subject two designs or types have come to my notice, the principal difference being the position of the lantern; otherwise the salient features are the same. Superficially it is not difficult to understand how this name was applied—the open mouth crying out the time and meteorological observations and exhorting householders to hang out their lights—

Hang out your lights! Hang out your lights!
Nine o'clock and a misty night!

—and above all, the lantern. The colouring of my specimen of "the night-watchman" indicates quite clearly that the lantern is lit.

But the lot of the night-watchman was not a very happy one; nor was he just the colourful personage we are apt to think he was. It is one thing to think of our forefathers lying comfortably in bed listening to the watchman tramping below as he made his rounds and assured them all was well, and quite another to imagine the actual character of this guardian of the peace, and the way he carried out his duties.

It was difficult to recruit men to serve in such constabulary as existed in the eighteenth century, and worse still to form a nightly watch, largely owing to the meagre nature of the pay: those engaged on night duty received little more than one shilling per night, and this limited the intake of men to those least able to do their job as it should be done.² Consequently the watch consisted largely of men

¹ During the 1914-18 war one enterprising firm of potters produced a series of which the subjects were the statesmen and military leaders of the allied nations, but these can hardly be classed as Toby jugs.

² Cf. John Wesley's *Journal*, iii, p. 224.

who could not obtain other employment; they were old and decrepit, and could not cope with the depredations of young and bold and frequently well-armed villains who roamed the streets at night. Under these circumstances it is not to be wondered at that they spent a good deal of their time in dram-shops, many of which were open all night.

Many years were to pass before the constabulary was better organized and a nightly watch established. Bradford, always a pioneer in many directions, was one of the first places in the provinces to organize a first-class police force, and by the year 1847 was paying its constables as much as seventeen shillings per week in addition to providing free of charge a full complement of clothing.³

These, then—the lantern and the wide-open mouth, and maybe the greatcoat—are the features which have led to the present name of this Toby jug—"the night-watchman". But there are other features which no member of the nightly watch could by any means have worn, either on the grounds of suitability or of being able to afford them. The first to be noted is the wig.

If a poor person—and the night-watchman undoubtedly came in this class of society—wore a wig at all, it was another's cast-off. Dr. Johnson's wardrobe of wigs was replenished at regular intervals; his weak sight led to his poring over his writing with the candle dangerously close to his face—certainly dangerous for his wig, which was constantly being scorched. Even so, he could not afford the cost of replacement: it was only his wealthy patron, Henry Thrale, who could do that.

Nor would such an adornment be suitable for a night-watchman who on occasion did come into actual bodily contact with the street ruffians. And the same can be said about the broad-brimmed preacher's hat which he is holding with his left hand: such a hat would soon be disarranged in a street scuffle!

There are certain other items of dress which indicate that the designer of the jug had in mind someone of a fastidious nature and who could afford the elegancies and fashionable niceties of the day—the neck-stock and bands, the lawn cuffs protruding from the sleeves of the greatcoat, and the ornate style of fastening the shoes with ribbons tied with large bows, not foppish, but simply the signs of one who was accustomed to appear in well-dressed circles.

I have little hesitation in suggesting that a preacher is represented—who which one? The Wesleys had little time for appearing in "high society", but there were other Methodists, such as Benjamin Ingham and George Whitefield, who regularly preached in fashionable drawing-rooms. The former was married to a daughter of the Earl of Huntingdon, whilst Whitefield was a great favourite with the Countess of Huntingdon.

³ Minutes of the Bradford Corporation Watch Committee, 22nd December 1847.

So far I have met with four specimens of this jug, each bearing a single feature which is evidence that George Whitefield is the one intended. It is well known that when a child Whitefield suffered from measles, and that from this illness he was permanently afflicted with a squint in the left eye; this is faithfully reproduced, as it is indeed in other mementoes. The Victoria and Albert Museum possesses a delightful pottery bust of Whitefield,⁴ and this derangement of the left eye is quite noticeable. I have a papier-mâché pipe-tapper produced as a souvenir of the 1839 Centenary celebrations, and which is marked "Rev. G. Whitefield"; here again the squint is clear to see—the squint which was such a target for those who lampooned him and who directed their satire in his direction.

With the Toby jug I do not think any satirical reference to Whitefield was intended. The lantern can remind one of the play *Register Office* by Joseph Reed in 1761, where Whitefield is introduced as "Mr. Watchlight", but one can say with greater force that it was Whitefield's constant endeavour to proclaim "the Light of the world". The wide-open mouth recalls his eloquence; he possessed a voice of great compass, which was audible at immense distances.⁵

In most cases the head of a Toby jug, or the hat which may adorn it, is so designed that it acts as the spout, but here the head remains unbroken, the spout being formed by the back of the chair in which the figure is seated. One query which remains to be answered is the date of its production. Whitefield died in 1770 while on his seventh visit to America; he was buried in his gown, cassock, bands and wig in the Old South Church, Newburyport, Mass.⁶ The date given to the pottery bust already mentioned is "about 1820", whilst the pipe-tapper in my collection is, as stated, a product of 1839. Maybe if one assigns the Toby jug to the turn of the eighteenth century, say the year 1800, one will not be far wrong.

HORACE HIRD.

⁴ Acquisition No. 670—1872.

⁵ *Dictionary of National Biography*, vol. LXI, p. 91.

⁶ J. B. Wakeley: *Anecdotes of the Rev. George Whitefield, M.A.*, p. 397.

The following local histories have been received, indeed welcomed, by the editor. He hopes that the authors found much pleasure in pursuing their researches, and that others will be encouraged to similar efforts.

The Story of Methodism in Stratford-upon-Avon, by Dr. T. S. M. Hooper (pp. 32, copies 3s. 10d. post paid from the author at 9, John Street, Stratford-upon-Avon).

Wesley Chapel, Harrogate, by H. S. Hitchen and T. E. Dawson (pp. 53, 2s. 6d.).

Crownhill Methodist Church, Plymouth—1812-1962, by Peter Russell (pp. 34).

The Mint Methodist Church, Exeter, by Brian Le Messurier (pp. 40).

The Story of Culver Street Methodist Church, Colchester (folder).

Our Story—High Street, Poole (folder).

The First Fifty Years—the story of Westminster Central Hall, 1912-62 (pp. 16).



THE "NIGHT-WATCHMAN" TOBY JUG
From the collection of Alderman Horace Hird, F.S.A.,
Bradford.

BOOK NOTICES

The Work of the Holy Spirit: A Study in Wesleyan Theology, by Lycurgus M. Starkey, jun. (Abingdon Press, pp. 176, 25s. Obtainable from Epworth Book Shop, 25-35, City Road, London, E.C.1.)

We Methodists have often claimed that theologians generally should pay more attention to the doctrine of the Holy Spirit, and have hinted that our tradition would enable us to make a substantial contribution. Yet it has not been easy to point to any work simply devoted to Wesley's teaching on this theme. This need has now been supplied by Dr. Starkey, who is associate professor of church history, Saint Paul School of Theology, Methodist, Kansas City, Missouri. The book, which seems to be based on his Ph.D. thesis, is carefully documented; the material will be fairly familiar to students of Wesley. As Christian doctrine is an integrated whole, the writer has rightly touched on a large range of doctrines. Sometimes we should like a fuller discussion, as, for example, of the "operational distinction" between the members of the Trinity (p. 30) or of the rather ambiguous phrase "extrascriptural redemption" (p. 43). His reference to "open Communion" (p. 103) simplifies a complex issue: Wesley's communion was not open in the modern sense. His two paragraphs on the unity of the Church (pp. 147-8), which make no mention of Wesley, are simply one personal view of a controversial issue. The assertion that no official Anglican liturgy had an epiclesis till the American book of 1929 (p. 99, n. 128) overlooks the fact that an epiclesis is to be found in both Scottish and American books before that date. We have had plenty of biographical and historical studies of Wesley, and the recent increase in the number of books devoted to various aspects of his theology is to be welcomed.

A. RAYMOND GEORGE.

Worship and Theology in England, by Horton Davies: Vol. 3—From Watts and Wesley to Maurice, 1690-1850 (pp. xiv. 355); Vol. 4—From Newman to Martineau, 1850-1900 (pp. xiv. 390). (Princeton and Oxford University Presses, 42s. each.)

The first two volumes of what promises to be an important series have just come from the pen of an acknowledged scholar in the fields of Church history and Christian worship. We have used the word "important" deliberately, for, in any given period, the worship of the Christian Church in all its branches can never be understood apart from a consideration of the theology to which that worship gives expression; and Methodists, of all people, do well to ponder deeply the question "What is the theology of which our worship is the expression?" Particularly does this apply to the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, which, as Wesley himself would have been the first to admit, raises the question of worship and theology in its most acute form.

As it happens, the first volume to be reviewed carries the name of Wesley in its title, and no one can complain of the quantity and quality of the treatment given to the Methodist revival. Dr. Davies's picture of Wesley and Whitefield is not only accurate but most penetrating and picturesque—as, for example, when he compares the two preachers as follows:

Whitefield was a volcano—often brilliantly lurid and corruscating with sparks; occasionally he exuded only ashes. Wesley's fire was controlled, emitting only the white light of a smelting furnace when the door of his heart was opened . . .

As we might expect from the author of *The Worship of the English*

Puritans, Dr. Davies works out with refreshing insight the oft-forgotten debt of early Methodism to the Puritan strains in English religious history. He does not, of course, fail to do full justice also to the High Anglican and Moravian churches.

Apart from the confusion of references in the footnotes on page 187, the first volume is singularly free from inaccuracies. It is in the second volume that we have noticed less precise statement of the Methodist position. This may be due to the fact that, in every way, eighteenth-century Methodism is much more fully described and documented than that of the nineteenth century, but it may also be attributed to an apparent lack of acquaintance with articles in our *Proceedings* on the *Sunday Service of the Methodists* and on the service-books of the non-Wesleyan bodies. Furthermore, Dr. Davies wrote his books before the publication of the reviewer's Wesley Historical Society Lecture on *The Lord's Supper in Methodism, 1791-1960*. At the same time, these considerations do not seriously detract from the value of a book which deals not only with Methodism, but covers the whole field of worship, preaching and theology in England during fifty years which saw the rise of Newman, Dale, Spurgeon and Robertson among preachers, and was the age alike of the Oxford movement and of the Nonconformist conscience—in fact a period which above all was prolific in all things pertaining to religion.

Theologians, historians, liturgists will all rejoice in and learn from these two volumes, which, without doubt, whet our appetite for the three more which are promised to complete the series. JOHN C. BOWMER.

A Portrait in Pottery, by Arthur D. Cummings. (Epworth Press, pp. 48, 6s.) The Wesley Historical Society Lectures, No. 28.

In this small and well-illustrated book Mr. Cummings has gathered the details concerning the editions of the Enoch Wood bust of John Wesley—"to which apparently all the smaller than life-size busts owe their inspiration". The author gives an account of the influence of Enoch Wood, and refers to Richard Green and C. S. Sargisson for his authority.

In the fifth chapter—"The Classification of the Busts"—Mr. Cummings states: "My own preference is for speaking about Hollow Backs and Solid Backs . . .", and he could have subdivided the solid backs into concave and convex: examples of both are available in many parts of the country.

His reference to "gown" and "drapery" brings up the question—Did Wesley wear a black Geneva gown or the white surplice? Most busts depict him in black gown and bands, but there are those (e.g. a bust at Brunswick chapel, Newcastle upon Tyne) in which Wesley is dressed in a white surplice.

These points—and there are others—make this Wesley Historical Society Lecture of 1962 a very useful possession, and one which will be referred to—and I trust developed—in the years to come.

R. WALTERS DUNSTAN.

From Uniformity to Unity, 1662-1962, edited by G. F. Nuttall and O. Chadwick. (S.P.C.K., pp. viii. 423, 35s.)

1662 and After, by J. T. Wilkinson. (Epworth Press, pp. xiv. 269, 35s.)

The former is a rather disappointing book. It is the work of Anglican, Baptist, Congregational and Presbyterian writers, and is a kind of joint memorial volume to their overlapping past. The best part of the book is

at the beginning: an excellent summary of the most recent historical scholarship on seventeenth-century church history. There follows a description of how the relationship between the Establishment and Dissent developed after 1689. This is much less satisfactory, because the writers seem unable to cope with the way in which the rise of Methodism altered the nature of the problem. Significantly, no Methodist historian was asked to contribute to the book, and so the inevitable references to Methodism are scattered through the contributions of Dr. Ernest Payne and Dr. Edward Carpenter.

Dr. Payne tells us that John Wesley "came of stock which had deserted Dissent", and that "what happened in Aldersgate Street coincided almost exactly with the appearance of the fourth and final volume of Daniel Neal's *History of the Puritans*". He implies too much when he says that "Methodist lay preachers began to administer the sacraments [1760]"; and John Wesley's ordinations for England—which began in 1788, not 1787, as Dr. Payne states—were not regarded as the decisive act of separation from the Church of England by eighteenth-century Methodists. If they had been, the Plan of Pacification would have been unnecessary. Neither Dr. Payne nor Dr. Carpenter states clearly what always distinguished the Methodist tradition from the Baptist, Congregational and English Presbyterian churches: the connexional principle, which involved a rejection of the basic psychological pattern of seventeenth-century Dissent. If *Uniformity to Unity* had been worked out purely in terms of the seventeenth century these criticisms would be unfair, though even then it would be significant that the Society of Friends—to some of us the saving grace of seventeenth-century Nonconformity—is hardly mentioned at all. The "Three Denominations", however, cannot take out exclusive rights in eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Nonconformity.

The volume concludes with two essays—"Towards Charity and Understanding". The first of these, by Dr. Oliver Tomkins, is a sketch of the ecumenical background (Edinburgh 1910 and all that), and might as well have been left out. The second, by the Principal of New College, London (the Rev. John Huxtable), makes some good points about the present ecumenical discussion in England. Here again, however, Methodism is played down, and the crucial stage of the Anglican-Methodist conversations ignored.

To all this the Rev. J. T. Wilkinson's book makes a healthy corrective. Mr. Wilkinson also sets out to continue the story of the relationship between the Establishment and Nonconformity down to the present day. But he devotes a whole chapter to "The Age of Wesley", as the S.P.C.K. volume should have done. His account of the present ecumenical discussions is also better balanced. This is altogether a worthy Fernley-Hartley Lecture.

Neither book is much concerned with the social sources of English denominationalism. This is particularly important in any discussion of the contemporary decline of Nonconformity. The social basis of Nonconformity is simply disappearing. Its fundamental, Pietist concept of the small local religious society which shuts itself off from the surrounding world and tries to be culturally self-sufficient has ceased to be relevant to modern society. For the moment, almost all social pressures are working in favour of the larger, permissive bodies, the Anglican and Roman churches, which have always lived in and even loved the main stream of European culture. A well-known architectural critic has dismissed

Coventry Cathedral as a monstrosity, a mistaken attempt to unite modern humanism and modern Christianity. Such a monstrosity could only have been Anglican, and the monstrosity has made its impact upon the millions. Here, rather than in argument about the doctrine of the ministry, our disunity is rooted. The social revolution, however, is rapidly tearing out those roots.

JOHN H. S. KENT.

Selected Trevecka Letters (1747-1794), transcribed and annotated by Gomer Morgan Roberts, M.A. (The Calvinistic Methodist Book-Room, pp. x. 191, 12s. 6d.)

Evangelicals in Action, by Kathleen Heasman. (Geoffrey Bles, pp. x. 310, 30s.)

The Journal of a Slave Trader, John Newton, 1750-1754, edited by Bernard Martin and Mark Spurrell. (Epworth Press, pp. xvii. 121, 30s.)

The Rev. Gomer M. Roberts, editor of our contemporary *The Journal of the Calvinistic Methodist Historical Society*, has placed in his debt all students of early Methodism in Wales, and our sister-society the Calvinistic Methodist Historical Society is to be congratulated on its enterprise in sponsoring this publication. The majority of the letters in this volume have to do, of course, with Howell Harris—either as writer or recipient—covering (as Mr. Roberts points out in his introduction) “the last decades of Howell Harris’s tempestuous life”, though in the first group we are in touch with Wesley and Whitefield. The editor has divided the letters into four categories: (i) Correspondence relating to the growth and development of Methodism; (ii) Correspondence between Harris and the United Brethren (Moravians); (iii) Correspondence between Harris and his brother Joseph; and (iv) Correspondence between Harris and Lady Huntingdon. Even so, there is still more to come, and we look forward to further letters from this difficult but formative period in early Methodism, especially to those which passed between Harris and Madame Sidney Griffith. Copies of this book can be obtained from the Rev. Gomer M. Roberts at The Manse, St. Dogmael’s, Llandudoch, Cardigan.

In the detailed study *Evangelicals in Action* the author seeks to substantiate the claim that “a good three quarters of the charitable and voluntary societies which exploded into being in the nineteenth century were Evangelical in character”. This book goes far to show why the Evangelicals of the nineteenth century are now remembered for their work rather than for their theology.

The Journal of a Slave Trader affords a valuable and hitherto unpublished insight into the life of one who has stamped his influence on posterity by being the composer of some of our most popular hymns. His hymns, however, which reach a high standard of poetic and devotional quality, to be really appreciated have to be seen against the background of Newton’s earlier life as a slave-trader, and it is here that the value of the book is to be found. The diary covers the years 1750-54, and with it is published Newton’s “Thoughts upon the African Slave Trade”.

JOHN C. BOWMER.

The Report of the Methodist Church Department for Chapel Affairs for 1962 is again a helpful series of Questions and Answers. It is rightly subtitled “A Guide for those dealing with Chapel Affairs”.

NOTES AND QUERIES

1090. JOHN WESLEY'S SILVER BUCKLES.

A question on this subject asked by the Rev. George H. Lockett in September 1955 (Notes and Queries 960) does not appear to have been answered. An obvious reason for this is that a few months later an account was given in the *Methodist Recorder* (8th December 1955) of the handing over of these silver buckles by a member of the family of the late Dr. W. E. Orchard, who had worn them when preaching both in the days of his ministry as a Congregationalist and after his transfer to the Roman Catholic Church. The President of the Conference at that time, Dr. Leslie D. Weatherhead, officially received these buckles at a public meeting on 30th November 1955 at Park church, Brighouse, Yorks. A letter from Dr. Orchard's step-son, Father Hewitt, was read at the meeting, and in this it was revealed that Orchard had expressed a wish that after his death the buckles should be presented to the trustees of the John Wesley Museum in City Road. The letter also contained the following passage, in reading which it should be remembered that Orchard married a widow (Mrs. Hewitt):

One of these buckles belonged to my mother, who before her marriage to my father was a Miss Lelean. The other buckle belonged to her sister who had settled in Canada. When Dr. Orchard married my mother she was able to get the other buckle, and Dr. Orchard wore them continually until the day of his death. The buckles came into the family through an ancestress who ministered to John Wesley when he was attacked by a mob when preaching in Cornwall.

An article on this subject from the pen of Dr. A. M. Chirgwin (who was distantly related to Orchard) appeared in the *Christian World* somewhere around January 1961. He gave the story as he heard it from Orchard himself, and since it adds a further detail or two the following part may be quoted:

On one of his [Wesley's] visits to Cornwall, when he was staying with a farming family, a crowd of half drunken rowdies came shouting round the house and threatening to do damage unless the preacher was handed over to them. The family refused to do so and had their windows broken and other minor damage done before the crowd dispersed. The next morning, as he was leaving, Wesley cut off the buckles of his shoes and, as a token of his gratitude, gave them to the family. The buckles were kept in the family and handed down from one to another.

Chirgwin continued by describing the way in which the buckles had come by marriage into Orchard's possession.

(Incidentally, a speaker at the meeting referred to above, the Chairman of the District at that time, seems to have been somewhat embellishing the story in saying that Wesley was beaten up by thugs and nursed back to health by a lady whom he could not repay except in this fashion. If the occasion was the riot at Falmouth in 1745, as Mr. Lockett states, Wesley was personally unharmed; he [draws attention to this in his *Journal*, iii, p. 190—4th July 1745: ". . . not a man touched me with one of his fingers: neither was anything thrown from first to last; so that I had not a speck of dirt on my clothes.")

Dr. Chirgwin was trained at Richmond College, though he later entered the Congregational ministry; and he adds another detail which he also had from Orchard himself and which will be of special interest to those who

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(like the present writer) are Richmond men. In a private communication he tells me that when Orchard asked a shoemaker to make a pair of shoes like Wesley's to accommodate the buckles, he said they were to be like the shoes on Wesley's statue in the Richmond College entrance hall.

T. FRANCIS GLASSON.

1091. GLASCOTT TEAPOT.

Cradock Glascott, M.A. was the recipient of a letter from John Wesley when he was at Oxford in 1764 (*Letters*, iv, p. 242). He was subsequently a minister of the Countess of Huntingdon's Connexion, and then, from 1782 to 1831, the vicar of Hatherleigh, Devon. Despite his Calvinism, he was held in high esteem by the Wesleyan Methodists (see his obituary in the *Wesleyan-Methodist Magazine*, 1831, p. 805) and by the Bible Christians (see the *Life of James Thorne*, by his Son, p. 8). Dr. Knowles Boney, of Llandudno, has drawn my attention to a teapot which bears Glascott's portrait on one side and a figure representing "Repentance" on the other. The teapot is of Leeds ware, but the print of Glascott, like that of Wesley on the Wedgwood teapot, is by Billinge of Liverpool.

THOMAS SHAW.

1092. INFORMATION SOUGHT ABOUT WESLEY DESCENDANTS.

Mr. Arthur S. Thorp, of Newstead, 9, Grenfell Road, Beaconsfield, Bucks, is endeavouring to trace descendants of the Wesley family, and would be glad to communicate with anyone who is interested in this subject or who could supply information, especially about the descendants of Samuel Wesley, musician and organist (1766-1837).

EDITOR.

1093. ORDINATIONS OF MISSIONARIES.

We know that in the Wesleyan Methodist Connexion the practice of ordaining by the imposition of hands was adopted by the Conference of 1836, but that there were earlier instances. We know of a case for Scotland and a case for England,¹ but most of the cases were of men going overseas. Indeed, the *Wesleyan-Methodist Magazine*, 1836, page 689,² said: "This has long been the mode of ordaining the Wesleyan Missionaries." I am collecting instances in the hope that one of them may throw light on the origin of this practice. In the exhibition recently held at the Mint chapel, Exeter, I saw a letter written by Thomas Coke at Hull on 27th September 1802 to inform Brownell that Brother Edward Thompson was to join him at St. Kitts in the West Indies. Coke adds: "He has been ordained an Elder." The *Minutes* show that Thompson was received on trial in that year, and was received into Full Connexion in 1806. Thus this ordination must have been something quite other than reception into Full Connexion, and, whether or not done by the imposition of hands, is the first instance known to me, apart from Braithwaite for Scotland, after the cessation of ordinations in 1792. I am anxious that we should get this whole matter tidied up in time for the new History of British Methodism; so I should be grateful to hear quickly if anyone knows of an earlier instance or knows anything relevant about Thompson.

A. RAYMOND GEORGE.

1094. EAST ANGLIAN BRANCH.

The autumn meeting, held on Saturday, 20th October, at the St. Peter's church, Park Lane, Norwich, was presided over by Mr. R. W. Trower and addressed by the branch's chairman, the Rev. John J. Perry, on "Wesley

¹ *London Quarterly and Holborn Review*, 1951, p. 166.

² The page-number is erroneously printed as 698.

Pottery and other Wesleyana". The speaker convincingly upheld his reputation as an authority on his subject, particularly the ceramic aspect, as he unfolded the story of the modelling of the various busts of John Wesley by Enoch Wood and others. A number of these were on view, along with other relics from the lecturer's own collection, such as statuettes, plaques, china, the minutes of the first Conference, and a fine copy of Samuel Wesley's *An Heroic Poem on the Life of Christ*, by which he secured his preferment to the living of Epworth. Cordial thanks were expressed to Mr. Perry, who further enlightened his audience by his replies to queries about the exhibits.

The branch secretary reported a membership of 80, of whom four were present at the opening of the Connexional Archives and Research Centre. One of the Norwich newspapers had evinced keen interest in the branch's activities, and, after an interview with the secretary, had produced a gratifying article coupled with a delightful picture of Mr. Perry and part of his unique collection of pottery. It was probable that the next meeting would be arranged in conjunction with the May 1963 Synod of the East Anglia District to be held at King's Lynn. The members were entertained to tea by Mr. Trower.

W. A. GREEN.

1095. THE YORKSHIRE BRANCH.

The autumn meeting was held at Woodhouse Grove School on Saturday, 20th October. There was an attendance of 24 at this second meeting, including the Rev. Cyril Wainwright, the new Chairman of the West Yorkshire District, who has accepted a co-presidency of the branch, and a former Headmaster, Dr. C. W. Towlson. The present Headmaster, Dr. F. C. Pritchard, a member of our committee, read a paper on "The dawn of Wesleyan interest in Higher Education (other than at Kingswood)", which was largely concerned with the establishment of Woodhouse Grove in 1812. After tea, members were able to look over the school, and were particularly interested in a room set apart for a small but growing collection of "Groviana" (new additions welcome).

A number of documents of varying value are being offered to the branch for preservation. Recently hearing from John Nelson of Birstall that he had his ancestor's original journal in his possession, branch officers laid plans, only to be offered the choice of two copies, both of which turned out to be early printed copies. Occasional alterations in spellings and phrases between the two makes one wonder by whom the amendments—none of which appeared to be really significant—were made.

Branch membership is now more than 50, and regular meetings in May and October are planned, together with a Bulletin which will reproduce the papers given and also act as a clearing-house for bits and pieces of information and for questions. The next meeting will be at Haworth, coinciding with the 200th anniversary of William Grimshaw's death. The Rev. Archie Bradford will speak on "The Haworth Round".

W. STANLEY ROSE.

1096. THE NORTH-EAST BRANCH.

The autumn meeting of this newly-formed branch was held at Brunswick chapel, Newcastle upon Tyne, on Saturday, 20th October. The Rev. W. V. Harper presided, and about twenty members of the branch were present, with a number of non-members, including a party of ten from a Sunderland youth club. Two short papers were given. In the first the Rev. John Wall of Gosforth compressed a great deal of information about

"John Wesley and Newcastle". The second, "From South-West to North-East", by the branch chairman, the Rev. R. Walters Dunstan of North Shields, sketched the origins of the Bible Christians, and gave an account of the mission of Mary Ann Werrey in Northumberland and County Durham.

Mr. F. O. Bretherton, one of the vice-presidents, brought the meeting to a close with prayer. Afterwards, those present were able to inspect some of the Wesleyana of Brunswick, including the original deed of the Orphan House. Some stayed on to see colour slides which illustrated the first paper.

The secretary announced the following subscriptions: one year, 2s. 6d.; five years, 10s. od.; life membership, £2 5s. od. These should be sent to the registrar, Miss C. M. Bretherton, 6, The Craiglands, Tunstall Road, Sunderland, Co. Durham.

The next branch meeting is to be held at Durham Road chapel, Sunderland, on Saturday, 18th May 1963. There will be tea at 5-15 p.m., and at 6 o'clock the Rev. Dr. John H. S. Kent of Manchester will speak on "The separation of Methodism from the Church of England". It is hoped that some of the local Wesleyana will be on show.

On Saturday, 20th July, the branch is arranging an outing to several places in County Durham which are of historical interest to Methodists. The provisional date for the autumn 1963 meeting is Saturday, 19th October; the speaker will be the Rev. Dr. R. F. Wearmouth of Cullercoats.

HAROLD R. BOWES.

We warmly welcome the first issue of *Methodist History*, a quarterly journal published by the Association of Methodist Historical Societies, Lake Junaluska, U.S.A. The editor is Dr. Elmer T. Clark. This new journal is in succession to the well-known *World Parish* which was published jointly by the Association of Methodist Historical Societies and the World Methodist Council. Henceforth the World Methodist Council will produce its own news bulletin, leaving the new periodical *Methodist History* to be devoted solely to the subject indicated by its title. Its particular concern will be with the history of Methodism in the United States, but it is also promised that World Methodism will not be forgotten.

This issue contains two historical articles: "Methodism and Early Methodist Theological Education", by Daniel L. Marsh, and "Methodist Church Trials in Illinois, 1824 to 1960", by Robert H. Williams. Then follow some "Unpublished Letters of John Wesley", ten in all, four of which have already been printed in these *Proceedings*, and the remaining six to appear shortly. The last article consists of fourteen unpublished letters of Bishop Francis Asbury.

The editor and his staff are anxious to swell the number of subscribers, and any of our members who are interested should write to Dr. Elmer T. Clark, The Association of Methodist Historical Societies, Lake Junaluska, N.C., U.S.A. The annual subscription is \$2.00.

Bathafarn, the journal of the Historical Society of the Methodist Church in Wales (1962 issue) contains articles on "The Leaders of English and Welsh Methodism", "Nathaniel Wells", a Postscript by the editor on "The First Methodist Society in Wales", and, also by the editor, an article entitled "1662-1962".