

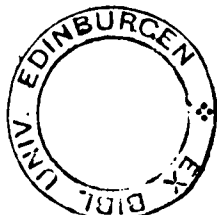
THE EVANGELICAL REVIVAL
IN EIGHTEENTH CENTURY ENGLAND AS REFLECTED
IN THE LIFE AND WORK OF WILLIAM ROMAINE (1714-1795)

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To
my wife
whose patient help
has made this work possible

FOREWARD

This thesis presents the results of research on the life and work of the Rev. William Romaine, pioneer leader of the Evangelical movement in the Church of England in the Eighteenth Century. It will not be particularly concerned with his works, thought, or theology, except as they bear upon his activities in connection with the Evangelical Revival.

The earliest biographical material on Romaine is found in the funeral sermons preached at his death and notes in current periodicals, chiefly a brief Memoir in the Evangelical Magazine of November, 1795. His friend, the Rev. W. B. Cadogan, undertook a biography of him in 1796 but was disappointed at finding no journal, diary, or other memoranda in Romaine's effects. Cadogan's Hutchinsonian background led him to omit any mention whatever in his work of Romaine's connection with the Countess of Huntingdon. Another friend of Romaine's, the Rev. Thomas Haweis, wrote a biography in 1797, in which he sought to correct Cadogan's biased presentation. Both works are short, presenting Romaine's life only in barest outline. Nothing has been done on the subject since 1797 except a manuscript "Life of William Romaine," by Luke Tyerman, once in the possession of The Epworth Press, London, but now lost. Leigh Bennett's article in the Dictionary of National Biography is well balanced but presents very little that is not to be found in Cadogan and Haweis.

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Dr. Lawrence E. Tanner, Westminster Abbey Library; Mr. Geoffrey Williams, Evangelical Library; Mr. Clifford Musgrave, County Borough of Brighton Libraries; James Ross, City and County of Bristol Public Libraries; James Crawley, County Borough of Sunderland Public Libraries, Museum and Art Gallery; Mr. H. Sherril, The Mitchell Library, New South Wales; the staff, Scottish National Library; Mr. E. Featherstone, Clerk of the Gresham Committee; the Revs. F. F. Bretherton and Frank Baker, Wesley Historical Society; the Rev. V. C. Morton, Rector of St. Andrew-by-the-Wardrobe and St. Anne, Blackfriars; and the Rev. W. S. Cowans, Rector of St. Hilda's, Hartlepool.

"Literature is the fragment of fragments.
Only a very small portion of what was
uttered was written down, and of what was
written down only a very small portion
survives."

--Goethe

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CHAPTER I

THE RELIGIOUS AND MORAL BACKGROUND OF THE EVANGELICAL REVIVAL

Apart from claiming "perfect understanding of all things," he who sets out to sketch the background of eighteenth century religion in England is certain to feel somewhat as Luke did when when commencing to write his Gospel. Many workers in the field have preceded him. All of them agree that the dull and uninviting characteristics of English Church life during the first half of the century reflect a natural reaction from the previous period of strenuous exertion--a period that stands out in colourful leaders, events, and movements.

The Revolution of 1689 provides the dividing point between the two eras. Before the Revolution the nation had been exercised over the possibility of Roman Catholic establishment under James II, but the coming of William and Mary brought a sigh of relief on this score, although there still remained the Jacobite threat for many decades. Nonconformity had been engaged in a struggle for existence before 1689; the Revolution produced the Toleration Act, and thereafter Dissenters knew their constitutional rights. The desire for rest after battle was overwhelming. Both the Established Church and Nonconformity took advantage of the opportunity to settle down to an ease that brought with it serious consequences.

Of the Church of England at this period Overton rightly says that "the morbid dread of falling either into the Scylla of Romanism on the one hand or the Charybdis of Puritanism on the

other, tended to make men value unduly the virtues of caution and quiet."¹ Controversies there were, certainly, but they only tended to dull the spiritual senses of the greater part of the Church. Few were willing to show great interest in spiritual things lest they run the risk of earning the epithet of "enthusiast"--a term with a most unpopular connotation in the Eighteenth Century. The effects of the Non-juring schism were tempered by the period of Church activity and growth under Queen Anne from 1702 to 1714. Sir Robert Walpole (1676-1745), the powerful Minister of the first two Georges, made it his business to curtail the authority and activity of the Church. He early began to subject the Church to his maxim, Quieta non movere, and in his sight it became little more than an instrument of the State. Bishop (George) Berkeley's (1684-1753) plan for missionary endeavor in Bermuda was throttled; the building of new churches begun under Queen Anne came to an end; the hope of consecrating bishops for the American colonies was dashed; and Convocation was silenced. By the time the reign of George I (from 1714 to 1727) was under way three controversies were taking the minds of the clergy from their spiritual duties.

The controversy over Deism was really a debate on the question of authority in the spiritual realm. The authority of the Papacy and the Roman Catholic Church had been disposed of at the Reformation; the Deists now proposed to dispense with the authority of the Bible. Contending churches, sects, and parties during the Seventeenth century had all claimed the authority of Revelation for their contradictory doctrines, which they maintained often with bitter animosity. Now it was thought by many

¹John Henry Overton, The Evangelical Revival in the Eighteenth Century (London: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1907), p. 4.

that the Scriptures ought to be interpreted on a purely rational basis, and the Deists, while not always in agreement with each other on other points, were united in seeking to discredit everything Biblical which could not be supported by human reason. In general they insisted that God's revelation in nature and in the human mind is superior to that in Scripture, that the latter should be criticized like other books, that Jesus is not co-equal with God, and that Christ's death cannot be regarded as an atonement for sin.¹

Although the roots of Deism lie farther back, its period of vitality began in 1796 with the publication of Christianity Not Mysterious by John Toland (1670-1722). Toland was followed among others by William Wollaston (1660-1724) and Matthew Tindal (1653?-1733). John Locke (1632-1704), without intending to do so, provided the philosophical principles for Deism in his Essay on the Human Understanding. The earlier proponents of Deism showed no tendency to leave the Church, but the later writers became openly hostile to it. Many writers came into the field to defend the Bible and the Church from the attacks of the Deists, chief among them William Warburton (1698-1779), John Conybeare (1692-1755), and Joseph Butler (1692-1752). The latter's Analogy of Religion, published in 1736, stands head and shoulders above all other anti-Deistical writings, answering all arguments without attacking a single individual. Deism collapsed about the middle of the century as its adherents either drifted into open infidelity or returned to the old doctrinal position.

The Trinitarian Controversy in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries revived discussion of some phases of

¹Summarized from Charles J. Abbey and John H. Overton, The English Church in the Eighteenth Century (New ed., revised and abridged; London: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1887), p. 77.

the christological questions which had troubled the early Church. Both Arian and Socinian views were represented on the Unitarian side with the second gaining the ascendancy during the later period. Among the many writers whose names are found on books and pamphlets remaining from this controversy, two stand out—one on each side. The great anti-Trinitarian work was Samuel Clarke's (1675-1729) Scripture Doctrine of the Trinity, published in 1712, an exhaustive treatise commenting on 1251 New Testament texts on the nature of the Godhead. Clarke was answered in three strong works by Daniel Waterland (1683-1740). Like the Deists the anti-Trinitarians showed no disposition to quit the Church until later on. Overton and Relton picture the paper duel as follows:

There is logically no middle ground between the Trinitarian position and Unitarianism pure and simple; and when Dr. Clarke and others tried to find one, they were standing on a descending slope down which Waterland pushed them with remorseless logic. The consequence was that, when there was a recrudescence of the controversy towards the close of the century, Anti-Trinitarians took . . . the only ground on which they could stand, that is, Unitarianism.¹

Romaine's Discourse Upon the Self-existence of Jesus Christ, published in 1755, was answered by a number of works, two as late as 1775 and 1789.²

The Bangorian Controversy was precipitated by the first bishop appointed by George I, Benjamin Hoadly (1676-1761) of Bangor, when on March 31, 1717, he preached before the King his famous sermon on "The Nature of the Kingdom or Church of Christ." Beginning with his text, "My kingdom is not of this world" he denied the very existence of the visible Church, the divine power of the clergy, and the authority of the bishops,

¹John H. Overton and Frederic Relton, The English Church from the Accession of George I. to the End of the Eighteenth Century (1714-1800) (London: Macmillan and Co., 1906), p. 31.

²Infra, pp. 87f.

thus making the Church purely spiritual and faith nothing more than sincerity. Hoadly's Latitudinarianism was attacked by the Non-jurors on the one hand and by Church leaders on the other. Hundreds of pamphlets appeared during the two years' conflict over the nature of the Church, more than seventy in a single month, according to Plummer.¹ The lower house of Convocation adopted a long "Representation" against Hoadly's work, but it was never submitted to the upper house, for the Government prorogued Convocation on May 17, 1717, and not until 1852, one hundred thirty-five years later, did it meet again to transact business. The Established Church thus lost one of its highest functions, that of discussing and handling its own affairs at the highest level.

It was not that the rank and file of either the clergy or the laity participated in these simultaneous controversies--just to know that the best minds in the Church were occupied in attack or defence would prove an enervating influence, as far as constructive parish work was concerned. If one could not argue for whatever type of Christianity he espoused, there seemed to be nothing whatever to do. Most of the clergy spoke as if morality were the most important element in Christianity, but even the ethics of its Founder and of the New Testament were in large measure neglected. There was a lack of vital spirituality in the Church--men seem to have lost that personal experience of God's grace reaching down into their hearts to motivate Christian living.

Little could be expected from a people whose bishops and clergy were more interested in preferment than in Christian service. Pluralism was widely prevalent, and the objections were

¹Alfred Plummer, The Church of England in the Eighteenth Century (London: Methuen & Co., 1910), p. 70.

few. The resulting non-residence left the common people without pastoral care--but the clergy were only following in the footsteps of their bishops. Hoadly never set foot in the Diocese of Bangor during the five years that he was Bishop, but it did not occur to his bitterest enemies to reproach him with such selfish neglect. Non-residence was defended by some. John Douglas (1721-1807), later Bishop of Carlisle and Salisbury, writing against Romaine in 1755, declared:

Certain it is, that non-residence is a nursery for the clergy. By means of it, there is kept up a body of reserve, over and above the number of parish ministers, ready, upon any vacancy, to succeed to an office, which they have already learned to execute.¹

Balleine thus describes the scene in rural England on Sunday mornings:

Squadrons of curates galloped out from the towns early on Sunday mornings, each man meaning to visit six or seven villages. The sextons kept watch on the church towers for the coming of the parson, and when he was sighted rang the bell to summon the congregation. As soon as the prayers were gabbled through, the curate mounted his horse and rode on to the next village, and was not seen again for a week. Hundreds of parishes had only one service a week, and even that was dropped whenever the weather was bad.²

The clergy were not only selfish but pleasure-loving. After the middle of the century John Berridge (1714-93) was rebuked by his Bishop for preaching outside his parish at Everton in Bedfordshire. He answered:

It is true my lord, I was one day at E[ato?]n, and there were a few people assembled together, and I admonished them to repent of their sins, and to believe in the Lord Jesus Christ for the salvation of their souls; and I remember seeing five or six clergymen that day, my lord, all out of their own parishes, upon E[ato?]n bowling green.³

¹[John Douglas] An Apology for the Clergy (London: S. Bladon, 1755), p. 7.

²G. R. Balleine, A History of the Evangelical Party in the Church of England (London: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1908), p. 18.

³Richard Whittingham, "Memoir of His [John Berridge's]

Still later in the century George III remonstrated with the Archbishop of Canterbury, Frederick Cornwallis (1713-83), over the unseemly succession of gay balls at Lambeth Palace. In a letter the King wrote:

From the dissatisfaction with which you must perceive I behold these improprieties, not to speak in harsher terms, and on still more pious principles, I trust you will suppress them immediately; so that I may not have occasion to show any further marks of my displeasure, or to interpose in a different manner.¹

Doubtless there were many exceptions to the general run of the clergy in those days, but this section is concluded with Bishop Ryle's indictment, perhaps overly severe.

They neither did good themselves, nor liked any one else to do it for them. They hunted, they shot, they farmed, they swore, they drank, they gambled. They seemed determined to know everything except Jesus Christ and him crucified. When they assembled it was generally to toast "Church and King," and to build one another up in earthly-mindedness, prejudice, ignorance, and formality. When they retired to their own homes, it was to do as little and preach as seldom as possible. And when they did preach, their sermons were so unspeakably and indescribably bad, that it is comforting to reflect that they were generally preached to empty benches.²

The Toleration Act of 1689 was a far cry from the granting of religious liberty to all. Upon certain conditions Dissenters were relieved of the penalties of the Act of Uniformity, the Conventicle Act, and the Five Mile Act. The oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy had to be taken and the statutory Declaration against Romish superstitions made. Nonconformist ministers were required to subscribe to the Articles of the Church, with the exception of three, and, in the case of Baptists, four. Individual meeting houses had to be certified by bishops, archdeacons, or

Life" in The Whole Works of the Rev. John Berridge, A.M. (2d ed. with additions; London: Ebenezer Palmer, 1864), pp. xlviif.

¹[Aaron Crossley Hobart Seymour] The Life and Times of Selina Countess of Huntingdon (2 vols.; London: William Edward Painter, 1844), II, 283.

²J. C. Ryle, The Christian Leaders of the Last Century (London: T. Nelson and Sons, 1899), p. 17.

justices, and the doors were not to be locked or barred during services.¹ Roman Catholics and Dissenting Unitarians were excluded from participating in the benefits of the Act. It afforded protection of a sort to those who were able and willing to take refuge under it, and for these it was a great change from the persecution suffered theretofore. Although many minor skirmishes still lay ahead, the struggle for existence was over, and Nonconformity settled down to rest and was soon "at ease in Zion." The great opportunity to substitute aggressive evangelism for defensive tactics was lost. Had it been otherwise, the Evangelical Revival might have been heralded by Dissenters instead of by sons of the Establishment.

There were reasons for the decline of spiritual life among Dissenting bodies. The Occasional Conformity Act of 1711 required Nonconformist office holders to take communion periodically according to the forms of the Church of England; the result was that many of the affected men discontinued attendance at their own churches. Clark states that there was a movement of Nonconformist youth back to the Established Church "for the sake of social advantage."² The Independents and Presbyterians lost something of their denominational consciousness through the moderating influence of frequent interassociation. The Baptists suffered from cleavages on both doctrinal and practical issues. More serious was the penetration of Socinianism into the Dissenting bodies, especially among the Baptists and Presbyterians. Efforts to resolve this doctrinal impasse, such as the Salter's Hall meeting in 1719, only increased the party bitterness, and many years were to pass before unity was achieved in these

¹ Summarized from Henry W. Clark, History of English Nonconformity (2 vols.; London: Chapman and Hall, Ltd., 1911, 1913), II, 117f.

² *Ibid.*, 166.

denominations. Among the Quakers the Toleration Act was followed by an increasing emphasis upon organization and discipline. This was felt by many to constitute a dangerous drift away from the older ideal of simple divine guidance, and only through controversy did the Quakers arrive at a renewal of faith toward the end of the century. It is not surprising that under conditions such as these the Dissenting churches were powerless to overcome the spiritual inertness of England.

The moral tone of eighteenth century England was exceedingly low in all classes of society. Kings and ministers lived in open adultery¹ and few objections were raised. The effects of a viciously debased literature and an indecent stage filtered from the upper classes through the lower. A coarseness characterized the common people, induced by the brutality of public amusements such as the baiting of birds and animals, prize-fighting between men and women, and public hangings. Cock-fighting was so common that even clergymen became devotees of the sport, and on occasion victories were recorded in parish registers while church bells were rung. The public hangings were the aspect of carnivals; vendors sold sweets and fruit to the spectators while they awaited the arrival of the condemned--men, women, and sometimes children--who were driven to the scene in carts to the tolling of church bells. "Criminals" were hanged for the smallest offences. At the same session in which Dr. Dodd was sentenced to death for forging a £4,200 bond a poor fellow received a like sentence for washing a halfpenny in order to make it look like a shilling. Street crowds quickly gathered to

¹Lady Chesterfield (1693-1778) and Countess Dallet (1703-73), often mentioned in the biographies of Whitefield and Lady Huntingdon, were daughters of George I by his mistress, the Duchess of Kendal.

brawl, fight, and burn houses. The diaries of the street and field preachers of the Revival are filled with references to the disgraceful and humiliating treatment they received from street ruffians. Drunkenness was widespread with its accompaniment of family hardship and debased childhood. Robbery was so common that streets and roads were often unsafe: Many sermons were preached on such evils.¹ Any eighteenth century parish register will reveal the very large proportion of illegitimate children brought to the church for baptism.

Pattison notes the period of great prosperity in England which followed the Peace of Utrecht from 1714 to 1744 and contrasts with the material gains the spiritual deterioration.

The historian of moral and religious progress, on the other hand, is under the necessity of depicting the same period as one of decay of religion, licentiousness of morals, public corruption, profaneness of language--a day of 'rebuke and blasphemy.' . . . it was an age destitute of depth or earnestness; an age whose poetry was without romance, whose philosophy was without insight, and whose public men were without character; an age of 'light, without love,' whose 'very merits were of the earth, earthy.'²

One easily falls into the error of painting such an era in uniformly dark colours. Exceptions there were, of course, among the upper classes, bishops, clergy, and common people--but they felt themselves to be in an almost helpless minority. Here and there a voice was lifted in behalf of genuine spirituality of mind and purity of life. The Religious Societies, particularly those of Andrew Horneck in and about London, exerted a great influence for good among young men, and through them to others. While they declined in strength during the early decades of the century, they played an important part in the framework which they pro-

¹See William Romaine's sermon on A Method for Preventing the Frequency of Robberies and Murders. Infra, p. 79.

²Mark Pattison, Essays by the Late Mark Pattison, ed. Henry Nettleship (2 vols.; Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1889), II, 42.

vided for the societies of the Evangelical Revival, to be found in the Wesleyan type of organization as well as in many parish churches.

This was the England that needed a revival of faith—a revival that would touch every phase of life, lifting even those who were not touched as individuals by the ministry of Evangelical and Methodist to a higher plane of life, moral and social. The first quickening came within the Church of England. Later the stream divided, but the Evangelical movement in the Church continued to grow stronger and stronger. The story of William Romaine is the story of the Evangelical Revival in the Church of England during its early period.

CHAPTER II

BIRTH TO SETTLEMENT IN LONDON, 1714-48

"A very, very vain, proud young man"

William Romaine (1714-95) was born in Hartlepool, County of Durham, England, on September 25, 1714. The Hartlepool of that day was a quiet fishing town with a population of considerably less than a thousand.¹ Fewer than a half dozen narrow streets of houses lined the inner edge of a small peninsula jutting into the North Sea and surrounded on three sides by water. King John had constituted the village a borough in the year 1200. "The men of Hartlepool shall be free burgesses, and have the same laws and liberties as our burgesses of Newcastle-on-Tyne."²

1714
to
1748

The statement of Romaine's first biographer, the Rev. William Bromley Cadogan (1751-97), followed by all later writers, that his subject's father "was among the French Protestants who took refuge in England upon the revocation of the edict of Nantes,"³ must be clarified and corrected. For a number of years before the actual revocation of the Edict of Nantes in 1685 the

¹Cuthbert Sharp, A History of Hartlepool (Durham: Francis Humble and Co., 1816), p. 162.

²Robert Surtees, The History and Antiquities of the County Palatine of Durham (4 vols.; London: Nichols, Son, and Bentley, 1816-40), III, 99.

³William Bromley Cadogan, The Life of the Rev. William Romaine, M.A. in Works of the Late Reverend William Romaine, A.M. (8 vols.; London: T. Chapman, 1796), VII, 9f.

increasing persecution of Protestants by Louis XIV had the effect of driving thousands of Huguenot families into emigration to friendly Protestant countries. The relaxation in 1681 of English immigration and naturalization laws in favour of the French refugees¹ resulted immediately in a great acceleration of the exodus to Britain.

1714
to
1748

Robert Romaine (d. 1751) settled in Hartlepool about this time, according to Sharp, being admitted a burgess on August 27, 1683.² The following oath was taken by Hartlepool burgesses:

I shall be true unto the maior, and to the franchises and fredomes that belongethe to the burgishipp of this town of Hartlepole. And kepe the foresayd maior's counsell for matters concernynge the same when I knowe ytt. I shall come unto the foresayd maior where I suppose hee bee, upon the towellinge of the com'on bell, or warnynge geven me by the serjannte. I shall fellowe myself w'ith no strange man in buyinge or sellinge to the p'iudyce of the fredome of the burgesses of this town. I shall kepe all the com'on orders, statutes, and decrees, made for the gov'nement of this town, att my peril and willingly submit myself to be gov'ned by the same.³

Robert's son, William (1672?-1757⁴),⁵ was about eleven years old when his father became a burgess of Hartlepool, and it is assumed that he came from France with him.⁶ Robert, son of Robert Romaine and brother of William, is recorded as having been buried at Hartlepool on June 22, 1694.⁷ The Romaines soon became active adherants of the Church of England, the parish registers

¹Henry M. Baird, The Huguenots and the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes (2 vols.; London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co., 1895), I, 512f.

²Sharp, op. cit., p. 77. ³Ibid., p. 92

⁴Cadogan, Life of Romaine in Romaine's Works, VII, 11.

⁵Sharp, op. cit., p. 72.

⁶The inscription on a tablet in St. Hilda's, Hartlepool, says that Rev. William Romaine sprang from "a Protestant Confessor Who took refuge in this town at the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, 1685." G. T. Fox, The Life and Doctrine of Romaine (London: Seeley, Jackson, and Halliday, 1876), p. 23.

⁷St. Hilda's Parish Register, Hartlepool.

of St. Hilda's Church in Hartlepool reflecting many of their joys and sorrows.

1714
to
1748

The elder William Romaine, "still remembered at Hartlepool with respect"¹ a half-century after his death, was a corn merchant there for many years, served the town as alderman, and was elected mayor in 1723, 1735, and 1745.² To William and Isabella (1683?-1771),³ his wife, were born nine children, as recorded in the parish registers.

1. Robert--baptized July 16, 1710; a grocer in London, where he died in his thirtieth year.⁴
2. William--born September 25, 1714; baptized September 30; married Miss Mary Price⁵ (1730?-1801) February 11, 1755; Rector of St. Andrew-by-the-Wardrobe and St. Anne, Blackfriars, London, 1766-95; died at Balham July 26, 1795.
3. James--baptized December 29, 1716; evidently died young.
4. Elizabeth--baptized May 9, 1719; buried March 18, 1722.
5. Miriam--baptized September 26, 1720; married (1) Thomas Parker (1726?-71) at Sunderland March 23, 1759;⁶ married (2) John Young at Sunderland January 30, 1773; died at Sunderland January 24, 1797.
6. Dorothy--baptized March 15, 1721; married to one of Wesley's preachers, John Heslop (d. 1822?) at Hartlepool June 24, 1767;⁷ died July (?), 1793.⁸
7. Elizabeth--baptized January 14, 1723; married Michael

¹Sharp, op. cit., p. 77. ²Ibid., pp. 77-81.

³Gentleman's Magazine, XLI (March, 1771), 142.

⁴Cadogan, op. cit., VII, 12. ⁵Infra, p. 77.

⁶Infra, p. 119. ⁷Infra, p. 196.

⁸Romaine's Works, VIII, 239f.

Callinder (b. 1720?) at Newcastle-on-Tyne October 11,
1760.¹

1714
to
1748

8. Isabella--baptized January 27, 1726; buried January 30,
1726.

9. Ralph--baptized November 19, 1728; evidently died young.

In 1876, in a sermon dedicating a monument to Romaine in St. Hilda's Church,² Prebendary G. T. Fox in speaking of the former's birthplace described the house as "still standing within a few yards of the west end of this church in the High-street, south-west corner of St. Mary's-street," and "at present used as a butcher's shop."³ The old house was pulled down in 1937 and replaced with a modern building called "Romaine House." The Romaine home was definitely a Christian home. In a letter to Walter Taylor of Southampton dated July 30, 1784, Romaine writes:

I have three sisters living, and am going to take my final leave of them. They are old, so am I. And we shall not in all probability meet any more on this side of the grave.

The occasion of this journey, has brought a great solemnity upon my spirits. There is something in this last meeting, which would be too much for my feelings, if I had not all the reason in the world to believe, that our next meeting will be in glory. Mr. Whitfield used often to say to me, "how highly favoured I was; that whereas, none of his family were believers, all mine were like those blessed people, Jesus loved Martha, and her sister, and Lazarus." My father and mother, and my three sisters, share in his love. Glory be to him in the highest.⁴

Romaine's father, according to Cadogan, "was a man of God, and consequently of strict morals; a steady member of the church of England, a constant attender upon her services, and so exact an observer of the sabbath-day, that he never suffered any of his family to go out upon it, except to church, and spent the remain-

¹Infra, p. 132.

²F. T. Salter mistakenly notices Rev. William Romaine's death in 1714 in The Story of the Abbey Church of St. Hilda Hartlepool (Gloucester: The British Publishing Company Limited, n.d.), p. 14.

³Fox, op. cit., p. 3.

⁴Romaine's Works, VIII, 18.

der of it with them in reading the scriptures and other devout exercises, at home."¹ Young William's grandfather, no doubt, was often called upon to recite the story of his flight from France, and thus the boy would sense in his earliest years that a real faith is worth any sacrifice. Such were the influences under which he spent the first ten years of his life.

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At about the age of ten William was sent away from home to attend the grammar school, sometimes called the Keyper School, at Houghton-le-Spring, some fifteen miles from Hartlepool. This school had been founded in 1574 by the Rev. Bernard Gilpin (1517-83), "the apostle of the north." The only known set of school statutes is dated 1658 and reads in part as follows:

When the Schoole doth want a Master, the Governours may send to Mr. Provost of Queen's College, in Oxon, and request him that he would procure some Northern man, in any wise Master of Art, either in his own house or some other: [The master] shall meddle with and occupy no other temporall living; that if other (temporal) livings belong to him, he shall farme them forth to others, that they may be no hindrance to his teaching if he accept any spiritual living, he shall vacate the school within one year of his induction; and lastly, he shall not marry without the consent of the Governours. . . . There shall be one play-day in a week, either Tuesday or Thursday, save only certain days in the Spring for the scholars to exercise their bowes, in matching either with themselves or Strangers, in the Ox-pasture, or in Houghton Moor²

Romaine's master was the Rev. Gilbert Nelson (1637?-1737?),³ who continued to teach at the school to a very advanced age.⁴ Here, probably, began his acquaintance with the Rev. Thomas Secker (1693-1768), afterward Bishop of Bristol, then Oxford, and finally Archbishop of Canterbury, for he was Rector of Houghton-le-

¹Cadogan, op. cit., VII, 11.

²Surtees, History and Antiquities of Durham, I, Part II, 159.

³John Venn and J. A. Venn, Alumni Cantabrigienses (2 parts, 6 vols.; Cambridge: University Press, 1922-), Part I, III, 240.

⁴Surtees, op. cit., I, Part II, 160.

Spring for several years beginning in 1724,¹ the year Romaine began his study there.

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Romaine finished his preparatory studies at Houghton-le-Spring in the early months of 1731 and matriculated in Hart Hall,² Oxford, on April 10,³ soon transferring, however, to Christ Church. When Romaine entered Oxford, George Whitefield (1714-70), somewhat less than three months his junior, was still working as a tapster at the Bell Inn in Gloucester, and nineteen months were to elapse before he too would matriculate at Oxford. The Rev. John Wesley (1703-91), B.A. and M.A. of Christ Church, almost twenty-eight years of age, had been teaching at Oxford as a Fellow of Lincoln College since 1726, with the brief interruptions of his curacies at Epworth and Wroot, having been ordained both deacon and priest. His brother, Charles Wesley (1707-88), twenty-two, had taken his Bachelor of Arts degree at Christ Church the previous year and was now serving as a tutor in his college.

About two years before Romaine's advent at Oxford, Charles had begun to meet with two or three choice classmates for the purpose of mutual edification and study. The strict spiritual and moral routine adopted by these young men earned for them the nickname of "Methodists." Before long John Wesley became the leader of "the little company," as he called it, and for several

¹Ibid., I, Part II, 157.

²Hart Hall became Hertford College by charter in 1739; Magdalen Hall absorbed the latter in 1818 but was itself reconstituted Hertford College by a new charter dated 1878. Charles Edward Mallet, A History of the University of Oxford (3 vols.; London: Methuen & Co., 1924-27), III, 128f., 424, 426.

³Foster gives Romaine's age at matriculation as 17, but he lacked more than five months of having reached his seventeenth birthday. Joseph Foster, Alumni Oxonienses (2 series, 8 vols.; Oxford: Parker and Co., n.d.), Later series, III, 1123.

years the circle continued to grow. Although Romaine must have known of the Oxford Methodists, the Rev. Thomas Haweis (1734-1820), whose friendship he enjoyed for over forty years, maintains that "he studiously avoided all connection with them and their meetings"¹ during his residence at Oxford. Whatever his feeling toward them at that time, the passing of a few years was to find him closely associated with several of these despised young men.

Romaine's father, apparently, was financially unable to see his son through Oxford in the manner of most of his fellows, for his station at the university, according to Haweis, was that of a servitor at Christ Church.² In sharp contrast to the Wesleys and their friends, Romaine kept no diaries, and since no letters of this period have survived, very little is known of his university life, except for a few scraps of information preserved by his biographers. The following excerpt from A Short Account of God's Dealings with the Reverend Mr. George Whitefield, A.B., first published in 1740, will serve to set forth something of the lot of an Oxford servitor:

Soon after my admission to Pembroke College, I found my having been used to a public-house was now of service to me. For many of the servitors being sick at my first coming up, by my diligent and ready attendance I ingratiated myself into the gentlemen's favour so far, that many, who had it in their power, chose me to be their servitor.

This much lessened my expense; and, indeed, God was so gracious, that, with the profits of my place, and some little presents made me by my kind tutor, for almost the first three years I did not put all my relations together to above £24 expense.³

Perhaps due in part to the necessity laid upon him of earning at

¹Thomas Haweis, The Life of William Romaine, M.A. (London: T. Chapman, 1797), p. 18.

²Ibid., p. 16.

³Quoted in L. Tyerman, The Life of the Rev. George Whitefield (2d ed., 2 vols.; London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1890), I, 15.

least a part of his expenses, Romaine seems to have been known at Oxford for his carelessness of dress. The Rev. William Goode¹ (1762-1816), his last curate and successor at St. Andrew-by-the-Wardrobe and St. Anne, Blackfriars, London, in his funeral sermon for Romaine relates an incident first told by Julius Bate (1711-71):

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Being observed to pass by rather negligently attired, a gentleman who was a visitor [quite possibly Bate himself] inquired of his friend, a master of one of the colleges, "Who is that slovenly person with his stockings down?" The master replied, "That slovenly person as you call him is one of the greatest geniuses of the age, and is likely to be one of the greatest men in this kingdom."²

Plainness of dress characterized him throughout life.

Romaine is supposed to have stated that his tutor was the Rev. Fifield Allen³ (d. 1764),⁴ afterward Archdeacon of Middlesex, Subdean of the Chapel Royal, and Prebendary of St. Paul's Cathedral. One of the young matriculate's first interests at Oxford seems to have been public speaking. He afterward attended the performances of David Garrick (1717-79) in order "to improve himself in the graces of oratory,"⁵ and, as a reward for his efforts, he attained an excellent delivery. Goode's description of his preaching style may be noted here.

As a PREACHER--he shone with peculiar advantage. God had formed him for natural elocution and simple eloquence. His voice possessed an admirable sweetness; his countenance a liveliness of expression; his eyes sparkled with delight, and every feature expressed the sensibility of his heart while engaged in his delightful work; his very countenance was a sermon. Yet all was

¹Infra, p. 279.

²W. Goode, Faith Triumphant in Death (London: Rivingtons, 1795), p. 24.

³Cadogan, op. cit., VII, 13.

⁴George Hennessy, Novum Repertorium Ecclesiasticum Parochiale Londinense (London: Swan Sonnenschein, 1898), p. 44.

⁵Anonymous, "Memoir of the Late Rev. William Romaine, A.M.," The Evangelical Magazine, III (November, 1795), 438.

natural and unaffected; for he took as much pains to simplify his style, as many do to ornament and polish. His energy, his pathos, his lively action, arose from the fervour of his spirit in love to Christ. While, therefore, he was simple without meanness; and plain without vulgarity, he was dignified without laboured elevation, was understood by the lowest, while the highest were edified and pleased.--Early in life he was a Boanerges, and there is a peculiar fire, energy, and alarming tendency, in his early compositions: but this had given way to a mild manner, and more delightful subjects in general.¹

At Christ Church he became proficient in the use of the original languages of the Scriptures, and he gave full attention to other subjects considered essential in preparation for the ministry of the Church of England. Thomas Wright, followed by Gilbert Thomas,² makes the curious statement in his excellent biography of William Cowper (1731-1800) that Romaine among others had "forsaken the bar in order to take to the pulpit."³ The authority for this notice is lacking. There is no evidence that he ever considered any profession other than the ministry of the Established Church.

The young student soon found himself attracted to the group of Hutchinsonians at Oxford, and his association with them to some extent coloured his whole life. Some notice must be taken at this point of the system of thought--theological, scientific, and philosophical--developed by John Hutchinson (1674-1737) early in the Eighteenth Century. Born in Yorkshire, he was prepared by his father for service as a steward, his education being received privately from a boarder in the home. At the age of nineteen he became steward to a Mr. Bathurst of Yorkshire and successively to the Earl of Scarborough and the Duke of Somerset. Following a quarrel with the latter's personal physician over the

¹Goode, op. cit., pp. 33f.

²Gilbert Thomas, William Cowper and the Eighteenth Century (London: Ivor Nicholson and Watson Limited, 1935), p. 150.

³Thomas Wright, The Life of William Cowper (London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1892), p. 151.

disposition of notes on a large collection of fossils they had made,¹ Hutchinson decided to devote his life to writing. The Duke arranged his appointment as Purveyor of the Royal Stables, a sinecure which afforded him leisure for writing as long as he lived.

His Moses's Principia, published in 1724, was intended to discredit Sir Isaac Newton's (1642-1727) Principia, which he believed was helping the Deists to undermine the authority of the Bible, particularly the Old Testament. His main thesis was that the Hebrew language, written without points, which he regarded as a later subterfuge of the Rabbis, was the original language given to man by God—from which all other languages have derived; the Hebrew roots of Scripture contain all divine truth, the spiritual lying veiled under the physical.

In short, the Hebrew Language was form'd by God, and was adapted to express material Things by Words, which described the Things by the Condition each of them were in, without Paraphrase or Enlargement, and so conveyed perfect Ideas of the Things by the Words; and those Words in Scripture which described the Condition of each material Thing, and their Actions, are infallibly chosen and employed for the Mind, its Actions, Spiritual Things and their Actions; and thereby from Things which we could understand, convey'd to us the most perfect Ideas we could have of Things and Actions we could not otherwise understand.²

In the Hebrew Scriptures he found a complete outline of physical science, and in the phenomena of science he saw a profusion of allegories of spiritual truth. In writing of the creation of the heavens he says:

¹ Hutchinson had planned to incorporate this data in "a work to prove the truth of the Mosaic account of the first formation of the earth at the creation . . ." Robert Spearman, The Life of John Hutchinson, Esq. in his A Supplement to the Works of John Hutchinson, Esq. (London: W. Faden, 1765), p. iv.

² John Hutchinson, Moses's Principia in The Philosophical and Theological Works of the Late Truly Learned John Hutchinson, Esq., ed. Robert Spearman and Julius Bate (12 vols.; London: James Hodges, 1759), II, xxix.

The Substance of them are said to be created by the Aleim [Elohim, always plural for Hutchinson], in the first Verse of Genesis; and those Names of that Substance are immediately distinguished by Spirit, Light, and Fire; and those three Names are used not only for this Substance, in three Conditions, but emblematically for the three Persons, the Aleim.¹

Hutchinson's verbosity and vanity are the features of his writings which strike the modern reader. He imagined himself to be a rediscoverer of divine truth long lost.

I am afraid I must be forced to say, as St. Paul says, 2 Cor. iii. 14. For until this Day remaineth the Veil untaken away in the reading of the Old Testament. I hope I shall be able to take off so much of it as to shew what Moses had to do with Philosophy and whence he had it.²

As I have begun, and intend to settle the chief Points in Religion, so that it shall not be in the Power of Man to disturb them, I must not only shew the Perfection of the Writings and Languages I am construing, but the Imperfection of all other Languages, and of all human Writings, exalt the Works of God, and depress those of Men.³

Hutchinson never became the leader of a party. His adherents, always High Church in principle, disliked the name "Hutchinsonian" and felt it unnecessary to follow him "in all his fantastic imaginations about Hebrew roots, or in all that he objected against the Newtonian philosophy."⁴ They admired his deep respect for the authority of the Bible and the way in which he applied its teaching to man's personal life. Outstanding followers of Hutchinson were Julius Bate (1711-71), William Jones of Nayland (1726-1800), and Bishop George Horne (1730-92) in England; Duncan Forbes (1685-1747) in Scotland; and Samuel Johnson (1696-1772), first President of King's College (later Columbia

¹John Hutchinson, The Hebrew Writings Perfect in Hutchinson's Works, VII, 142.

²John Hutchinson, An Essay Toward a Natural History of the Bible in Hutchinson's Works, I, 34.

³John Hutchinson, A New Account of the Confusion of Tongues in Hutchinson's Works, IV, 9.

⁴Charles J. Abbey, The English Church and Its Bishops (2 vols; London: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1887), I, 311.

University), in America.

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Both Cambridge and Oxford had their Hutchinsonian circles, and among these kindred spirits William Romaine laid the foundation for his ministry to the souls of men. He retained to the end of his life a great love for the Hebrew, always having near him those to whom he was teaching the language. When his Hebrew grammar was published posthumously¹ the Evangelical Magazine noted in a review that "this Grammar has been long handed about in MS. among the friends of the late Mr. Romaine, who was known to be an excellent Hebraean."² Haweis states that his diligent application and rapid progress at Christ Church was such that "notwithstanding the inferiority of his station in College, he soon acquired the respect, and attracted the notice of his superiors; and was admitted into the acquaintance of some of the ablest scholars of the University."³ Some years later Whitefield spoke of Romaine as "having been reputed a great scholar."⁴

Romaine took his Bachelor of Arts degree on February 13, 1734,⁵ and continued his residence at Oxford until about the time of his ordination as deacon. The following entry is to be found in the Diocesan Register of the Bishop of Hereford, Henry Egerton (1689?-1746):

Ordination of Clerks.

On Sunday the seventeenth day of October in the year of our Lord 1736 the Right Reverend Father in God Henry by Divine permission Bishop of Hereford celebrating Holy Orders in the Cath-

¹William Romaine, A Concise Hebrew Grammar, Without Points (London: T. Williams, 1803).

²Evangelical Magazine, XI (June, 1803), 261.

³Haweis, Life of Romaine, p. 17.

⁴George Whitefield, The Works of the Reverend George Whitefield, M.A. (6 vols.; London: Edward and Charles Dilly, 1771-72), III, 122.

⁵Foster, Alumni Oxonienses, Later series, III, 1123.

edral Church of Hereford did then and there admitt to the Holy Order of priests the persons under written to wit [two columns of names follow]

On the same day the above said Lord Bishop [the bishop's sign] did admitt to the Holy Order of Deacons the persons under written (to wit)

William Holbrook A.B.	John Pursoll
William Parker A.B.	Henry Rogers A.B.
William Bash [Bath?] A.M.	Richard Worke [?]
Owen Owens ---	William Price A.B.
Richard Adney [?] A.B.	William Romaine A.B. ¹
Williams Morris A.B.	Francis Studley A.B. ¹

Oddly, fifty-five years later, Romaine's memory had slipped as to the exact month of the ordination, for in a letter dated September 13, 1792, he writes, "This is a solemn season also with me on my own account. More than half a century ago I was ordained to be a witness for Christ, in this month of September."² Whether or not he was ordained upon nomination to the curacy of Lewtrenchard, a Devonshire village, is not known, but this seems to have been his first engagement thereafter. A fellow-student had taken him along on a visit to his home in Lydford, about five miles from Lewtrenchard, with the promise that he would find a curacy for him in the neighbourhood. Cadogan states that he spent six months in his first charge, probably in 1737.³ No trace of his work there survives. Upon his return to Oxford he took his Master of Arts degree on October 15, 1737.⁴

In the meantime, Whitefield early in 1735 had experienced the new birth and his sermons and letters overflowed with this new topic. John Wesley returned to England in February, 1738, from his unsatisfactory experience as a missionary in Georgia.

¹The Diocesan Register of the Bishop of Hereford.

²Romaine's Works, VIII, 137.

³Cadogan, Life of Romaine in Romaine's Works, VII, 15.

⁴A Catalogue of All Graduates in Divinity, Law, Medicine, Arts, and Music, Who Have Regularly Proceeded or Been Created in the University of Oxford, between October 10, 1659, and December 31, 1850. (Oxford: University Press, 1851), p. 572.

On the homeward voyage he wrote in his journal:

I went to America, to convert the Indians; but oh, who shall convert me? who, what is he that will deliver me from this evil heart of unbelief? I have a fair summer religion. I can talk well; nay, and believe myself, while no danger is near. But let death look me in the face, and my spirit is troubled.¹

His contacts with the Moravians in America and in England helped him on spiritually until in May of the same year he found the full assurance of faith in the society meeting in Aldersgate Street, London. The Wesleys, Whitefield, and other members of the Oxford Methodist group had much in common with the Moravians at this period.

Romaine's first publicity, and very unfavourable it was, came as a consequence of his taking exception to the Rev. William Warburton's (1698-1779) opus magnum, The Divine Legation of Moses Demonstrated on the Principles of a Religious Deist, from the Omission of the Doctrine of a Future State of Rewards and Punishments in the Jewish Dispensation, the first part of which was published in January, 1738. Warburton, later Bishop of Gloucester, was then Rector of Brant Broughton in Lincolnshire and had already begun to be known as a religious controversialist.² A former lawyer, his "amazing litigiousness"³ marked a long career. Leslie Stephen thus summarizes the character of his controversy:

For many years together Warburton led the life of a terrier in a rat-pit, worrying all theological vermin. His life, as he

¹John Wesley, The Journal of the Rev. John Wesley, A.M. ed. Nehemiah Curnock (Standard ed.; 8 vols.; London: The Epworth Press, 1938), I, 418.

²A recent writer says that "it has been Warburton's fate to be over-estimated during his lifetime and to be under-estimated since his death." A. W. Evans, Warburton and the Warburtonians (London: Oxford University Press, 1932), p. 1.

³Leslie Stephen, History of English Thought in the Eighteenth Century (2 vols.; London: Smith, Elder, & Co., 1876), I, 345.

himself observed in more dignified language, was 'a warfare upon earth; that is to say, with bigots and libertines, against whom I have denounced eternal war, like Hannibal against Rome, at the altar.' Amongst bigots and libertines we must reckon everyone, Christian or infidel, whose faith differed by excess or defect from that of Warburton, and add that Warburton's form of faith was almost peculiar to himself. To entertain a different opinion, or to maintain the same opinion upon different grounds, gave an equal title to his hostility. . . . Probably no man who has lived in recent times has ever told so many of his fellow-creatures that they were unmitigated fools and liars. He stalks through the literary history of the eighteenth century, trailing behind him a whole series of ostentatious paradoxes, and bringing down his controversial shillelagh on the head of any luckless mortal who ventures to hint a modest dissent.¹

He began his Divine Legation by admitting the truth of the Deist contention that no clear doctrine of the future life is taught in the Old Testament and then set out to prove that on this very account Moses's law is of divine origin. Millar calls the Divine Legation "the most astounding illustration . . . of his lack of judgment, his devotion to paradox, and his infallible instinct for seizing the wrong end of the stick . . ." ²

Romaine's deep respect and love for the Old Testament revolted from what must have seemed to him the destructive arguments of Warburton. One utterly fails to understand, and certainly finds it impossible to defend, the motive which impelled him to write the following letter to Warburton:

Surrey, Epsom, Oct. 4, 1738.

Reverend Sir,

I happened lately to meet in Company with some Clergymen, where your last excellent Book, The Divine Legation of Moses, was the Subject of their Discourse: As I had read it more than once, with a great deal of Pleasure, and had ever admired your elegant Stile, great Learning, and Strength of Argument, and had been used to hear the same Praises from others, I was very much surprised to hear those whom I imagined from their Character to be Men of good Sense, and that ought to commend and encourage whatever tended to promote true Religion, speak with great Disrespect of your Performance. I thought myself concerned to defend the Truth, and to my great Satisfaction I found, upon a short Inquiry, that what they advanced affected nothing which you had

¹Ibid., pp. 345ff.

²John Hepburn Millar, The Mid-Eighteenth Century (Edinburgh: William Blackwood and Sons, 1902), p. 120.

already writ, but what you had promised:¹ Here was large room for Mirth, and one could not but laugh at the Oddness of some men's Tempers, who are so ridiculous as to censure what they have never seen, and to condemn what it is impossible they shall yet judge of. When they saw how unjust their Reflections were, that they might not (like true Disputants) seem to give up the Point, they attacked even the Proposition which you have promised to demonstrate; and I must ingenuously confess, that they put some Queries to me, which, I, being no great Proficient in Divinity, was not able to answer. This, and the Opportunity of returning my GRATEFUL ACKNOWLEDGMENTS for what you have wrote, was the Occasion of the Trouble I now give you; and as you are the only Person I have heard of, who has Thoroughly considered this subject; as your Character is concerned in the Affair, and as I would (if it was in my Power) hinder the least Fault from entering your finished Performance, and could wish that ENVY ITSELF MIGHT BE DUMB, I hope you will favourably interpret my sending you these (which are to me, tho' not to you) Difficulties, and oblige me with an Answer to them, if ever an idle half Hour should lie heavy on your Hands.

They first mentioned the Parable of Dives and Lazarus; Dives desired Abraham to send Lazarus to his Brethren, lest they should come into that Place of Torments, and to assure them that there was such a State: The Answer is, That if they believe not Moses and the Prophets, that neither would they believe tho' one rose from the Dead. Then there is greater Evidence for this Truth in Moses and the Prophets, than a Message from the other World would

John v. 39. Search the Scriptures, for in them ye think ye have eternal Life, and they are they which testify of me. All the Scriptures testify of Christ and Moses, Ver. 46, 47. in a particular manner; so they had, or thought they had, eternal life in his Writings. St. Paul preach'd a Resurrection of the Dead and future State, on Moses's Authority, as Acts xxvi. 22, 23. Witnessing both to small and great, saying none other things than those which the Prophets and Moses did say should come: That Christ should suffer, and that he should be the first that should (which implies that others were to) rise from the Dead. And what, adds one of the Company, did Moses affirm that Christ should suffer, and rise from the Dead, and that others after him should arise? And doth St. Paul affirm he doth say so? And will the learned Warburton censure the Christian Writers? All I could Answer was to this Effect, that those Objections proved nothing, unless they could produce a Passage from Moses himself, where he mentioned a future State. To this it was answered, that these Texts suppose it was or ought to be There: That the Law was Spiritual, Rom. vii. 14. That they (Jews) had Prophets continually to teach them the Spiritual Meaning of it: That Angels often appeared: That God himself very often spoke to them: That the Gospel was preached to them, Heb. iv. 2. that Heb. ix supposes all the Types Spiritual, and that this was signified to the Jews, as Chap. viii. 5. and x. 1. They asked me in what the Image of God in Adam consisted? What was the Meaning of the Tree of Life? The Reason given for the Prohibition of Murder? What is Abel's Sacrifice, was it not in Faith he offered--Faith in what? What is Enoch's Translation? What means, they were gathered to their

¹Warburton had promised that the second part of the Divine Legation would refute all Old Testament passages supposed to teach immortality. This was published in 1742.

Fathers, slept with their Fathers, &c. so often used? What means the whole 11th Chapter of Hebrews, and Ver. 35 in particular, where St. Paul having mentioned Those who actually did see the Promises afar off, says, that they expected a better Resurrection? And lastly, does Christ argue fairly, Matt. xxii. 31. concerning the Resurrection, if he does, it follows by a logical Inference, that Moses enforces the Observance of the Law by the Hopes of a future State?

There are to me many Difficulties in these Points, which I confess I could not answer, having neither Learning nor Acquaintance enough in the ancient Languages; but I hope to see them all cleared up by you, and flatter myself that you will not think that you act out of Character when you inform the Ignorant, confirm the Wavering, and oblige a SINCERE ADMIRER. If you would be so good as to think any thing I have said worthy of your Notice, and would condescend to write one Word to fix my Doubts, you will lay the GREATEST OBLIGATION on your constant Reader, and most humble Servant,

W. ROMAINE¹

The writer fails to indicate in any way that he is a clergyman, not to mention his dissembling on the point of his acquaintance with the original languages of the Scriptures. The letter is a model of wheedling insincerity from beginning to end. Warburton could learn nothing as to the identity of "W. Romaine," but "return'd him a very short, but civil Answer; in which, however he gave him to understand, that it was a necessary Part of the Argument of the Divine Legation, &c. to prove that the Fathers, Patriarchs, and Prophets, of the Jewish Line, had a Knowledge of a future State, and the Redemption of Mankind by the Messiah."² No doubt Warburton at that time intended to resolve the grand paradox of the Divine Legation in the final part, but the work was never completed. Watson has described Warburton's later feeling toward the Divine Legation as follows:

The distaste which he felt for continuing the work was owing, partly, to the ill reception which it had experienced from many of the clergy. But if there was any pretext for Lowth's remark, that a young student in theology would have given a better demonstration of 'The Divine Legation of Moses' in five pages than Warburton had given in his six books, there is little wonder that

¹The History of the Works of the Learned, II (August, 1739), 87ff.

²Ibid., 91.

some of the clergy should have thought the work unnecessary, and that others should have found other grounds of objection to it. As he expressed dissent from many, it is not strange that many expressed dissent from him. But 'his resentment at the established clergy,' says Hurd, 'for their long and fierce opposition to his favourite work, was the greatest weakness I ever observed in him. When he had given two or three of his principal adversaries, as he did, a complete answer, he should not have suffered the clamour of the rest to divert him from the great design he had projected. But his conduct, in this instance, was not what might have been expected from his usual magnanimity. When I sometimes expostulated with him upon it, his answer was, "I surely have reason to think myself very ill used by the clergy. If, indeed, the published volumes of 'The Divine Legation' be so weak or so mischievous as they suppose, I will not add to the offence given them by adding any more.'"¹

Warburton was not to be set right about his Epsom "admirer" until the following spring.

Meanwhile Romaine was ordained priest by Benjamin Hoadly (1676-1757), Bishop of Winchester, on December 15, 1738. Cadogan says that

his title for orders was most probably a nomination to the church of Banstead [Surrey], which he served for some years together with that of Horton, in Middlesex,² being curate to Mr. Edwards, who had both those livings.³

Romaine served in these quiet parishes, a dozen miles from London, while residing at Windelsham⁴ for nearly ten years.

On Sunday, March 4, 1739, Romaine, then twenty-four years of age, preached before the University at St. Mary's, Oxford.

¹John Selby Watson, The Life of William Warburton, D.D. (London: Longman, Green, Longman, Roberts, & Green, 1863), pp. 587f.

²There was no Horton in Middlesex. The Horton near Epsom in Surrey had neither church nor chapel-of-ease. A John Edwards was Rector of Horton, Buckinghamshire, just over the line from Middlesex between Staines and Windsor, from 1734 to his death in 1750. George Lipscomb, The History and Antiquities of the County of Buckinghamshire (4 vols.; London: J. & W. Robins, 1847), IV, 512. A John Edwards was Vicar of Banstead, Surrey, from 1714 until his resignation in 1754. Owen Manning, The History and Antiquities of the County of Surrey (3 vols; London: John White and Co., 1804-11), II, 596. See also Venn, Alumni Cantabrigienses, Part I, II, 88, 10th and 11th entries in column 2.

³Cadogan, Life of Romaine in Romaine's Works, VII, 16.

⁴Anonymous, "Memoir of the Late Rev. William Romaine, A.M.," The Evangelical Magazine, III (November, 1795), 439.

His subject was "The Divine Legation of Moses Demonstrated from His Having Made Express Mention of, and Insisted So Much on, the Doctrine of a Future State: Whereby Mr. Warburton's Attempt to Demonstrate the Divine Legation of Moses from His Omission of a Future State Is Proved to Be Absurd and Destructive of All Revelation," with Mark 12:24-27 as the text. Haweis understood that "from his standing in College, . . . it could not yet have been his own turn" to preach before the University, and presumably "he must have previously sought and obtained one for this purpose."¹ The sermon, which was published soon afterward, presented three propositions:

First, That if the doctrine of a future state could not be directly found in the law of Moses, yet there are many strong and unanswerable arguments, which suppose that it is, and prove that it ought to be there.

Secondly, That the doctrine of a future state actually is to be found in, and doth make a very great part of the writings of Moses, the obligation to observe every law, rite, and ceremony, being enforced upon the sanctions of future rewards and punishments.

Thirdly, That therefore the divine legation of Moses may be truly and properly demonstrated upon these principles.²

The sermon deals with the first of these propositions, the second and third awaiting exposition in a later effort.³ The first part of the sermon argues that God was under the necessity of including the doctrine of a future life in the Old Testament Revelation. Since God is perfect, omniscient, and incapable of forming a wrong judgment, it follows

that the supposition of the revelation by Moses coming from God, and yet omitting a future state, hath these manifest absurdities chained to it, that God must either not have seen the Jews greater good, their eternal welfare, or if he did see it, not have been concerned to promote it, i.e. he is either not infinitely wise, or not infinitely good, both of which are infinite contra-

¹Haweis, Life of Romaine, p. 21.

²Romaine, The Divine Legation of Moses in Romaine's Works, VI, 11.

³Future Rewards and Punishments, 1742. Infra, p. 41.

dictions. And therefore if eternal happiness be a much greater good than temporal, and if the deity be infinitely wise and good, and of course must know and prefer this greater good in opposition to the lesser, it is almost a demonstration, that whenever God reveals his will to his creatures, he must act consistently with those attributes, and that therefore the revelation by Moses ought almost entirely to treat of, however to contain something concerning a future state.¹

The second part is concerned with New Testament statements about the doctrine of immortality in the Mosaic writings and covers much the same ground as the questions proposed in the letter to Warburton, often using the very same language. Toward the close of the sermon he quotes the Church's homily on faith:

This is the christian faith, which these holy men (of whom St. Paul speaks in the eleventh chapter of the Hebrews) had, and we also ought to have. And although they were not named christian men, yet was it a christian faith that they had, for they looked for all the benefits of God the father, through the merits of his Son Jesu Christ, as we do now.²

The following hard-hitting denunciation, in strange contradiction to the tone of the letter to Warburton, concludes the sermon:

If then the articles and homilies of the church of England assert, that the fathers of the Jewish nation expected a future state of eternal happiness through the merits of Christ, we, who have subscribed to those articles and homilies, must believe this doctrine. And if men disbelieve the articles and homilies, and yet subscribe to them--and after that subscription write directly against those very doctrines to which they have subscribed--and if they should be encouraged and countenanced by numbers who also have subscribed to them--and if that very church, which requires this subscription, should not censure such a manifest breach of her laws, which she maintains are founded upon the laws of God; this would be a most melancholy state of religion, and from such persons and such proceedings will all christians pray,
Good Lord, deliver us.³

Warburton's reaction to the sermon was the obvious one--for him. Noting at once that the clerical objections raised by Romaine in his letter were really his own, he wrote on April 23 to his friend, the Rev. Thomas Birch (1705-66):

I had some account of Romaine's preaching his Sermon; but its

¹Romaine, The Divine Legation of Moses in Romaine's Works, VI, 13.

²Ibid., 56. ³Ibid., 57.

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publication was news to me; as perhaps it will to you, to know that I verily believe a Letter (for which I refer you to Mr. Gyles,¹ to whom I have sent a copy by this post) wrote to me last October from Epsom, and signed W. Romaine, was written by this honest man. If it proves so, I shall print the letter as a Supplement to the Sermon, and that shall be all the notice I shall take of it. In order to know whether it be his Letter, the other side is a letter to him, which I desire you would tell Mr. Gyles I would have so contrived that we may have proof that he received it. If he owns the writing of the Letter, it may be printed from the copy (a very literal one, even to the mistakes and abbreviations) I have sent Mr. Gyles; and in such a case I will send him the original, to be seen by any who has the curiosity. I beg your friendship to assist Mr. Gyles, and put him in a way to have the Letter acknowledged or proved. If it be denied, I shall forthwith send up the original, to be shown to somebody who knows his hand; for I dare say you will judge, by the style and the arguments, it was wrote by the Author of the Sermon

.
If this Letter proves to be this Romaine's, I think it will admit no doubt it was wrote with a diabolical design to entrap me; and if so, I dare say Webster² had a hand in it. I wish you could find whether there be any thing in my suspicions. One thing I must tell you, that, in my answer to the Letter, I told Romaine, "that it was a necessary part of my scheme to prove that the antient Fathers and Patriarchs had a knowledge of a future state, and of a redemption by the Messiah." I mention this, because, I am told, in the Sermon it is said "that I have greatly sinned against the Seventh Article of Religion." If it should happen that Romaine is in town, and owns his writing to me, I could if there be time, have the Letter thrown into "The Historical Works of the Learned" for this April, with the N.B. at the end, and what title you think proper, which I shall be much obliged for.³

Warburton must have been greatly perturbed in mind, for in a second letter to Birch of the same date he wrote:

I hope you received one [letter] from me by the last post, and we shall ferret out the Epsom Letter-writer.

It is the sport, to see the Ingeneer
Hoist with his own petar--

sayes Shakespeare. If it was he, never was there a more execrable scoundrel. Do you think I can outlive such a dead-doing fellow

¹Fletcher Gyles, Warburton's London publisher.

²Dr. William Webster (1689-1758), editor of the Weekly Miscellany, who had also attacked Warburton's Divine Legation. See John Nichols, Literary Anecdotes of the Eighteenth Century (9 vols.; London: Nichols, Son, and Bentley, 1812-15), V, 160-75.

³John Nichols, Illustrations of the Literary History of the Eighteenth Century (8 vols.; London: Nichols, Son, and Bentley, 1817-58), II, 101ff.

who calls down the secular arm upon me? If I do, it will be, in mere spight, to rub another yolume of the Divine Legation in the noses of Bigots and Zealots.¹

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Romaine's letter to Warburton appeared in the London General Evening Post of May 24-26, followed by an N.B. in which Warburton's brief answer was cited and identical quotations were given from Romaine's letter and sermon. Warburton's opinion of Romaine concluded the note:

Lastly, Mr. Warburton, in Justice to his Reverend Brethren, thinks fit to declare that he does not believe one Word of what the said Mr. Romaine writes of a Conversation with them on the Subject of his Book. He is too well acquainted with their Candour and Learning, to think they could ever afford an Opportunity to this benevolent Gentleman, to laugh at the Oddness of their Tempers, &c. but takes it for granted, that this worthy Man had no other Meaning than to conceal his own kind Intentions under a false Accusation of his Brethren.²

Romaine would have been wise to ignore this publicity and leave bad enough alone, but he chose to retaliate, and the very next week the London General Evening Post of June 2-5 printed his second letter to Warburton.

To the Author of the General Evening Post,
SIR,

As Mr. Warburton hath violated the Rules of Decency, by publishing in your Paper of May 26 a private Letter of mine without my Leave, I think it necessary to say, that the Notes upon the Letter cannot be allowed to be an Answer to any thing advanced, either in the Letter or the Sermon, but were designed to take off People's Attention from the Points in Dispute, to a Personal Quarrel. I have no bad Opinion either of Mr. Warburton's Capacity or Learning; but he might have made a better Use of them, than to think he deserved, or that I meant in earnest those Compliments in the Letter, as he did, or at least says he did. He says, he gave me some Hints in his Letter, which might have hinder'd me from making myself ridiculous; I suppose he means by publishing my Sermon. If I should be provoked to publish his Letter to me, and my Answer to it, it would then sufficiently appear who is ridiculous; but unless Necessity forces me, I shall not answer him any more in that low Way, which he and his Bookseller have chosen to dispute in. Whether I have answered any thing, which he hath not published, may be seen from his Title Page, The Divine Legation of Moses demonstrated from his Omission of a future State, and his Abridgment of the second Volume in the

¹Ibid., 103f.

²The History of the Works of the Learned, II (August, 1739), 92.

Appendix to the Alliance.¹ He supposes the Conversation was false: If he pleases to answer the Sermon, or to advance any thing new upon the Subject, he will find that it was not false, but that there are Numbers of Clergymen who understand the Subject, and are ready to defend it against him.

Quere, Hath not Mr. Warburton recanted his whole Scheme, as delivered in the Appendix to the Alliance, and the second Proposition of the Divine Legation, in the first Paragraph of his N.B.

--Where he says, "It was a necessary Part of the Argument of the Divine Legation, &c. to prove that the Fathers, Patriarchs and Prophets of the Jewish Line, had a Knowledge of a Future State, and the Redemption of Mankind by the Messiah."

W. ROMAINE²

This letter added insult to injury, and Warburton wrote to Birch on June 7:

I thank you for the intelligence you give me of Romaine; but he has most amazingly betrayed the Scoundrel in his remarks on my publication of his Letter. The owning himself a Rogue so plainly as to confess he was not in earnest in the Letter he wrote, is such a hardened confession of villainy as one seldom meets with out of Newgate. But his complaining of my want of decency in publishing his Letter without his leave is incomparable. We may expect to hear the same complaint in a little time from our Incendiaries, when their Letters are published without their leave. And I do him an honour in the comparison; for they are honest men than this Church Incendiary. They generously declare their enmity, are true to their companions, and commonly better than their word. But this fellow wears the mask of friendship, betrays his Brethren, and is kindling a faggot for you, while he pretends to offer incense.³

To Dr. William Stukeley (1689-1765), an antiquarian, he wrote on June 26:

. . . . letters from Oxford acquainted me that Mr. William Romaine, of Christ Church, had called out loud upon the secular arm to make an example of me. Thus I found my reputation worried by the vilest of all Theologasters.

You are right: this is the scoundrel I wrote to from your house. But the poor Devil has done his own business. His talents shew him by nature designed for a blunderbuss in Church Controversy; but his attack upon me being a proof-charge, and heavy loaded, he burst in the going off; and what will become of him let those who made use of him consider.⁴

¹The Alliance between Church and State, 1736.

²The History of the Works of the Learned, II (August, 1739), 93f.

³Nichols, Illustrations of the Literary History of the Eighteenth Century, II, 104f.

⁴Ibid., 52.

Warburton succeeded in having the correspondence with comments published in The History of the Works of the Learned for August, 1739, and there the controversy rested. If it was "warmly maintained the following years,"¹ as Haweis asserts, no documents seem to have survived. In the preface to the second part of the Divine Legation, published in 1742, Warburton made bare mention of forged letters "by one Romaine and one Julius Bate in conjunction."² Romaine's Future Rewards and Punishments³ only fulfilled the promise to complete the discussion of the last two propositions set forth in his Divine Legation of Moses.⁴ The impartial reader of the correspondence will not question the justice of Warburton's anger at Romaine, but only his indelicacy of expression. Romaine should have attacked him openly or not at all. As Watson says, "the matter certainly did Romaine little honour. If he did not mean Warburton to take his praises as sincere, he was wrong in praising him at all; and, whatever was the case, he should have had sense and grace enough not to retract the commendation which he had bestowed."⁵

Undoubtedly Romaine was thinking of this discreditable affair when he wrote to a friend on November 15, 1766, in these words:

He [Christ] will teach the believer more daily of his poverty, weakness, unworthiness, vileness, ignorance, &c. that he may be kept humble, without any good but what he is forced to fetch out of the fulness of Jesus. And when he would go any where else for comfort, to duties, frames, gifts, and graces (for pride will live, and thrive too, upon any thing but Jesus)--his Spirit makes them dry and lean, and will not let him stop short of the foun-

¹Haweis, Life of Romaine, p. 22.

²William Warburton, The Works of the Reverend William Warburton, D.D. (New ed.; 12 vols; London: T. Cadell and W. Davies, 1811), IV, 28.

³Infra, p. 41. ⁴Supra, p. 30.

⁵Watson, Life of Warburton, p. 178.

tain-head of all true comfort. In short, he will glorify nothing but Jesus. He will then stain the pride of all greatness, and of all goodness, excepting what is derived from the fullness of the incarnate God.

I know one who has learnt this very slowly, but has had much pains taken with him; He was a very, very vain, proud young man;¹ knew almost every thing but himself, and therefore was mighty fond of himself. He met with many disappointments to his pride, which only made him prouder, till the Lord was pleased to let him see and feel the plague of his own heart. At this time my acquaintance with him began. He tried every method that can be tried to get peace, but found none. In his despair of all things else, he betook himself to Jesus, and was most kindly received. He trusted the word of promise, and experienced the sweetness in the promise.²

This significant biographical passage provides not only Romaine's mature judgment on this period of his life but furnishes as well an important clue to the solution of the problem of dating his spiritual awakening. The ten years from 1739 to 1749 were crucial years in the school of the Spirit for him. Little evidence remains as to his activities during this period, but a lengthy account in a letter to Mrs. Thomas Medhurst (1727-83) of Kippax, Yorkshire,³ written on March 21, 1767, provides a broad outline of God's dealings with him.

When I was in trouble and soul-concern, he [God] would not let me learn of man. I went every where to hear, but nobody was suffered to speak to my case. The reason of this I could not tell then, but I know it now. The Arminian methodists flocked about me, and courted my acquaintance, which became a great snare unto me. By their means I was brought into a difficulty, which distressed me several years. "I was made to believe that part of my title to salvation was to be inherent--something called holiness in myself, which the grace of God was to help me to. And I was to get it by watchfulness, prayer, fasting, hearing, reading, sacraments, &c.; so that after much and long attendance in those means, I might be able to look inward, and be pleased with my own improvement, finding I was grown in grace, a great deal holier, and more deserving of heaven than I had been." I do not wonder now that I received this doctrine. It was sweet food to a proud heart.

¹In his next letter he confesses: "The [last] letter was upon a subject that I scarce ever mentioned before to anybody; it was my own experience; and I would not have lost it for a great deal." William Romaine, Letters from the Late Rev. William Romaine, A.M., to a Friend, on the Most Important Subjects, ed. Thomas Wills (5th ed.; London: Smith and Elder, 1822), p. 119.

²Ibid., pp. 112f.

³Infra, p. 138.

I feasted on it, and to work I went. It was hard labour and sad bondage, but the hopes of having something to glory in of my own kept up my spirits. I went on, day after day, striving, agonizing (as they called it); but still I found myself not a bit better. I thought this was the fault, or that, which, being amended, I should certainly succeed; and therefore set out afresh, but still came to the same place. No galley-slave worked harder, or to less purpose. Sometimes I was quite discouraged, and ready to give up all; but the discovery of some supposed hinderance set me to work again. Then I would redouble my diligence, and exert all my strength. Still I got no ground. This made me often wonder; and still more, when I found, at last, that I was going backward. Methought, I grew worse. I saw more sin in myself, instead of more holiness, which made my bondage very hard, and my heart very heavy. The thing I wanted, the more I pursued it, flew farther and farther from me. I had no notion that this was divine teaching, and that God was delivering me from my mistakes in this way: so that the discoveries of my growing worse were dreadful arguments against myself, until now and then a little light would break in and shew me something of the glory of Jesus: but it was a glimpse only--gone in a moment. As I saw more of my heart, and began to feel more of my corrupt nature, I got clearer views of gospel grace; and in proportion as I came to know myself, I advanced in the knowledge of Christ Jesus. But this was very slow work: the old leaven of self-righteousness, new christened holiness, stuck close to me still, and made me a dull scholar in the school of Christ.¹

Romaine's account of his spiritual development must be interrupted at this point to note that his reference to contacts with "Arminian methodists" cannot be construed to mean personal friendship with the Wesleys at this time. John Wesley, at a time when he was being criticized and forsaken by his friends among the Evangelical clergy,² wrote to the Countess of Huntingdon:

Only Mr. Romaine has shown a truly sympathizing spirit, and acted the part of a brother. I am the more surprised at this, because he owed me nothing, only the love which we all owe one another. He was not my son in the Gospel, neither do I know that he ever received any help through me. So much the more welcome was his kindness now. The Lord repay it sevenfold into his bosom.³

Romaine's letter continues:

But I kept on, making a little progress; and as I was forced to give up one thing, and another, on which I had some dependence, I was left, at last, stript of all, and neither had, nor could

¹Romaine, Letters to a Friend, pp. 124ff.

²Infra, p. 152.

³[Seymour] Life and Times of the Countess of Huntingdon, I, 329.

see where I could have, aught to rest my hopes, that I could call my own. This made way for blessed views of Jesus. Being now led to very deep discoveries of my own legal heart, of the dishonour which I had put upon the Saviour, of the despite I had done to the Spirit of his grace, by resisting and perverting the workings of his love, these things humbled me. I became very vile in mine own eyes. I gave over striving; the pride of free-will, the boast of mine own works, were laid low. And as SELF was debased, the scriptures became an open book, and every page presented the Saviour in new glory. Then were explained to me these truths, which are now the very joy and life of my soul.¹

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These truths are then set forth in seven numbered paragraphs.²

They are summarized and condensed here in order to present the clearly Calvinistic position to which he finally came. Since Satan fell because of pride, and tempted man to fall by pride, "therefore the Lord, to hide pride from man, has so contrived his salvation, that he who glorieth should have nothing to glory in but the Lord."³ The benefits of salvation are bestowed by God in free grace upon "the ungodly, the worst of them, the unworthy, the chief of sinners."⁴ Contemplation of these benefits "was the very death of self-righteousness and self-complacency; for when I looked at the empty hand which faith puts forth to receive them, whence was the hand emptied--whence came faith--whence the power to put forth the empty hand--and whence the benefits received upon putting it forth? All is of God."⁵ Living by faith requires that every act is "dependent upon another. Self is renounced, so far as Christ is lived upon."⁶ Good works, by themselves, are offered to God in pride, but "the sanctifying grace of the Great high priest alone can make them holy and acceptable."⁷ Further, I read, the trial of your faith worketh patience; the trial of mine the direct contrary. Instead of patient submission, I want

¹Romaine, Letters to a Friend, pp. 127f.

²See Appendix. Infra, p. 313.

³Romaine, Letters to a Friend, p. 128.

⁴Ibid., loc. cit. ⁵Ibid., p. 129. ⁶Ibid., loc. cit.

⁷Ibid., p. 130.

to have mine own way, to take very little physic, and that very sweet: so that the flesh lusteth. But the Physician knows better; he knows when and what to prescribe: may every potion purge out this impatient, proud, unbelieving temper, so that faith may render helpful to the soul, what is painful to the flesh.¹

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The life of faith upon earth ends with the triumph of faith in death, for

after we have lived a little longer, to empty us more, to bring us more out of ourselves, that we may be humbled, and Jesus exalted more, we shall fall asleep in Jesus, not die, but sleep; not see, not taste death, so he promises us; but in his dear arms sweetly go to rest in our weary bodies, when our souls shall be with the Lord. And then we shall be perfect in that lesson, which we learn so very slow in this present world, namely, that from him, and of him, and to him, are all things; to whom be all the glory, for ever and ever, Amen.²

Romaine ends the statement of his new found faith in these words:

These are the things which God himself has taught me. Man had no hand at all in it. No person in the world, not I myself: for I fought against them as long as I could; so that my present possession of them, with all the rich blessings which they contain, is from my heavenly teacher alone. And I have not learned them, as we do mathematics, to keep them in memory, and to make use of them when I please; no, I find in me to this moment an opposition to every gospel truth, both to the belief of it in my head, and to the comfort of it in my heart. I am still a poor dependent creature, sitting very low at the feet of my dear teacher, and learning to admire that love of his, which brought me down, and keeps me down at his feet. There be my seat, till I learn my lesson perfectly.³

The dating of these experiences--his Arminian struggle toward "perfection" and his Calvinist trust in the work of Christ--provides the great problem in Romaine's early life. In a letter to a young man about to be ordained, Romaine on December 3, 1767, urged more Bible study, adding that he saw his "folly two and twenty years ago, and have since studied nothing but the Bible."⁴ Notice will be taken in another chapter⁵ of his meaning in this statement, but the year 1745 is established as a turning point in his attitude toward Bible study--however that may have been related to these spiritual experiences. Suburban London, in any

¹Ibid., p. 132. ²Ibid., pp. 133f. ³Ibid., pp. 134f.

⁴Romaine's Works, VII, 392f. ⁵Infra, pp. 279f.

case, proved to be Romaine's Arabia, and there he found his feet, spiritually, and planted them firmly upon the sovereign grace of God as revealed in his son, Jesus Christ.

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At Banstead Romaine made the acquaintance of Daniel Lambert (1686?-1750),¹ a cooper-vintner and alderman of the city of London, who had a country house in his parish. When the mayor of London, Humphrey Parsons, died in office on March 21, 1741, Lambert was elected to fill the unexpired term.² Romaine was appointed chaplain to the mayor, and in that capacity preached before the mayor and the court of aldermen in St. Paul's Cathedral. There on September 2, 1741, he preached a sermon, "No Justification by the Law of Nature," which was published the same year. In the sermon, which had as its text Romans 2:14-15, he refuted those who maintain that "the Gentiles, who had no revealed law, could, from the bare reasoning of their own minds, and from the dictates of their own consciences, come at the knowledge of what state they were in, and what duties God required of persons in such a state."³ He showed that the rationalism of his day set at naught God's revelation. "All such pretences to inward light and self-sufficiency are mere enthusiasm: for such inward light is needless, if revelation be our guide; and if that inward light be our guide, revelation is needless."⁴ The Gentiles, not having the law of Moses to condemn them, were condemned by their own consciences and went about to appease God by blood offerings which they did not understand. The sermon evidences a grasp of

¹Edward Wedlake Brayley, A Topographical History of Surrey (5 vols.; Dorking: Robert Best Ede, 1841), IV, 345.

²Alfred B. Beaven, The Aldermen of the City of London (3 vols.; London: Eden Fisher & Co., 1908), I, 324.

³William Romaine, No Justification by the Law of Nature in Romaine's Works, VI, 113f.

⁴Ibid., 119.

the doctrine of the atonement of Christ far in advance of its average presentation by the clergy of the English Church of that day, excepting, of course, the preaching of the Wesleys, Whitefield, and their friends, and they indeed were soon to find themselves excluded from ministering in most of the churches of the Establishment.

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The law therefore by requiring sacrifices as absolutely necessary for the remission of sins, did plainly point out and prove, that there could be no redemption without the sacrifice of Christ; for remission of sins must be previous to redemption; and if there could be no remission without shedding of blood, then certainly without it there could be no redemption.¹

Future Rewards and Punishments Proved to Be the Sanctions of the Mosaic Dispensation was preached at St. Mary's, Oxford, on December 6, 1741, and published by Romaine in 1742. Although Warburton is neither named nor suggested in the sermon, the author here expounds the second and third propositions drawn up against him in (Romaine's) Divine Legation of Moses in 1739.² The text was the same as that used in his Divine Legation of Moses, the comment of Jesus in Mark 12:24-27 on God's word to Moses at the burning bush, "I am the God of Abraham, and the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob. He is not the God of the dead, but the God of the living." Romaine argued from this passage and the meaning of the Hebrew "Elohim" that "this immortality was the sanction upon which Moses enforced obedience to all his laws."³ The sermon ably completes the argument begun in his earlier sermon.

Another sermon preached before the University at St. Mary's, Oxford, was published in 1744,⁴ Jephthah's Vow Fulfilled,

¹Ibid., 131. ²Supra, p. 30.

³William Romaine, Future Rewards and Punishments in Romaine's Works, VI, 101.

⁴Mistakenly dated 1742 in Cadogan, Life of Romaine in Romaine's Works, VII, 113.

and His Daughter Not Sacrificed. The sermon set out to prove "I. That the opinion of her being sacrificed is exposed to so many solid objections, that it is not defensible, and II. By proving from the history itself, that she was not sacrificed."¹ He followed the line of argument first set forth by David Kimchi (1160-1235),² in which Jephthah's vow is interpreted as having been fulfilled, not in her immolation as a burnt offering, but in her condemnation to perpetual virginity. Romaine's sermon of twenty-two pages was answered about three years later by the Rev. William Dodwell (1709-85), Rector of Shottesbrook, Berkshire, in a closely reasoned booklet of 139 pages.³

Romaine's sermons published from 1739 to 1744 are marked by a controversial, one might almost say a scholastic, tone. He is always proving the truth of propositions, and the sermons reflect no mean controversialist. His later sermons and comments, in contrast, are in a decidedly devotional and evangelistic vein--full of exposition, instruction, and exhortation--he is no longer proving but proclaiming God's truth.

In the early 1740's Romaine's Hutchinsonian interests led him to plan a new edition of the Hebrew dictionary and concordance of Marius de Calasio (1550?-1620), a Franciscan monk, who was born in the Kingdom of Naples and taught Hebrew in the convents of his order at Ara Coeli and San Pietro in Montorio. Calasio came into the favour of Pope Paul V (1550-1621), who made him his confessor, as well as Professor of Hebrew at Rome. His

¹William Romaine, Jephthah's Vow Fulfilled, and His Daughter Not Sacrificed in Romaine's Works, IV, 313.

²George F. Moore, A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on Judges (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1895), p. 304.

³William Dodwell, A Dissertation on Jephthah's Vow: Occasioned by Mr. Romaine's Late Sermon on that Subject (London: S. Birt, 1745).

Hebrew concordance, published two years after his death,¹ was a revision of that of Rabbi Isaac Mordecai Nathan, of Provence, written between 1438 and 1445 and printed in Venice by Bomberg in 1524.² Allibone notes Romaine's edition as "properly the 5th edition of Rabbi Nathan's Meir Nethib, 1st ed., Venet, 1523, folio."³ Under the date of March 14, 1745, Romaine published a pamphlet entitled Proposals for Printing by Subscription, the Dictionary and Concordance of F. Marius de Calasio. In Four Volumes Folio With Great Additions and Emendations.⁴ The additions were to consist of words supplied where omitted by Calasio and the emendations "chiefly of such Error as crept in through the Negligence of the Press."⁵ Romaine mentions the reassurances already received as to the project.

Before I applied to the Public, I shewed these Proposals to many great and learned men, and the Encouragement I have met with has been extraordinary. Their Lordships, the Archbishops, and Bishops, and many of the Dignitaries of the Church have generously subscribed to the carrying on of the work. The University of Oxford, always ready to promote Learning and Religion, has given me a particular Approbation in subscribing for the College libraries in general.⁶

The first two volumes of the work were said to be already in the press, the set to consist of four folio volumes.

The following year, 1746, saw the republication of the Proposals, to which was added Some Remarks on the Progress of

¹Stephen M. Donovan, "Mario de Calasio," The Catholic Encyclopedia (16 vols., New York: The Encyclopedia Press, 1913-14), III, 149.

²Julius Fürst, Bibliotheca Judaica. Bibliographisches Handbuch Umfassend die Druckwerke der Jüdischen Literatur (3 vols.; Leipzig: Wilhelm Engelmann, 1863), III, 22.

³S. Austin Allibone, "William Romaine," A Critical Dictionary of English Literature and British and American Authors (3 vols.; London: Trübner & Co., 1859-71), II, 1859.

⁴Anonymous, Some Remarks on the Progress of Learning Since the Reformation (London: M. Cooper, 1746), pp. 21f.

⁵Ibid., p. 22.

⁶Ibid., pp. 19f.

Learning Since the Reformation; Especially with Regard to the Hebrew Occasion'd by the Perusal of the Rev. Mr. Romaine's Proposal for Reprinting the Dictionary and Concordance of F. Marius de Calasio, etc., by "a Stranger to the Editor, and a Friend to Learning." The anonymous well-wisher asserts that "the Publication of this Work is the first remarkable and expensive Effect of the Revival of the Hebrew Literature among us, and it ought surely to be the general Wish and Endeavor, that this first Effort may succeed happily, and that its Success may raise the hopes and animate the Courage of others to the like Undertakings."¹ The "Revival of Hebrew Literature" is a reference to Hutchinsonianism and its emphasis on the Hebrew Old Testament.

Romaine had fallen in with an erratic type founder and printer, Jacob Ilive² (d. 1763), who had a great love for the Hebrew language, and they were assisted by others in the preparation of the concordance. Edward Rowe Mores (1730-78) was admitted to Queen's College, Oxford, on June 24, 1746,³ and as a student aided Romaine and Ilive in their efforts. In his Dissertation Upon English Typographical Founders and Founderies Mores refers to the year 1746, "when Calasio was to be re-printed under the inspection of Mr Romaine or of Mr Lutzena a Portuguese Jew who corrected the Hebr. as we ourselves did sometimes another part of the work"⁴ The task of editing this work must

¹Ibid., pp. 9f.

²Mores states that "Mr. Ilive in the night-time had constantly an Hebrew Bible before him (sed qu. de hoc) and cases [of type] in his closet. . . . Mr. Ilive was an expeditious compositor though he worked in a nightgown and swept his case to pye with the sleeves. he knew the letters by touch." Edward Rowe Mores, A Dissertation Upon English Typographical Founders and Founderies (1778), p. 65.

³Nichols, Literary Anecdotes of the Eighteenth Century, V, 391.

⁴Mores, op. cit., p. 64.

have entailed a great amount of time and labour, and about 1747 Romaine seems to have removed to London in order to be closer to his publisher. The edition betrayed a strong Hutchinsonian bias¹ and was warmly received only by those of like views.² The most conspicuous instance of the introduction of his own opinions is found in the omission of Calasio's definition of the word "Elohim" and the substitution of his own by Romaine. Cadogan translates thus from the preface:

I have endeavoured to perform the office of a faithful editor; you have Marius himself not in the least diminished or added to, excepting only one place, and that of such great consequence, that I should have thought it a crime, if I had neglected to amend it. This I have done with the best intention, and only this once; I hope therefore that it may be pardoned.³

For the most part Romaine's additions were printed within inverted commas. The first two volumes of the Concordantiae Sacrorum Bibliorum Hebraicorum appeared in 1747, the third in 1748, and the fourth in 1749.

During his first thirty-four years, then, Romaine completed his formal education and spent nearly a decade in a curacy of the Church of England. His love for the Old Testament had driven him to a defence of its doctrine of immortality and encouraged him in years of toil on the Calasio concordance. The public had seen him at his best in the pulpit of St. Paul's Cathedral and at his worst in his approach to Warburton. Bishop Ryle's statement is open to grave question:

There never seems to have been a period, from the time of his ordination, when he did not preach clear, distinct, and unmistakable evangelical doctrines. The truths of the glorious gospel

¹Infra, p. 50.

²See an amusing account of the efforts at Oxford of George Horne, later Bishop of Norwich and an outstanding Hutchinsonian, to secure the work in William Jones, Memoirs of the Life, Studies, and Writings of the Right Reverend George Horne, D.D. (London: G. G. and J. Robinson, 1795), pp. 34ff.

³Cadogan, Life of Romaine in Romaine's Works, VII, 21.

appear to have been applied to his heart by the Holy Spirit from the days of his childhood at Hartlepool. From the very first he was a well-instructed divine, and, unlike many clergymen, had nothing to unlearn after he was ordained.¹

1714
to
1748

None would question the Bishop's second statement, but Romaine's own confession indicates that his spiritual life had been deepening, and that his views of Bible truth were only gradually brought into line with the Evangelical position. He is however nearing the end, if he has not already reached it, of the period of spiritual restlessness, and he will soon be taking his place as a recognized leader of the Evangelical clergy in the Established Church.

¹J. C. Ryle, The Christian Leaders of the Last Century (London: T. Nelson and Sons, 1899), pp. 153f.

CHAPTER III

SETTLEMENT IN LONDON TO EJECTION FROM ST. GEORGE'S, 1748-55

"A popular preacher in London"

If, as has been suggested, Romaine had come to London "strongly intrenched in notions of his own exalted abilities, and flattering himself that he required no other recommendation to a rapid preferment, in a city where talent was always admired and justly estimated,"¹ he must have despaired at his lack of success in this direction. Haweis takes this position when he says that "despair of success, and disgust at disappointment," coupled, possibly, with "finding the publication of Calasio not likely to answer the sanguine expectations he must have formed from so great an undertaking"² had brought him to a decision to return to his home county. Cadogan supposes that Romaine preferred the country to the city because of "the bent of his genius to the study of nature, of minerals, fossils, plants, and the wonders of God in creation."³ At any rate, he had resolved to quit the city in the autumn of 1748 and his trunk had been sent aboard the ship.

1748
—
Age 34

While walking to the dock to take ship, an incident occurred which determined his future in a remarkable way. He was

¹Anonymous, "Memoir of the Late Rev. William Romaine, A.M.," The Evangelical Magazine, III (November, 1795), 439.

²Thomas Haweis, The Life of William Romaine, M.A. (London: T. Chapman, 1797), p. 25.

³William Bromley Cadogan, The Life of the Rev. William Romaine, M.A. in Works of the Late Reverend William Romaine, A.M. (8 vols.; London: T. Chapman, 1796), VII, 26.

suddenly accosted by a stranger, who asked if his name were not Romaine. After the latter's acknowledgment, the man explained that he had known Romaine's father some years earlier and at the moment had been struck by the resemblance between the two. Some general conversation followed, in which Romaine mentioned that he was leaving London permanently for the north. His father's friend then told him of the vacancy in the lectureship of the united parishes of St. George's, Botolph Lane, and St. Botolph's Billingsgate, in London and offered to help him to secure the election if he would become a candidate. Romaine consented on condition that he would not be expected to canvas the parishioners, a custom which he considered beneath the dignity of a minister of Christ. He was successful and is noticed in the Gentleman's Magazine for November, 1748, among the preferred:

"Mr Romayne, editor of Calasio's Dictionary, chosen lecturer of the united parishes of St George's, Botolph-lane, and St Botolph's, Billingsgate."¹ Haweis thus describes the combination of circumstances by which God kept Romaine in London when he would have departed:

Had not Mr. Romaine met this stranger,--had he not instantly been struck with Mr. R's. resemblance to his father,--had he not accosted him with a curiosity, for which probably himself could give no reason,--and which on no other occasion perhaps he would have been disposed to indulge in the street;--addressing a man he had never seen before.--Had he passed a moment sooner or later,--had the lectureship not been then vacant,--had not the conversation led to the cause of Mr. Romaine's departure,--in short, if a thousand unforeseen circumstances had not concurred just at that critical moment, the labours of that great reviver of Evangelical Truth in the churches in London, had been lost to the Metropolis, and with it all the blessed consequences of his Ministry, which thousands have experienced, and for which they will bless God to all eternity.²

The system of lectureships then in vogue had its origin much earlier, many of the foundations having been endowed in the

¹Gentleman's Magazine, XVIII (November, 1748), 525.

²Haweis, op. cit., pp. 26f.

days of the Puritans. The lecturers were usually elected by the parishioners. Overton and Relton state that these positions were usually held

1748
—
Age 34

by men whose churchmanship was not of a pronounced type. The system worked both for good and evil. It attracted men to the Church whose special gift lay in preaching, but it also rendered possible a conflict of opinion between the incumbent and the lecturer, which was not productive of good in the parish. In London most of the churches had a lecturer attached to them, and many eminent men belonging to all parties held them from time to time.¹

Romaine seems to have been one of the first of the Evangelical clergy to make use of the lectureship, and he continued this type of service until his death. Although the earlier Evangelicals found livings in the Church with great difficulty, they did gain a hearing for themselves in the London lectureships during the second half of the century.² The Rev. Thomas Woodford, LL.D., (d. 1779) was the Rector of St. George's, Botolph Lane, and St. Botolph's, Billingsgate, which was then located on the south side of Thames Street.³ Here Romaine entered upon his first London engagement--the first of many.

Haweis notes that he probably lectured but once a week at St. George's, giving most of his time to the completion of his edition of Calasio,⁴ although it would seem that he had already finished this work before planning to leave London. In spite of a large subscription list, including all the crowned heads of Europe and the Pope himself, the work seems not to have been a

¹John H. Overton and Frederic Relton, The English Church From the Accession of George I. to the End of the Eighteenth Century (London: Macmillan and Co., 1906), p. 156.

²See a list of Evangelical lecturers in G. R. Balleine, A History of the Evangelical Party in the Church of England (London: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1908), pp. 62f.

³George Hennessy, Novum Repertorium Ecclesiasticum Parochiale Londinense (London: Swan Sonnenschein, 1898), pp. 107f.

⁴Haweis, op. cit., p. 43.

financial success. Haweis says, "the Edition, I believe, hath not been disposed of to this day [1797]. Indeed I have heard the Bookseller failed, and a single copy of the work was all he [Romaine] received for his labours."¹ Its cool reception by non-Hutchinsonians has been noted.² The "bush-fighters"³ of the Monthly Review, as Jones of Nayland termed that periodical's reviewers, reveal their attitude toward the work in a review of Julius Bate's Critica Hebraea some years later.

The followers of Mr. Hutchinson's system, will not fail to pronounce it a Chef d'oeuvre; while the Rationalists will consign it to a peaceful place on the same undusted shelf, on which the Great Calasio reposes, undisturbed, in the friendly arms of the Reverend William Romaine.⁴

Romaine gave up his lectureship at St. George's, Botolph Lane, in the autumn of 1749⁵ when he was chosen lecturer of St. Dunstan-in-the-West⁶ on the north side of Fleet Street. This church was built in 1237; here William Tyndale had preached during the first quarter of the sixteenth century. The church survived the great fire of 1666 and was finally replaced by the present building on the same site in 1830. Two lectureships had been founded by Dr. Thomas White (1550?-1624), one endowed for the benchers of the Temple nearby, and the other a parish lecture supported by voluntary contributions. These had been united in Romaine's predecessor, Richard Terrick (1710-77), afterward Bish-

¹Ibid., p. 45. ²Supra, p. 45.

³William Jones, Memoirs of the Life, Studies, and Writings of the Right Reverend George Horne, D.D. (London: G. G. and J. Robinson, 1795), p. 28.

⁴Monthly Review, XXXVI (May, 1767), 361.

⁵A list of lecturers in St. George's, Botolph Lane, indicates that Romaine was succeeded in 1749 by one "Griffiths." Percy C. Rushden, Transcripts of the Monumental Inscriptions in and about the Late Church of the United Parishes of SS. George and Botolph, Botolph Lane, in the City of London (London: The Deben Press, 1904), p. 7.

⁶Gentleman's Magazine, XIX (November, 1749), 525.

op of London. Romaine's first sermon was from I Corinthians 2:1-2: "And I, brethren, when I came to you, came not with excellency of speech or of wisdom, declaring unto you the testimony of God. For I determined not to know any thing among you, save Jesus Christ, and him crucified."¹ Both text and sermon were prophetic, and here Romaine carried on his Evangelical ministry, sticking to his post through stubborn opposition and persecution until his death in 1795, a period of forty-five years. Goode says that "in this place he went through the whole Bible by way of exposition once, and many parts twice; and here he closed his labours in the service of his Lord and Master."²

What were the spiritual conditions in London at this time? With but one or two exceptions the churches of the Establishment were destitute of gospel preaching and teaching. Sir William Blackstone (1723-80) a few years later, early in the reign of George III, after hearing all the London clergymen of note said that "he did not hear a single discourse which had more Christianity in it than the writings of Cicero, and that it would have been impossible for him to discover, from what he heard, whether the preacher were a follower of Confucius, of Mohamet, or of Christ!"³ The City of London had not a single Evangelical incumbent until Romaine was instituted at St. Andrew-by-the-Wardrobe and St. Anne, Blackfriars, in 1766.⁴

The Wesleys had separated from the Moravians in 1740 and had begun to organize societies for the purpose of providing

¹Romaine's Works, V, vi.

²W. Goode, Faith Triumphant in Death (London: Rivingtons, 1795), p. 27.

³J. C. Ryle, The Christian Leaders of the Last Century (London: T. Nelson and Sons, 1899), p. 15.

⁴Infra, p. 188.



fellowship and Bible instruction for their converts. These societies, while organized and conducted by ministers of the Church of England, were considered to be "irregular," in that they were extra-parochial in organization. For many years, however, services were not held during church hours and members were expected to receive the sacraments in the parish churches. John Wesley's preaching in the Upper Moorfields on the northeastern edge of the city had culminated in the rebuilding of the ruined King's Foundery as a meeting house and personal dwelling. The "Foundery" was the center of Wesley's work from 1740 until it was replaced in 1778 by the new chapel in City Road. In 1743 Wesley had organized societies in West Street and Snowfields Chapels in London.

Whitefield's return from America in 1741 had been followed by a disagreement with John Wesley over the doctrines of Free Grace and Perfection. The Wesleys' Arminianism and Whitefield's Calvinism drove wedges between the old friends, and they sought association with those of kindred minds. Thus Arminian and Calvinistic Methodism developed, each along its own lines, ostensibly within the Church of England and yet free from ecclesiastical control. In spite of intermittent periods of sharp controversy, friendly feeling was maintained among all who preached the Evangelical doctrines—the inherent sinfulness of man, salvation by personal faith in Christ's sacrifice for sin, and the changed life of the believer. Whitefield's friends soon built a rough wooden tabernacle for him close to the Foundery, the temporary structure being replaced by a brick building in 1753—always known however as the "Tabernacle."

The first of Wesley's Annual Conferences met at the Foundery on June 25, 1744, and sixteen later conferences met there. Meanwhile Whitefield had been elected the permanent Mod-

erator of the Calvinistic Methodist Conference, composed largely of Welsh Evangelical clergymen, on January 5, 1743; this was really an honorary position as he was seldom able to attend the conferences due to his increasing activity as an itinerant evangelist on both sides of the Atlantic Ocean. Those clergymen who preached the Evangelical doctrines were called "Methodists," regardless of their affiliation with John Wesley or Whitefield—or neither. As late as 1770 Thomas Scott (1747-1821) wrote:

Methodist, as a stigma of reproach, was first applied to Mr. Wesley, Mr. Whitefield, and their followers; and to those who, professing an attachment to our Established Church, and disclaiming the name of Dissenters, were not conformists in point of parochial order, but had separate seasons, places, and assemblies, for worship. The term has since been extended by many to all persons, whether clergy or laity, who preach or profess the doctrines of the Reformation, as expressed in the articles and liturgy of our Church. For this fault they must all submit to bear the reproachful name of Methodists, especially the ministers¹

Ten years earlier Whitefield and the Wesleys had been welcomed into many Church of England pulpits in London, but as the antagonism of bishops and clergy grew, they were gradually excluded, until in 1748 only one church in the metropolis was still open to them--St. Bartholomew the Great in West Smithfield. The Rector here was the Rev. Richard Thomas Bateman (1713?-61), who held the living from March 8, 1738 until his death. About 1740 Bateman retired to a second living in South Wales, where he actively opposed Whitefield, preaching from I John 4:1 "a railing against the Methodists, charging them with hypocrisy, enthusiasm, &c."² Shortly afterward Whitefield wrote that Howell Davies (d. 1770) "has been blessed to the conversion of a young clergyman, rector of St. Bartholomew's, London."³ After his change of

¹Thomas Scott, The Force of Truth; or Authentic Narrative (12th ed.; Edinburgh, 1821), p. 13.

²Evangelical Magazine, XXII (November, 1814), p. 418.

³L. Tyerman, The Life of the Rev. George Whitefield (2d ed.; 2 vols.; London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1890), II, 62.

heart Bateman preached with good success in Wales until 1747, when he returned to his London Church, there to open his pulpit to Whitefield and the Wesleys. He attended for a time the Annual Conferences of both the Arminian and Calvinistic Methodists, and for his friendship with the leaders became involved in difficulties with the Bishop of London, Edmund Gibson (1669-1748). The latter's death afforded him some relief and he continued his interest in Wesley's movement until about 1752.¹ During his later years Bateman was Chaplain in the Royal Navy in addition to the continuing responsibilities of his two livings. While his efforts were scattered, he undoubtedly maintained his Evangelical position, for Romaine served as his morning preacher at St. Bartholomew the Great during the last two years of Bateman's life, just when the former was undergoing the severest persecution for his faithful preaching at St. Dunstan-in-the-West.²

Earthquake shocks terrified London on February 8 and March 8, 1750. Judging the contemporary accounts by modern scientific knowledge the quakes were not at all severe, but the superstitious populace expected the end of all things. Charles Wesley wrote to his brother John in Bristol on March 8:

This morning at a quarter after five, we had another shock of an earthquake, far more violent than that of February 8th. I was just repeating my text, when it shook the Foundery so violently, that we all expected it to fall upon our heads. A great cry followed from the women and the children. I immediately cried out, 'Therefore will we not fear, though the earth be moved, and the hills be carried into the midst of the sea: for the Lord of hosts is with us; the God of Jacob is our refuge.' He filled my heart with faith, and my mouth with words, shaking their souls, as well as their bodies.³

¹John S. Simon, John Wesley and the Advance of Methodism (London: The Epworth Press, 1925), p. 259.

²Infra, pp. 116, 136.

³Thomas Jackson, The Life of the Rev. Charles Wesley, M.A. (2 vols.; London: John Mason, 1841), I, 549.

Thousands fled the city and people refused to sleep in their houses, preferring the open spaces. Every minister with a real message took the opportunity to preach warning and reassurance to the people. Whitefield preached to throngs in Hyde Park. Doubtless Romaine likewise improved the occasion, but Cadogan and Haweis both err in linking with the 1750 earthquakes his two sermons preached after the Lisbon earthquake in 1755.¹

1750
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Age 35

The first day of April brought Romaine a new responsibility, for on that day he began to serve as assistant morning preacher at St. George's, Hanover Square,² a fashionable new church in the west end of the city. The Rev. Andrew Trebeck, D.D. (1681?-1759), held the living from the time the new parish was carved out of that of St. Martin-in-the-Fields until his death in 1759.³ As Romaine was now becoming known as a "Methodist" or Evangelical preacher, St. Dunstan-in-the-West and St. George's began to be crowded with men and women, largely of the lower classes, a state of affairs which was to bring him dismissal from St. George's in 1754⁴ and a lawsuit at St. Dunstan's in 1760.⁵

Romaine was now making new friends among the Evangelicals. Lady Selina Shirley Hastings (1707-91), less than four years the widow of Theophilus Hastings (1696-1746), ninth Earl of Huntingdon, had been for a number of years the friend of the Wesleys and Whitefield. For many years the Countess of Huntingdon gave her position, influence, time, and financial support to the Evangelical cause, and, although she took her chapels out of the Church

¹Cadogan, op. cit., 31f. Haweis, op. cit., 50ff.

²Cadogan, op. cit., 30.

³Hennessy, Novum Repertorium Ecclesiasticum Parochiale Londinense, p. 164

⁴Infra, p. 89.

⁵Infra, p. 123.

in 1781¹ her influence was long felt by the Establishment in the many livings she had secured, or helped to secure, for Evangelical clergymen. Whitefield had been her chaplain since 1748, and he and the Wesleys, with two or three Dissenting ministers, conducted weekly services in her London house. Romaine must have made the acquaintance of Lady Huntingdon by 1750, for Seymour says that he and the Rev. James Hervey met in London "at Lady Huntingdon's particular request."²

James Hervey (1714-58), one of the Oxford Methodists, although still serving as his father's curate at Weston Favell, Northamptonshire, was already known by his Meditations among the Tombs and Reflections on a Flower Garden. Because of his frail health he was brought to London in June, 1750, for a change of scene by Whitefield and a few other friends. Here he remained until the death of his father two years later, when he returned to become Rector of Weston Favell. One winter was spent as Whitefield's guest, and through Lady Huntingdon and her chaplain he was introduced into the circle of Evangelical preachers. These included, in addition to Whitefield, the Wesleys, and Romaine, Dr. John Gill (1697-1771), the Baptist commentator; Dr. Andrew Gifford (1700-84), Minister of the Baptist chapel in Eagle Street and later Librarian of the British Museum; John Cennick (1718-55), early assistant to the Wesleys and Whitefield and later a Moravian; and William Cudworth (1717-63), assistant to Whitefield at the Tabernacle and later minister of an Independent congregation in London. At this period is to be found the earliest record of Romaine's association with Whitefield and the Wesleys. Seymour

¹Infra, p. 270.

²[Aaron Crossley Hobart Seymour] The Life and Times of Selina Countess of Huntingdon (2 vols.; London: William Edward Painter, 1844), I, 162.

states that during Hervey's stay in London

1750

Age 36

Mr. Romaine often visited him at the Tabernacle-house, and occasionally accompanied him to hear Mr. Whitefield. On one occasion Mr. Wesley and Mr. Romaine breakfasted with Mr. Whitefield. Besides Mr. Hervey, there were present Dr. Gifford, Dr. Gill, Mr. Cudworth, and Mr. Cennick. Mr. Romaine led the doctrinal part of the service, and Dr. Gill addressed a short exhortation to his brethren in the ministry.¹

Romaine saw much of Hervey and according to the latter's biographer became his "intimate friend."² While in London Hervey was working on his exposition of Calvinism, Theron and Aspasio, which was later to cause much discussion as to the Evangelical doctrines.³

A promising recruit to the Evangelical cause in the autumn of 1750 was Martin Madan (1726-90), a lawyer who had been converted under the preaching of John Wesley a few years before. Madan, an excellent mimic, had gone to hear Wesley in order to be able to imitate him for the amusement of his coffee-house friends. Later they asked him "if he had taken off the old Methodist?" His reply was, "No, gentlemen, but he has taken me off."⁴ He left the legal profession and was ordained late in the year. Seymour credits Madan's friends, Lady Huntingdon and Romaine,⁵ with advising him to enter the ministry. Possessed of an annual private income of £1800 he never sought a living or benefice from the Church, although his younger brother, Spencer Madan (1729-1813), became Bishop of Bristol and later of Peterborough. Upon ordination Madan was appointed Chaplain of the Lock Hospital, near Hyde Park Corner, founded in 1746 for the benefit of venereal pa-

¹[Seymour] op cit., loc. cit.

²John Brown, Memoirs of the Life and Character of the Late Rev. James Hervey, A.M. (3rd ed.; London: Ogle, Duncan, & Co., 1822), pp. 292, 414.

³Infra, pp. 108ff. ⁴[Seymour] op. cit., I, 166.

⁵Ibid., 165.

tients.¹ Services were conducted twice on Sundays, "when all the patients who are able to leave their wards are required to be present; and though they are placed out of sight, they have every advantage of hearing."² Madan at first preached in the parlour of the hospital, but a chapel was built in 1762. The "Lock Chapel" was for many years a center of Evangelical influence in London, attended as it was by many from outside the hospital itself. Romaine and Madan were closely associated for about thirty years, often exchanging pulpits and traveling together.

In June, 1751, Romaine added to his part-time duties at St. Dunstan-in-the-West and St. George's, Hanover Square, the responsibilities attaching to the chair of astronomy at Gresham College.³ That institution had been founded by a provision in the will of Sir Thomas Gresham (1519?-79), wealthy merchant of the Elizabethan era and founder of the Royal Exchange. The will, according to More, provided that

£50 a year should be given to each of four persons meet to read lectures on divinity, astronomy, music, and geometry in his mansion on Bishopsgate Street. And the other moiety of the [Royal] Exchange to the 'Commonalty of the mystery of the Mercers of London,' of which he was a member, with the provision that they should provide for lecturers on law, physic, and rhetoric, under the same terms. At the death of Lady Anne Gresham in 1596, the seven lecturers were chosen and installed in comfortable quarters; and there they delivered their lectures daily in term

¹The name "Lock" was borrowed from its customary use for leper asylums. Walford says that the name may have derived "from the old French word loques, 'rags'--referring to the linen rags applied to the sores; but with more probability it comes . . . from the Saxon log or loc, equivalent to 'shut,' or 'closed,' in reference to the isolated condition of the leper." Edward Walford, Old and New London (New ed.; 6 vols.; London: Cassell & Co., n.d.), V, 215.

²A. Highmore, Pietas Londinensis: The History, Design, and Present State of the Various Public Charities in and near London (London: Richard Phillips, 1810), p. 144.

³Romaine is listed among the preferred as "astronomy professor at Gresham College. (Machin dec.)" in Gentleman's Magazine, XXI (June, 1751), 285. A letter from E. Featherstone, Clerk of the Gresham Committee, dated October 1, 1948, states that Romaine was appointed Professor of Astronomy June 25, 1751.

time¹ 'to the great delight of many, both learned, and lovers of learning.'²

1751
—
Age 36

Free lectures have been provided for the public on the basis of voluntary attendance, rather than as a formal course of study, until the present. Overton mistakenly states that Romaine filled "the post which Sir Isaac Newton and Isaac Barrow had held before him--that of Gresham Professor of Astronomy."³ Isaac Newton (1642-1727) was never a professor in the College, although he was closely associated with its activities as President of the Royal Society. Isaac Barrow (1630-77) was Professor of Physic for about two years--from 1662 to 1664.⁴

Romaine's popularity as a preacher grew steadily. St. Dunstan's and St. George's were both crowded with people when he preached or lectured. According to Cadogan, during this period "he preached occasionally at Bow church, in exchange with Dr. [Thomas] Newton [1704-82], (afterwards bishop of Bristol) then rector of that parish, and lecturer of St. George's, Hanover Square, and also at Curzon chapel, then called St. George's chapel, Mayfair, in exchange with Dr. Trebeck himself, who was morning preacher there."⁵ The Rev. James Hervey, while residing in London, sent the following account of Romaine's preaching to Lady Frances Shirley (1706?-78), Lady Huntingdon's aunt, in a letter dated November 7, 1751:

¹The "seven subjects were to be dealt with, one on each day of the week." See F. R. Salter, Sir Thomas Gresham (London: Leonard Parsons, 1925), p. 113.

²Louis Trenchard More, Isaac Newton a Biography (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1934), p. 501.

³John Henry Overton, The Evangelical Revival in the Eighteenth Century (London: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1907), p. 65.

⁴John Ward, The Lives of the Professors of Gresham College (London: W. Innys, 1740), pp. 157-67.

⁵Cadogan, Life of Romaine in Romaine's Works, VII, 31.

I once heard Mr. Romaine preach. He chose for his Text, that very important and equally comfortable Scripture; "Being justified by Faith, We have Peace with God through Jesus Christ, our Lord."--From which He spoke upon our Saviour's vicarious sufferings, and vicarious Obedience. Their absolute Necessity, and their complete Sufficiency for our Justification.--I think, he touched upon the transcendent Excellency of the Bible. I well remember, He directed Us to the Illumination and Influence of the Divine Spirit; in order to understand its heavenly Meaning, and feel its sacred Efficacy,--Points of the last Importance to our Happiness! I heartily wish Him abundant Success in explaining and enforcing them to his thronged Auditories.¹

Romaine's success in the pulpit apparently was not matched in his lecture room at Gresham College. At this date it is impossible to ascertain the exact circumstances that led to his resigning the position less than a year after entering upon its duties. The author of the "Memoir of the Late Rev. William Romaine" states that "the admirers of Sir Isaac Newton not relishing the philosophy of Mr. Hutchinson, nor the spiritual remarks with which Mr. Romaine's lectures were spiced, soon deserted him, and he resigned."² There is little doubt but that he disparaged some phases of the Newtonian physics and sought to substitute the Hutchinsonian concepts. Cadogan says that Romaine had not the highest opinion of the religion, morals, or wisdom of the age; and in the discharge of his duty in this new office he pursued a plan which ran counter to them all. He attempted to prove, that God was best acquainted with his own works, and had given the best account of them in his own words.³

Haweis vaguely remembers hearing at the time "that his lectures were crowded, and his employers offended; and that this, as well as his opinions, provoked his dismissal from the professorship."⁴

¹James Hervey, Letters from the Late Reverend James Hervey, A.M. Rector of Weston Favell, to the Right Honourable Lady Frances Shirley (London: John, Francis, and Charles Rivington, 1782), p. 50.

²Anonymous, "Memoir of the Late Rev. William Romaine, A.M.," The Evangelical Magazine, III (November, 1795), 446f.

³Cadogan, op. cit., VII, 34.

⁴Haweis, Life of Romaine, p. 61f.

Whatever may have been the content of Romaine's astronomy lectures, a campaign against him culminated in the publication of a lecture attributed to him in the Gentleman's Magazine of March, 1752. The alleged author's name was not given, but he was identified thus:

The following is the substance of a public lecture lately read by a present very celebrated professor of astronomy, in the discharge of his duty, as such, and in pursuance of a plan carried on through four preceding lectures upon the same subject. But as few perhaps of your readers may be sufficiently acquainted with this professor's other learned performances, immediately to discover his name from this specimen, it may not be amiss to inform such, that he is no less than the curious editor of Calasio's Hebrew Lexicon and Concordance in 4 vols. in folio; the author of several admired discourses called sermons; of the famous dissertation upon a Wig-box,¹ &c. &c. The place where this lecture was read, and to a very crowded audience, is Gresham College²

One cannot conceive of Romaine or any other sane person reading a lecture such as this one. It begins:

In my former lectures I took notice of the difficulties and absurdities that attend the modern astronomy, and this I did in order to prepare the way for an astronomy that should be obvious to common capacities: And as I therein all along rejected technical terms and mathematical gibberish, as unnecessary, and quite foreign to the nature of true astronomy, all the modern mathematicians and philosophers have spared no pains to prejudice me in the opinion of the public: have run into all kinds of reflections against me, because they considered me as dangerous to the honour of that study, which they had taken so much pains to render and preserve unintelligible. Every thing have they said against me, except what might affect my Christian character, and that has always been left unattacked. All this have they done, notwithstanding they are not only ignorant of what I have to propose, but while the wiser and more moderate think there may possibly be some truth in doctrines drawn from Moses. These modern philosophers cannot bear to hear it affirmed, that there was any astronomy four thousand years ago, and think it greatly derogating from the honour of the divine Newton to suppose that there was any philosophy so long before his. But it is from Moses that I pretend to draw what I have to offer, and Moses had his astronomy from a great master, who did teach more in one line than our modern astronomers do in a whole folio.

Some say that what I have to advance is extracted from one John Hutchinson, formerly a famous horse-doctor in the Mews, but where he got his astronomy I cannot tell; and others affirm, that all I have to offer are reveries from Zoroaster, whose works, it

¹This work was unknown to Hawsis. Ibid., p. 62.

²Gentleman's Magazine, XXII (March, 1752), 99.

is well known: I have lately been considering. And all this has been affirmed, just upon the same good grounds with those on which the same persons defend their own astronomy; for I have not informed any one person living what it is I intend to offer.

After I have removed out of the way the obstacles of hard technical terms and mathematical gibberish, I will then proceed, without taking any further notice of the clamours raised against me in coffee-houses, cabals of mathematicians, and their sending abroad their little disciples, &c. than, according to the example of my Blessed Saviour, when he wiped off the spital of the unbelieving Jews.

I cannot but laugh at the modern astronomer, because of his great farrago of hard, mathematical, philosophical, algebraical, Hellenistical, and Arabic terms. To make a good astronomer, you must first of all be fully acquainted with an abundance of this sort of hard names, and then it is proposed for you to purchase a large pair of globes, and a great telescope, and starve whole moon shining nights in gazing at the stars, without being sure of gaining any thing but an astronomical cold, and for which you may expect a cure from the contemplation of Juppiter's belts. By these means we now exceed all that was ever intended for us to know; for, according to this astronomy, we know more of Infinities than we really do of Finities. Sir Thomas Gresham never designed his lecture for such adepts as these, but for sober well-meaning citizens of common sense and plain understandings.¹

After noting that contemporary astronomers fail by 121 million miles to agree on the distance between the earth and the sun, the writer quotes a long, technical discussion on Jupiter's belts and Saturn's rings from William Derham's (1657-1735) Astro-theology.

The lecture concludes with the following paragraphs.

I should be glad to know, what use, or what benefit, these observations have been of to the world? Who was ever made better, or wiser by such discoveries? If mathematicks have a tendency to mend the heart; then the most eminent of these mathematical astronomers must have been remarkably good men; and when that is made appear to have been the case, I myself will become an advocate for mathematicks. But was dying sinner ever comforted by the spots in the Moon? Was ever miser reclaimed from avarice by Juppiter's Belts? or did Saturn's ring ever make a lascivious female chaste?

The only natural and common consequence of these observations upon the stars, has been almost a certainty of catching cold; I would therefore propose, in order to make their labours and ingenuity at least useful to themselves, that, as they are so perfectly well acquainted with the countries in the Moon, they would despatch by means of their telescopes, an express to the Lunar inhabitants, for them to send down a receipt for the making of Fontenelle's lunar lozenges for the cure of telescopical fevers and lunatic colds.

What benefit has accrued to the world from the whole history of observations upon the stars, though the work of four thousand

¹Ibid., 99f.

years? They have only discovered nearly an equal reckoning of of time; and this is really all their discoveries worth mentioning; and this I declare publicly, and risk my veracity upon it. And if this does not satisfy the modern mathematicians and astronomers, let them shew one farther real use of geometry, and we will then no longer speak against it: but this is certainly sufficient, that they differ one from another in their demonstrations, no less than one hundred and twenty one millions of miles: and, likewise, I will conclude with observing, that the modern divinity brings you no nearer, than one hundred and twenty one millions of miles short of heaven.¹

The whole piece smacks of the style of the early sixteenth century Epistolorum Obscurorum Virorum, which purported to have been written by opponents of John Reuchlin (1455-1522) and the new learning.² One is surprised to find as excellent a scholar as Overton³ crediting Romaine with this composition when as long ago as 1831 a writer held that "that account can however scarcely be regarded as a correct report, being evidently written by a person hostile to Mr. R[omaine]'s views, and desirous of ridiculing his opinions."⁴ Shortly after the publication of this "lecture," on April 9, Romaine's resignation was accepted by the College.⁵ Unfortunately the only light available upon Romaine's Gresham College experience is very dim and reflected from a distorted source. The following epigram included in "Miscellaneous Collections Relating to Gresham College" in the British Museum is dated 1754, but it was probably composed when Romaine left the College:

¹Ibid., 101.

²" . . . they aroused wide-spread ridicule by their barbarous Latinity, their triviality, and their ignorance, and undoubtedly created the impression that the party opposed to Reuchlin was hostile to learning and progress." Williston Walker, A History of the Christian Church (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1930), p. 336.

³Overton, Evangelical Revival in the Eighteenth Century, p. 66.

⁴Christian Guardian, October, 1831, p. 365.

⁵Letter from E. Featherstone, Clerk of the Gresham Committee, dated October 1, 1948.

Dum quatit eloquio Romainus sacro,
 Dat faciles plausus plebs numerosa suos.
 Elatus fastu, stipatusque undique amicis,
 Mox professoris nobile munus obit.
Quid dignum tanto fecit hic promissoor hiatu?
 Newtonus vanas spernit ab axe minas.
 Impar tandem oneri, Pol me occidistes amici,
 Astra negant famam, quam mihi terra dedit.¹

1752
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 Age 37

During the year 1752 Romaine wrote a recommendatory preface for a three volume work explaining the types and shadows of the Bible, entitled The Spiritual Magazine; or the Christian's Grand Treasure by the Rev. John Allen, minister of the Baptist chapel in Petticoat Lane, London. In the preface Romaine writes:

. . . . this Magazine is intended for your spiritual mind, as there is therein contained such an harmony of divine truths, that will prove a constant feast for your spiritual appetite, rays of knowledge for your understanding, springs of life and love for your refreshment, rivers of joy for your delight, and an ocean of happiness for your portion.²

The year 1753 marked a great agitation in Great Britain, especially in London, over the Pelham administration's Jewish naturalization bill entitled "An Act to permit Persons professing the Jewish religion to be naturalized by Parliament, and for other purposes therein mentioned." By a statute of Edward I the Jews had been banished, and not until the period of the Commonwealth did they begin to return. After the Restoration more Jews came in from the continent, and "as early as the year 1662, they

¹British Museum MS 6194, f. 294. English translation by H. D. Glover follows:

Romaine may make the pulpit quake with heavenly eloquence,
 As is his due, the poet-mob their facile praise commence;
 He's puffed with pride, disdainful, hedged about by many a
 friend,
 Yet our professor's masterpiece soon meets its destined end.
 Pray, is this awe deserved by what our threatened genius
 wrought,
 For Newton spurns the threat'nings vain wherewith the heaven
 is fraught?
 And yet the load he cannot bear--"Friends, you've destroyed
 me quite,
 Renown to me the earth has given, but not the skies of night."

²John Allen, The Spiritual Magazine; or, the Christian's Grand Treasure (3 vols.; London: A Kidwell [1752]), I, viii.

had a synagogue in London."¹ As Lecky states, there appears not "to have been any legal obstacle to the sovereign and Parliament naturalizing a Jew till a law, enacted under James I., and directed against the Catholics, made the sacramental test an essential preliminary to naturalization."² Later acts remitted this requirement in the case of all aliens working in the hemp and flax industries and of Jewish and Protestant immigrants who had spent seven years in the American colonies.

Under the guidance of the Pelhams³ the bill was introduced into the House of Lords on April 3 and quickly passed without opposition. Roth summarizes the bill thus:

The Bill drawn up provided simply that Jews who had been resident in Great Britain or Ireland for three years might be naturalized upon application to Parliament without taking the Sacrament. The proposals were mild and unprovocative in the extreme--as Joseph Salvador [d. 1788] had pointed out from the beginning, the expense of an Act of Parliament would prevent the poorer classes from being touched by them one way or the other. Only the rich were affected, being put on a position of equality with the dependents they had sent out to the West Indies; and, like all naturalized persons, they would still be unable to become members of the Privy Council or either House of Parliament, to obtain grants of crown lands, or to hold any office of profit under the Crown. But there was an incidental clause, ostensibly discriminatory, which prohibited Jews (whether native-born or foreign) from purchasing or inheriting advowsons or presenting to any ecclesiastical benefice. The right of presentation went, of course, with estates: and this reservation implicitly confirmed the right of Jews to hold land.⁴

The bill was read in the House of Commons for the first time on April 17. At the second reading on May 7 debate ensued. Several

¹John Elijah Blunt, A History of the Establishment and Residence of the Jews in England (London: Saunders and Benning, 1830), p. 72.

²William Edward Hartpole Lecky, A History of England in the Eighteenth Century (3rd ed., rev.; 8 vols.; London: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1883), I, 262.

³The Hon. Henry Pelham (1695?-1754), Chancellor of the Exchequer, and his brother, Thomas Pelham-Holles (1693-1768), Duke of Newcastle, came into power together upon the downfall of Sir Robert Walpole (1676-1745).

⁴Cecil Roth, A History of the Jews in England (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1941), pp. 214f.

speakers expressed opposition to the bill. One said that the bill threatened to rob the British, not only "of their birthright as Englishmen," but also "of their birthright as Christians."¹ Another recalled that the Jews in Queen Esther's day "upon their getting the power into their hands, put to death in two days near 76,000 of those they were pleased to call their enemies, without either judge or jury."² Among the speakers for the bill was a member who thought that the bill might be a means of converting some of the Jews, and that without prejudice to Christianity—"we have no reason to apprehend that any Englishman will submit to be circumcised, or swear never to taste a Yorkshire ham, or a bit of good pork or bacon."³ The motion to commit passed, 95 to 16. Between the second and third readings of the bill great opposition to the bill arose, in Parliament and out. Petition after petition was sent to the Commons both for and against the bill. One group of traders and merchants in London felt that the bill "might encourage persons of wealth and substance to remove with their effects from foreign parts into this kingdom, and increase the commerce and credit of this nation," and prayed that the bill might be passed into law.⁴ The same day the sheriffs of London presented a petition of the Lord Mayor, aldermen, and commons of the city expressing apprehension "that should the said Bill be passed into a law, the same would tend greatly to the dishonour of the Christian religion, endanger our excellent constitution, and be highly prejudicial to the interest and trade of the kingdom in general, and the said city in particular; and therefore praying that it might not be passed into a law."⁵ A petition

¹The Parliamentary History of England (24 vols.; London: Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme, & Brown, 1806-19), XIV, 1366.

²Ibid., 1407. ³Ibid., 1385. ⁴Ibid., 1417.

⁵Ibid., loc. cit.

against the bill was presented by the "subscribing merchants and traders of the city of London"¹ pleading that if the bill became a law it would have bad effects upon the nation's Christianity and business.

Despite the fact that none of the bishops had opposed the bill in the House of Lords,² many of the clergy joined in the hue and cry against it, and not the least among them was Romaine. On May 22 the bill was read a third time in the House of Commons, and although opposed it was finally passed. Henriques states that the bill might have "been wrecked in the Lower House, had not some of the enemies of the Government slackened their efforts against it, in the belief that it would cause widespread unpopularity throughout the country against the party in power."³ A veritable storm of protest propaganda against the bill swept the country. A flood of pamphlets on both sides of the proposition almost inundated the public.⁴

During the interval between the passing of the Act by Parliament and its royal sanction by the King, Romaine published a pamphlet entitled A Modest Apology for the Citizens and Merchants of London, Who Petitioned the House of Commons Against

¹Ibid., 1418.

²After the bill became a law Romaine wrote: "The maxim was first broached in this ever memorable year of thinking it no dishonour to Christ, to admit blaspheming Jews into one and the same society with believing christians; and I dare maintain, that the present set of ----- is the only one since the time of Christ, that would have countenanced so antichristian a measure." [William Romaine], An Answer to a Pamphlet, Entitled, Considerations on the Bill to Permit Persons Professing the Jewish Religion to Be Naturalized in Romaine's Works, VIII, 300f. Thomas Birch observed that by the blank "I presume he means bishops." See Parliamentary History, XIV, 1432.

³H. S. Q. Henriques, The Return of the Jews to England (London: Macmillan and Co., 1905), p. 123.

⁴See list of pamphlets in Joseph Jacobs and Lucien Wolf, Bibliotheca-Judaica. (London: Office of the "Jewish Chronicle," 1888), pp. 63-68.

Naturalizing the Jews. The text for this work was Acts 16:20, "These men, being Jews, do exceedingly trouble our city." One wonders whether it might have occurred to the author that this accusation was originally brought against the apostle Paul and his friends. In his preface Romaine sets forth two guiding principles, which he urges upon his readers.

1753
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Age 38

If any cool moderate spirit should begin, as he is reading, to be offended, we beg of him to turn back to these two remarks, which contain our Apology; and, if he will be pleased to read them twice over, we hope they will abate his heat, and enable him to proceed with temper.

I. We look upon the Jews, who lived in the time of Christ, as traitors, rebels against God. The act of rebellion was rejecting Jesus for the promised Messiah, and crucifying him for a malefactor: for this Jesus was true God, and is still the God of the christians. He is the king of all worlds, and according to our laws he has all power in heaven and in earth. And was it not then, by our laws, rebellion to attempt to dethrone and murder this sovereign Lord of the universe? Doubtless, it was the highest act of treason which man can commit.

II. The present Jews are guilty of the same treason, by aiding and abetting traitors: for they defend their ancestors' rebellion; they justify the crucifying of the Son of God; and, if they had him in their power, they would crucify him again. Their books are full of the bitterest curses and blasphemies against Jesus Christ, and they say such shocking things of him, as we dare not repeat. Now, this we bring in [is?] high treason; because the aiders and abettors of treason against God must be traitors of the blackest nature.

If the candid reader will apply these two rules to treason in our own civil affairs, and consider in what light the law looks upon him, who should take away the life of the king, and upon him, who was an aider and abettor of the regicide, then we hope he will judge charitably of the following remarks¹

The pamphlet amplifies these propositions and goes on to prove that the Jews must be naturalized against God's will, if at all, for did not Moses prophesy that "among these nations thou shalt find no ease, neither shall the sole of thy foot have rest; but the Lord shall give thee there a trembling heart, and failing of eyes, and sorrow of mind."² Romaine insisted that naturalizing the Jew would make this prophecy and others impossible of fulfill-

¹[William Romaine] A Modest Apology for the Citizens and Merchants of London, who Petitioned the House of Commons against Naturalizing the Jews in Romaine's Works, VIII, 247f.

²Deut. 28:65.

ment and that the nation would be flying in the very face of Deity by so doing.

1753
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Age 38

In what manner the Naturalizing of the Jews will affect the authority of these prophecies is very obvious; for first, God cast them off for rejecting Christ; and we take them in: he drove them out of their own land, because of their unbelief, but we receive them as free-born subjects in our land, notwithstanding the same unbelief. God expelled them, they come to us expelled, and we naturalize them: so that, what he made their punishment, we turn into a reward, by doing which, we act directly against providence, for we take them into our communion, whom he had excommunicated, and we give them a better land to make them amends for losing that, of which he thought them unworthy.¹

Some of Romaine's passages were anti-semitic in the extreme. The following example must suffice.

You know a Jew at first sight. And what then are his distinguishing features? Examine what it is peculiar that strikes you. It is not his dirty skin, for there are other people as nasty; neither is it the make of his body, for the Dutch are every whit as odd, awkward figures as the Jews. But look at his eyes. Don't you see a malignant blackness underneath them, which gives them such a cast, as bespeaks guilt and murder? You can never mistake a Jew by this mark, it throws such a dead, livid aspect over all his features, that he carries evidence enough in his face to convict him of being a crucifier.²

The signing of the Act by the King only redoubled the excitement. Caricatures of Jews were sold in the shops. Anti-semitic ballads were heard in the streets. Even children took part in the demonstrations. Thomas Birch wrote to the Hon.

Philip Yorke (1690-1764) on June 23:

The clamour against that Act is now evidently designed to influence the election next year; and the rage of the people is ungovernable.—The bishop of Norwich [Thomas Haytor (1702-62)] was insulted for having voted for it, in several parts of his diocess whither he went to confirm; the boys at Ipswich in particular calling out to him for circumcision, and a paper being fixed up to one of the churches, that the next day being Saturday, his lordship would confirm the Jews, and the day following the Christians.³

The Wesleys apparently took no part in this controversy. Whitefield deprecated Romaine's activity against the Act, as is seen

¹[Romaine] A Modest Apology in Romaine's Works, VIII, 256.

²Ibid., 258f. ³Parliamentary History, XIV, 1431.

in the following excerpt from a letter to a friend dated June 8,
1753:

1753
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Age 38

I am glad that Mr. R[omaine]¹ is owned. This gives me hopes, that he begins to preach as when he first set out, and as he told a friend, a little before his embarking, "that he hoped he should." It never went better with his heart than then. God keep him and all from further entanglements by fleshly wisdom and worldly policy! which I think have nothing to do with the work of the Lord.²

Romaine, however, had not given over championing the anti-Jewish cause, for he was now as zealous in seeking the repeal of the measure as he had been in seeking to prevent its passage. The Government began to realize that the unpopular Act might cost them the fast approaching general election. On July 17 Pelham wrote to the Duke of Newcastle, "I hear, also, the Jew bill is more extensive than you seem to imagine; they will call it an act of the administration; but the worst of all is, that the country is ready to receive a disadvantageous impression."³ A few days later he was suggesting to his brother that "if you find it gives a real uneasiness, repeal next year, as a matter of no consequence in itself; but if it gives disturbance to weak minds, it is right to indulge them."⁴ Next year would be too late for repeal, however, as events were soon to prove. The leaders of the movement for revocation were tireless, and "among the clergy of the Church of England one of the most active in fanning the absurd agitation

¹"Mr. R-----" is here identified as "Mr. Romaine" by J. R. Andrews in his George Whitefield A Light Rising in Obscurity (6th ed.; Kilmarnock: John Ritchie, Ltd., n.d.), p. 274.

²George Whitefield, The Works of the Reverend George Whitefield, M.A. (6 vols.; London: Edward and Charles Dilly, 1771-72), III, 15.

³William Coxe, Memoirs of the Administration of the Right Honourable Henry Pelham (2 vols.; London: Longman, Rees, Orme, Brown, and Green, 1829), II, 484.

⁴Ibid., 485.

on the Jewish question," according to Lecky, "was Romaine."¹

1753

Age 38

One of the outstanding pamphlets supporting the Act was written under the pseudonym of Philo-Patriae, entitled Considerations on the Bill to Permit Persons Professing the Jewish Religion to Be Naturalized by Parliament, the preface of which was dated July 15, 1753, in London. It points out, in the form of a letter to a friend inquiring about the Law, the Act's limitations as contrasted with the exaggerations of its opponents.

When I attentively consider the extraordinary Pains that have been every-where taken to misrepresent the late Act That it has been represented as a general Naturalization of this People, even in Preference to Protestants; as a Call of them from all Parts of the World, and by Consequence as detrimental and diametrically opposite to Christianity, and dangerous to our excellent Constitution; I say, when all this is duly considered, I am not in the least surprised at the Information you give me, of the uncommon Alarm your Neighbors have been in, by misapprehending the said Act.²

The author points out that Jews had been entitled to naturalization under certain conditions for some time and that the new Law applied only to such as could finance a parliamentary bill and satisfy the members of their worthiness. He answers arguments that Jewish naturalization is

1. Dishonourable to the Christian Religion.
2. Dangerous to the Constitution.
3. Highly prejudicial to the Interest and Trade of the Kingdom in general.
4. And of the City in particular.³

One could wish that Romaine had been the author of this liberal and well-written defence of the naturalization Act, but as it was he wrote an answer to it about the middle of October. Romaine's pamphlet is dated by the following comment in a letter from Birch

¹Lecky, History of England in the Eighteenth Century, I, 266.

²[Philo-Patriae] Considerations on the Bill to Permit Persons Professing the Jewish Religion to Be Naturalized By Parliament (London: R. Baldwin, 1753), p. 1.

³Ibid., p. 5.

to Yorke written on October 20, 1753:

On the other side there was published this day sennight a pamphlet of an hundred pages in 8vo, sold for sixpence, or distributed gratis, under the title of "An Answer to the Considerations on the Jews Bill." It is ascribed to Romaine; and has all the distinguishing characters of that writer, impudence, buffoonery, virulence, and insincerity¹ The chapter pretending to shew from Scripture authority that we ought to have no commerce with that nation, is not to be matched out of the Church of Rome for falsification of the doctrine of the New Testament.²

The full title of Romaine's booklet was An Answer to a Pamphlet, Entitled, Considerations on the Bill to Permit Persons Professing the Jewish Religion to Be Naturalized; Wherein the False Reasoning, Gross Misrepresentation of Facts, and Perversion of Scripture, Are Fully Laid Open and Detected, and it was reprinted several times by "the Citizens of London" in the repeal effort. On the title page appeared the words from Acts 14:4, "The multitude of the city was divided, and part held with the Jews, and part with the apostles." It would be unprofitable to analyze the work in detail. Sufficient to note that its arguments are all based upon unreasoned fears as to possible future Jewish supremacy in state, trade, and religious affairs. The following quotation illustrates this spirit of fear:

And rich enemies too, brought in to purchase land estates among us, and to get such power and influence, as is inseparable from holding those estates; and will not these enemies endanger our constitution? especially since these rich Jews may have influence enough over the poor to get some false Messiah set up, and to make our country a scene of blood and desolation; will not this endanger our constitution? Or if they should not set up a false Messiah, yet their law allows them to hold no faith with us—no oath can bind them; and will not such men endanger the constitution?³

The Hutchinsonians, Romaine among them, opposed the Jew-

¹Birch doubtless had the Romaine-Warburton controversy in mind. Supra, pp. 25ff.

²Quoted from the Hardwick Papers in Parliamentary History, XIV, 1432.

³[Romaine] An Answer to a Pamphlet, Entitled, Considerations on the Bill to Permit Persons Professing the Jewish Religion to Be Naturalized in Romaine's Works, VIII, 326f.

ish Naturalization Act as a logical outgrowth of their position that the Rabbis had corrupted the pure Hebrew text of the Old Testament and the divine pattern of Jewish thought and life. Bishop Horne was "highly gratified by the part taken in that perilous business by the Reverend William Romaine; who opposed the Considerations dispersed about the kingdom in defence of the Jew-Bill, with a degree of success, which reminded us of Swift's opposition to Wood's Half-pence in his Drapier's Letters."¹ Romaine is said to have written an answer to Dr. Josiah Tucker's (1712-99) Letter to a Friend Concerning Naturalization,² but this seems to have been an error--a confusing of Tucker's pamphlet and that by Philo-Patriae.

Picciotto describes the paper controversy over the Bill.

It was attacked and defended, censured and praised, abused and commended. Not only the then existing organs of the press took the one or the other side of the controversy,--it was mostly the other side,--but a number of persons in private or public life rushed into print, sometimes to enlighten, more frequently to bewilder or further prejudice the public mind. The Gentleman's Magazine, the Westminster Journal, and the London Evening Post, distinguished themselves for the bitterness of their invectives against the Jews. The General Evening Post and the Public Advertiser had the courage to open their columns to those who dared speak the truth to an ignorant multitude.³

It was a war of opinions, and the victory went to the repeal forces. When the next session of Parliament opened on November 15 the Pelhams were ready to revoke the offending measure. On November 28 a Bill was passed repealing all of the unpopular Act, and the Royal assent was given on December 20.

Romaine's close friend and biographer, Haweis, viewed his part in the 1753 debates much as one would today.

¹Jones, Memoirs of Horne, p. 72.

²Anonymous, "Memoir of the Late Rev. William Romaine, A.M.," Evangelical Magazine, III (November, 1795), 446.

³James Picciotto, Sketches of Anglo-Jewish History (London: Trübner & Co., 1875), p. 88.

He acted, I am persuaded, conscientiously, supposing it, opposition to the revealed will of God, and an attempt to defeat the fulfillment of the prophecies. Yet many in that day, and more in the present, among which I own myself ever to have been, no more thought the naturalization of the Jews would affect the prophetic word, than the Newtonian philosophy impeach the veracity of Moses respecting the creation; nor that their admission to the rights of citizenship in England, would be attended with any of the terrible consequences so strongly painted and apprehended However he had the cry of the nation with him, and of the citizens of the metropolis; to which he had greatly contributed by his writings and his preaching: and added thereby not a little to his popularity.¹

This was the last public controversy in which Romaine took active part. Even though he sympathized strongly with the Calvinists in their strenuous contention with the Arminians in the early 1770's, he refused to take part himself. He wrote to one of his converts, Zachary Shrapnell (1724-96) on October 29, 1772: "For more than twenty years² my dear master has delivered me from a spirit of controversy; and I trust he will deliver me to the end."³

The year 1754 marked the beginning of Romaine's close friendship with the Rev. Thomas Jones (1730-62), a young man of twenty-four years of age, who had graduated Master of Arts at Cambridge that very year.⁴ A year earlier Jones had begun his service at the Collegiate Church of St. Saviour, Southwark, known also as St. Marie Overie, but since 1905 as Southwark Cathedral. This ancient church was served by priors from the twelfth century until the Reformation, after which "the Church was usually served by two 'Preaching Chaplains' of independent powers."⁵ In his

¹Haweis, Life of Romaine, pp. 58f.

²Romaine often was inaccurate as to dates and periods of time in his recollections of later years.

³Haweis, op. cit., p. 98.

⁴John Venn and J. A. Venn, Alumni Cantabrigienses (2 parts, 6 vols.; Cambridge: University Press, 1922-), Part I, II, 488.

⁵[W.] Thompson, The History and Antiquities of the Collegiate Church of St. Saviour (St. Marie Overie), Southwark (London: Elliot Stock, 1904), p. 135.

preface to The Works of the Rev. Thomas Jones, M.A. Romaine gives a sketch of his friend's life and dates his spiritual awakening at this time. "Our great intimacy and friendship," says Romaine, "has given me a constant opportunity of being a witness of God's gracious dealings with his soul."¹ Romaine doubtless was a means of helping the young Chaplain to an assurance of faith, and Jones soon became known as one of the "Methodist" preachers of London. The inscription on his monument in Southwark Cathedral describes him as a "'painful' (i.e., painstaking) 'minister, followed much for his doctrine.'"² In addition to his sermons and lectures at St. Saviour's, he preached in the chapel of an almshouse in the parish, distributed Evangelical books and tracts to his parishioners, and instructed children weekly in his own home.³

1754
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Age 39

At about this time, or perhaps a year or two earlier, Romaine became friendly with the Rev. Henry Venn, M.A. (1724-97), of the well known clerical family of that name. Venn, a Fellow of Queen's College, Cambridge, served as curate for the Rev. Adam Langley (1703?-89), who held the livings of St. Matthew, Friday Street, London, and West Horsley, in Surrey, from 1750 to 1754, spending a part of each summer in London. During this period he experienced the same change of heart which characterized all the Evangelical clergy of that day. His descendent, John Venn, in 1904 spoke of it as "the turning point in his religious life" and added that it

marked his departure from the old type of Churchmanship which he had inherited, to that now familiar as Evangelicalism. The change was effected after much internal question and struggle, and study of the Scriptures. It does not seem to have been in any way due to the guidance or instigation of others. He had no

¹Thomas Jones, The Works of the Rev. Thomas Jones, M.A., prefixed by "A Short Account of His Life" by William Romaine (2d ed.; London: Edward Dilly, 1763), p. viii.

²Thompson, op. cit., p. 26.

³Thomas Jones, op. cit., p. xvi.

acquaintance at this time with any of the few who had preceded him, either within the Church, like Grimshaw and Romaine, or on its borders, like Wesley and Whitefield.¹

From 1754 to 1759 Venn was Curate of St. Mary's, the Clapham parish church on the outskirts of London. The Rev. Sir James Stonhouse (d. 1792) held this living from 1753 until his death, but he seems to have "left the curate to do what he pleased."² Venn conducted the Sunday morning service at Clapham, preached on Sunday afternoon at St. Alban's, Wood Street, and in the evening at St. Swithin's, London-stone. Weekday lectures at Clapham, St. Swithin's, and St. Antholin's filled out his schedule of appointments.³ At Clapham Venn became the intimate friend of a young business man, John Thornton (1720-90), who had inherited a large fortune; throughout his long life Thornton was a great benefactor to the Evangelical cause--buying advowsons, building churches, and aiding the preachers in every possible way. There at Clapham these two young men sowed the seed of an association which in the next generation would spring up as the "Clapham Sect" to bear fruit in the spiritual, moral, and political life of the nation. Venn at this time was equally hospitable to the Arminians and Calvinists, although he was to become very shortly a moderate Calvinist himself. During these years the Evangelical clergy of London began to find a congenial center of fellowship at Thornton's home on the northeast side of Clapham Common.⁴

The year 1755 was an eventful one for Romaine. Both St.

¹John Venn, Annals of a Clerical Family (London: Macmillan and Co., 1904), p. 74.

²Ibid., 75.

³John Venn, The Life and a Selection from the Letters of the Late Rev. Henry Venn, M.A., ed. Henry Venn (4th ed.; London: John Hatchard and Son, 1836), p. 24.

⁴John Thornton's house is in the process of being demolished as these words are written in April, 1949.

Dunstan-in-the-West and St. George's, Hanover Square, were crowded to the doors with eager hearers, largely from the poorer classes, much to the disgust of the parishioners. Among those of higher standing who were converted at St. George's was John Sanders¹ (1710-99), for many years state coachman to King George III.² He became a consistent supporter of Romaine through the years. When the fashionable pew holders began to complain of the crowded conditions, the old Earl of Northampton, James Compton (1687-1754), a staunch friend of Romaine's, expressed surprise that "such complaints should be made with respect to the House of God, by those who could bear to be much more incommoded at the playhouse without complaint."³ The Wesleys rejoiced in the awakened clergy who were now serving in and near London. In a letter to the Rev. Walter Sellon⁴ (1715-92) dated February 4, 1755,^{Charles} spoke of the progress of the Revival in London. "The Lord of the harvest is thrusting out labourers in divers places. Mr. Romaine, Venn, Dodd,⁵ Jones, and others here are much blessed. Pray for them as well as us."⁶

Romaine was married on February 11, 1755, to Miss Mary Price (1730?-1801) of Shoreditch. The Gentleman's Magazine reports the marriage on that date: "Rev. Mr. Romaine, lecturer of

¹Seymour mistakenly refers to "Sanderson" in his Life and Times of the Countess of Huntingdon, I, 131f.

²Anonymous, "Memoir of J. Sanders," Evangelical Magazine, VII (November, 1799), 441f.

³Goode, Faith Triumphant in Death, pp. 26f.

⁴Sellon, formerly one of Wesley's preachers, was now ordained and serving at Smithsby near Ashby-de-la-Zouch.

⁵William Dodd (1729-77), a quasi-Evangelical at this time, was hanged in 1777 for forgery. Infra, pp. 252ff.

⁶L. Tyerman, The Life and Times of the Rev. John Wesley, M.A. (3rd ed.; 3 vols.; London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1876), II, 203.

St. Dunstan's in the West--to Miss Price."¹ The author of the "Memoir of the Late Rev. William Romaine" describes the bride as "Miss Price, of Shoreditch, a pious lady of genteel fortune."² The following entry may be found in the Bishop of London's Registry--Marriage Licenses:

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ROMAINE., William	(Clerk)	<u>B</u>
<u>1755 February (?) 8th</u>		
of Middle Temple., London		
&. PRIORE., Mary		<u>S24</u>
of St. Leonard's., Shoreditch		<u>Midx</u>
at St. Dunstan's in the West or St. Leonards ³		

This is very evidently a record of Romaine's marriage license. He was a Clerk, a bachelor, and quite possibly was residing in the Middle Temple, as one of his lectureships at St. Dunstan's was endowed for the benchers of the Temple nearby. The age of the bride is correctly given, as well as her residence at Shoreditch. The only apparently irrelevant datum is her family name--Priore. The parish registers of St. Leonard's Church, Shoreditch, have not been available for consultation since the recent war, but it is very probable that the confusion in names could be cleared up by reference to them. The marriage is not recorded in the register of St. Dunstan-in-the-West--hence it was quite likely performed at St. Leonard's. Nothing is known of Mary Price's family or background, except that Romaine refers in his letters to her sister, a Mrs. Owen, Jr., who lived with her family at Tiverton in Devonshire.⁴ Romaine's letters indicate that the marriage was a happy one. The Rev. William Grimshaw (1708-63) in a letter dated February 7, 1761, said, "I've wrote by this

¹Gentleman's Magazine, XXV (February, 1755), 91.

²Anonymous, "Memoir of the Late Rev. William Romaine, A.M.," Evangelical Magazine, III (November, 1795), 446.

³Bishop of London's Registry--Marriage Licenses, p. 592.

⁴Romaine's Works, VII, 143, 332.

post to dear Mrs. Romaine. That's a precious soul."¹

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Romaine's name appears in the correspondence of two Evangelical clergymen in rural England about this time. Samuel Walker (1714-61) of Truro, Cornwall, and Thomas Adam (1701-84) of Wintringham, Yorkshire, were close friends although separated from each other by many miles. In a letter to Adam dated February 16, 1755, Walker wrote:

Mr. Romaine, no doubt you have heard of as a popular preacher in London: he hath appeared with boldness, and was particularly so free in the time of the Jew act, that there was talk of his being taken into custody. Some time ago he printed a sermon upon the frequent robberies; wherein he showed, I thought, a very honest heart, though he seemed wanting in the Christian scheme. I am since told, I hope falsely, he is siding with the Moravians.²

The St. Dunstan lecturer's name is now becoming known beyond the confines of London. Walker's reference to Romaine and Moravianism is obscure. His nearest approach to Moravianism was his association with Benjamin Ingham (1712-72) a few years later,³ but Ingham had separated from the Moravians several years before before 1755.⁴

Romaine's sermon mentioned in Walker's letter had been preached at St. Dunstan's, St. George's, and other London churches--A Method For Preventing the Frequency of Robberies and Murders, from the text in Matthew 15:19-20: "Out of the heart proceed evil thoughts, murders, adulteries, fornications, thefts, false-witness, blasphemies: these are the things which defile a man." The sermon was an exposition of the nature of inborn sin and its remedy. His own outline follows:

¹J. W. Laycock, Methodist Heroes in the Great Haworth Round 1734 to 1784 (Keighley: Wadsworth & Co., 1909), p. 215.

²Christian Observer, 1803, 345.

³Infra, p. 130.

⁴L. Tyerman, The Oxford Methodists (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1873), p. 136.

First, It is here asserted, that the heart, the fountain of all our actions, is polluted.

Secondly, The manner in which it became polluted is here plainly implied, and this will lead us,

Thirdly, To enquire into the means of cleansing and purifying it.¹

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Such preaching on the sinfulness of human nature was not often heard in those days, although Romaine quoted the Church's Ninth Article to prove that he was preaching orthodox doctrine. His application was pointed and urgent.

A man does not cheat himself more, who fancies himself to be in good health, when he has been long ill, and is just dying, than he who fancies his heart to be pure, although every thing that flows from it is impure. This is one of the great delusions of sin. It lulls the sinner into a state of security, and tempts him to believe, that his heart is pure and without spot, although it be nothing but corruption and deformity. Whoever is tempted into this belief does not know himself. And if any of you have fallen into this fatal error, I pray God to let you know yourselves: for you are as yet perfect strangers to your own breasts. If you were to see them naked and open, with all the little lurking places, where self-love and vain-glory conceal your failings, the moment you beheld the horrid sight, it would force you to cry out, "Jesus, Master, have mercy on me." Oh! what a blessing would it be, if you would now speak these words from your hearts. I hope you will. And may the Lord God of heaven shew you, what you really are by nature, and then make you what you ought to be by grace.²

Among those who heard Romaine preach at St. Dunstan's that spring was a young man in his thirtieth year. John Newton (1725-1807) had spent a number of years as captain of a slave ship, but God had answered his prayer "that the Lord, in His own time, would be pleased to fix me in a more humane calling,"³ and in 1754 providential circumstances led him to forsake the seafaring life. Early in 1755 Newton and his wife were in London enjoying fellowship with the Evangelicals--preachers and laymen--in the churches of the Establishment, the meetings conducted by

¹William Romaine, A Method for Preventing the Frequency of Robberies and Murders in Romaine's Works, IV, 368.

²Ibid., 386f.

³Josiah Bull, John Newton of Olney and St. Mary Woolnoth (London: The Religious Tract Society, n.d.), p. 61.

Whitefield and Wesley, and the services in Dissenting chapels.

On Thursday, March 20, he wrote in his diary, "Heard Mr. Romaine on Ephes. vi. 14. May God increase the number of faithful labourers where they are so much wanted, and give success to their ministry."¹ More than two years were to pass before Newton began to give serious thought to entering the ministry of the Church.

Early in the year 1755 Romaine published his first book, a series of nine expository sermons on the one hundred and seventh Psalm entitled A Practical Comment on the Hundred and Seventh Psalm. He warned his readers in the preface that the sermons

are not in the least indebted to the boasted light of nature, they borrow no ornaments from the celebrated religion of nature, nor do they receive any aids from the moral scheme; but they are the plain honest truths of scripture, of the christian church, and of the church of England. And yet these great authorities are not sufficient to protect them from contempt, nor to excuse the author from the charge of novelty. He is very sensible of it. He has been long enough acquainted with the received opinions of the age, and he cannot expect any kind of applause, and he thanks God he does not desire it, from the present set of great and learned men. If you are doing right, you will certainly be censured; and if you resolve to do right, you must learn to neglect censure²

He pleaded that "we are departed from the doctrines of the reformation, and yet we keep up our subscriptions to the articles and homilies then established, which are entirely founded upon the certainty of the fall of mankind in Adam, and of their recovery in Jesus Christ."³ The Reformation doctrines, he says, "are now dressed up by our great men in a bear-skin, and baited under the odious nick-name of Enthusiasm, and our people begin to join the cry, and to fancy, that a man must be a little tinctured with

¹Ibid., p. 68.

²William Romaine, A Practical Comment on the Hundred and Seventh Psalm in Romaine's Works, IV, vf.

³Ibid., viii.

enthusiasm, before he will make himself so ridiculous, as to defend these exploded doctrines."¹ Whether or not others feared a nickname from this quarter, Romaine did not. "The ministerial clergy are welcome to call me what they please. I honour their reproach: for I find myself in the best company by leaving theirs."² He included in the best company the whole body of Old and New Testament saints, the primitive fathers, and the martyrs, all of whom embraced these doctrines.

In his preface Romaine took occasion to denounce the Monthly Review, which had seldom a kind word for Methodists³ and Hutchinsonians and had slightly referred to his sermon on A Method for Preventing the Frequency of Robberies and Murders the year before.⁴

Only let me give thee a friendly caution against being misled by a set of infidel writers, who pretend to give characters of books, which they never read, in a thing called the Monthly Review, in which I have seen every sound doctrine of christianity ridiculed and blasphemed, and every damnable heresy openly defended and maintained. I expect no favour from these men. I desire none. To be spoken of well by them would be indeed reproach; their abuses will do me service, and they may load me with enthusiasm, I will carry it patiently, and would suffer any infamy or torment upon earth, rather than be answerable for their horrid blasphemies against Jehovah and his Christ.⁵

The Monthly Review's treatment of Romaine hardly called for such an attack--only partially quoted here. His lack of patience and restraint proved to be the beginning of a feud between the periodical and himself which persisted to his death. James Hervey expressed his disapproval of Romaine's attack in a letter dated April 5, 1755.

¹Ibid., x. ²Ibid., loc. cit.

³In 1767 John Newton's sermons were grudgingly praised as "plain, pious, practical discourses, with a due seasoning of orthodoxy." Monthly Review, XXXVII (October, 1767), 316.

⁴Monthly Review, X (May, 1754), 397f.

⁵Romaine, Practical Comment on the Hundred and Seventh Psalm in Romaine's Works, IV, xxx.

Mr. R[omaine] has let fly upon them, in a Manner that is, I think, more zealous than judicious; such as shews him to be galled by their Invectives, though he professes the contrary; and such as seems to betray Resentment, rather than display a calm and dispassionate Concern for the Truth.¹

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He treated the Psalm as a paeon of rejoicing and thanksgiving for the redemptive work of Christ for sinners, and the sermons were intensely evangelistic in tone. From the fourth verse, "They wandered in the wilderness in a solitary way, they found no city to dwell in, hungry and thirsty, their soul fainted in them," Romaine described the sufferings of a traveller lost on a desert, and continued:

And if you can thus pity another person in this distress, O shut not up the bowels of your compassion against your own selves: for this is indeed your own case. You are this very lost ruined sinner. Every one of you, every son of Adam is, in this wilderness--in it you have lost your way to heaven, and with the best of your natural abilities and reasoning powers cannot find it again: or if you could find it, yet you are not able to walk in it, because you are dying of hunger and thirst, whether you feel it or not: for you have no food from Christ, who says, I am the bread of life, to support your sinful souls, and therefore you must perish with hunger, and you have no grace from the holy Spirit, which is the water of life, and therefore you must perish with thirst. This is by nature the condition of every man who cometh into the world--and whoever thou art, who hast not seen thyself in this condition, thou art still in the waste and howling wilderness. Although the body may lodge in a palace, yet thy poor soul is in a desert: for if thou hast not yet found thy lost estate, thou hast not yet taken one step toward thy recovery.²

Another quotation must suffice to show the character of these sermons.

If you believe what has been said of your fallen estate, and yet have no desire to be redeemed from it, how do you quiet your consciences as to this absurd conduct? you do believe, that man is by nature sinful and miserable, and yet you have no desire to be redeemed from sin and misery, how inconsistent and contradictory is this proceeding? do you chuse then to be in darkness rather than in light? is death preferable to life, or bonds to liberty? Oh miserable man, whom sin thus infatuates! whoever thou art, thou art self-condemned: because thou hast seen thyself fallen, and yet hast no desire to be raised up. By what arguments, what

¹James Hervey, The Works of James Hervey, M.A. (New and complete ed.; 7 vols.; London: F. and C. Rivington, 1797), VII, 35.

²Romaine, Practical Comment on the Hundred and Seventh Psalm in Romaine's Works, IV, 86.

entreaties, shall I prevail with thee? how shall I touch thy heart, and win thy affections, to make thee desire, what thou knowest already thou must desire, before thou canst be happy? blessed Jesus! this is a work above my power. Take it Lord into thine own hand¹

The Monthly Review took no direct notice of this work, but its columns contained short reviews of two published answers to it, both anonymous. Of An Answer to the rev. Mr. Romaine's Comment on the cviiith Psalm the reviewers said, "We have here a modest, candid, and sensible vindication of the literal sense and meaning of the cviiith psalm, in opposition to Romaine's wild and fanatical interpretations."² The second work was written by the Rev. John Douglas (1721-1807), later Bishop of Carlisle and Salisbury, but published anonymously. Its full title was An Apology for the Clergy: With a View to Expose the Groundless Assertions of a Late Commentator on the 107th Psalm; and to Undeceive the Admirers of Certain Popular Declaimers, by Showing the Dangerous Consequences of their Manner of Preaching. The author accused Wesley and Whitefield of preaching "enthusiasm" in their own chapels to escape "episcopal jurisdiction" and predicted that the Hutchinsonians were tending "with large strides towards a separation."³ He decried Romaine's remarks about the clergy and objected to the assumption that there are unbelievers in every congregation. "Now I think," wrote Douglas, "a preacher should take it for granted, that every one of his hearers is a sincere believer in Jesus Christ."⁴ The Monthly Review commented: "Ro[maine], and other Hutchinsonian ranters, having grossly abused the clergy of our established church, in their sermons, in their pamphlets, and in news-papers, for preaching morality, and for other such

¹Ibid., 117f. ²Monthly Review, XII (May, 1755), 399.

³[John Douglas] An Apology for the Clergy (London: S. Bladon, 1755), p. 3.

⁴Ibid., p. 15.

like wicked Anti-Hutchinsonian doings; this apologist offers some things in vindication of the said clergy, and likewise exposes the folly, and dangerous tendency of the principles and practices of our modern enthusiasts, or popular preachers, as they are by some stiled."¹

Shortly after the publication of Douglas's Apology for the Clergy, the same author appeared in print, again anonymously, in a satirical "defense" of Romaine against his own pamphlet. The title of this work was The Destruction of the French Foretold by Ezekiel; or a Commentary on the Thirty-fifth Chapter of That Prophet; Intended as a Specimen of Mr. Romaine's Manner of Interpreting Scripture; with a Word or Two in Vindication of That Gentleman and His Imitators, from the Censure of a Late Apologist for the Clergy, and it was welcomed by the Monthly Review in the following words:

From Ezekiel's prophecy against Mounseir, the ingenious author of this pamphlet draws a humourous application to Mounseir of France; and supports his irony by arguments naturally deduced in the manner of Mr. Romaine; vide his Commentary on the 107th Psalm, mentioned on the Cover of our Review for February last. He makes a merry proposal for incorporating our modern decyphers of Hebrew enigmas, by royal charter, under the name of The president and fellows of the college of state interpreters, with ample salaries annexed; and he points out Mr. Romaine as the properest person in the world for president.²

Romaine also published during the year A Discourse on the Benefit Which the Holy Spirit of God Is of to Man, in His Journey through Life, which he had preached on Whitsun-Monday, May 19, 1755, at Christ Church, Newgate Street, London, pursuant to the will of one Miss Elizabeth Hill, late of Falmouth, Cornwall. The sermon discoursed of the ministry of the Holy Spirit in convicting the unbeliever of sin, his regenerative work, and his guidance in the Christian life. Romaine thus exhorts his hearers and readers:

¹Monthly Review, XII (May, 1755), 399.

²Monthly Review, XII (June, 1755), 479.

If ever you see the face of God with joy, you must be renewed in the spirit of your mind. You must be made just and holy. All this must be done. You must experience it, and you will know it as certainly as you know any truth, with the Holy Spirit bears testimony with your spirits, that you are the children of God.¹

But this doctrine, Romaine reminded them, is now labeled "Enthusiasm"—would they allow that to hinder them from resting in God's truth?

And yet you gave up the scripture, gave up the doctrines of your own church, for fear of a nick-name; nay more, you gave up your hopes of eternal glory. Good God, what magic is there in a name, that it should charm you out of heaven! How dreadful is reproach, if it should terrify you more than hell! . . . Will you give up all that is dear and valuable to avoid a nick-name? Will you lose all the graces and comforts of the Holy Spirit for fear of being called an Enthusiast? . . . the Holy Spirit . . . can so arm you with might in the inner man, that the ridicule of the world will make no impression upon you; nay he can make it sweet, he will enable you even to bear it and love it. God grant you may now seek his strength.²

As for Romaine himself, he declared, "if men will call the plain doctrines of scripture Enthusiasm, and will treat the articles, and homilies, and liturgy of our church as Hutchinsonianism, I hope I shall live and die a Church of England-Hutchinsonian-Enthusiast."³ The Monthly Review disposed of this sermon in a brief comment: "In this discourse Mr. Romaine asserts, that after the understanding is enlightened, and the heart renewed, we have still no power to walk in the ways of holiness, without the special grace of the Holy spirit, whose guidance is necessary every moment, and for every thought, and word, and work.--This is sufficient to characterize it."⁴

A second sermon of Romaine's to be reviewed in the Monthly Review of May, 1755, was A Discourse upon the Self-Existence of Jesus Christ, preached at St. George's, Hanover Square, and St.

¹William Romaine, A Discourse on the Benefit Which the Holy Spirit of God Is of to Man in Romaine's Works, IV, 412f.

²Ibid., 414f. ³Ibid., 392.

⁴Monthly Review, XII (May, 1755), 516.

Dunstan-in-the-West. In the preface to a later edition, the author stated that "before the first edition of this discourse was published, two anonymous authors were greatly offended at the bare title in the advertisement, and they were exceedingly bitter in their invectives against it."¹ These works seem now to be lost. The text for the sermon was the statement of Jesus in John 8:24, "I said therefore unto you, that ye shall die in your sins; for if ye believe not, that I am he, ye shall die in your sins." Romaine noted that the word "he" had been supplied by the translators and went on to prove that in the text Jesus laid claim to the name of God as given to Moses in Exodus 3:14, "Thus shalt thou say unto the children of Israel, I AM hath sent me unto you." The two main heads of the sermon are that Jesus Christ is the self-existent God, and that those who refuse to trust in him will be eternally lost.² He was striking, of course, at the prevalent Socinianism of his day, and his forthright manner of presenting Scripture truth drew the common people to his services, and this and other works went through edition after edition. Romaine invited Arian and Socinian opponents to argue against the preface to the communion service for Trinity Sunday in the Prayer Book.

". . . . O Lord, almighty, everlasting God: Who art one God, one Lord; not one only Person, but three Persons in one Substance. For that which we believe of the glory of the Father, the same we believe of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, without any DIFFERENCE or INEQUALITY." This is my belief, and upon this authority I build the following discourse. If the church of England be mistaken, then I am; but if she be right in asserting, that there is no difference or inequality between the Persons, then I am right in asserting that Jesus Christ has, on good scripture grounds, the same self-existence with the Father without any difference or inequality.³

This sermon was answered by two writers--in 1775 by Richard

¹William Romaine, A Discourse upon the Self-Existence of Jesus Christ in Romaine's Works, VI, 300.

²Ibid., 306. ³Ibid., 300f.

Elliot¹ and in 1789 by George Clark²--with typical Unitarian reasoning.

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During the summer of 1755 resentment toward Romaine on the part of the fashionable parisioners of St. George's, Hanover Square, was on the increase. The church was crowded with lower class people, and the pew holders were able only with great difficulty, if at all, to reach their seats. The Rector found that complaints were pouring in about the type of congregation to which his assistant morning preacher addressed himself. Whitefield now returned from his fifth visit to America and rejoiced at the progress of the Evangelical cause in London. Noting the position of Romaine in the city, he wrote from London on June 7:

Several of the clergy, both in town and country, have been lately stirred up to preach CHRIST crucified, in the demonstration of the spirit and with power. This excites the enmity of the old serpent, which discovers itself in various shapes. The greatest venom is spit out against Mr. R[omaine], who, having been reputed a great scholar, is now looked upon and treated as a great fool; because made wise himself, and earnestly desirous that others also should be made wise to eternal salvation. Methinks I hear you say, O happy folly! May this blessed leaven diffuse and spread itself through the whole nation! The prospect is promising.³

If Whitefield had the Monthly Review in mind, the August issue spat forth more venom in its review of the anonymous Memoirs of Several Ladies of Great Britain. The author of this work seems to have promised in a second volume some remarks on Romaine's Practical Comment on the Hundred and Seventh Psalm, and the Review printed the entire advertisement "as it exhibits, in a very small compass, no bad miniature sketch of that gentleman and his writings."

¹R. Elliot, The Scripture Testimony of Christ (London: J. Johnson, 1775).

²G. Clark, A Defence of the Unity of God (London: J. Johnson, 1789).

³Whitefield's Works, III, 122.

Our Author's ADVERTISEMENT.

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'Whereas one Romaine hath lately published a Comment on the 107th psalm, and with much imprudent zeal, hath delivered his own senseless imaginations for the doctrines of the gospel--hath delivered notions contrary to the word of God, and among other unscriptural fancys and absurdities, (swallowed by an ignorant crowd, his followers) affirms, that human reason was put out by divine illumination, and Christians must abhor a moral rectitude, the eternal truths of natural religion--that they must not believe there is but one God the father; (tho' Christ and St. Paul assert it;)--but, on the contrary, that Jesus Christ is self-existent, and equal with the Father in power and all possible perfections and attributes.--This is to inform the reader, that in the second volume of this work, he will find some proper animadversions on the execrable performance of this bigot and commentator'¹

Affairs at St. George's reached a climax in September, 1755, and the Rector, Dr. Trebeck, asked Romaine to resign from his position as assistant morning preacher. According to Cadogan,

When notice was given him that the crowd of people attending from different parts caused great inconvenience to the inhabitants, who could not safely get to their seats, he received it in the most placid manner, and said, "he was willing to relinquish an office which he had faithfully performed, hoping that his doctrine had been christian, and owning the inconvenience which had attended the parishioners."²

Romaine concluded five years of service at St. George's on Sunday, September 28, 1755.³

¹Monthly Review, XIII (August, 1755), 133.

²Cadogan, Life of Romaine in Romaine's Works, VII, 30.

³Ibid., 30f.

CHAPTER IV

EJECTION FROM ST. GEORGE'S TO THE ST. DUNSTAN'S TRIAL, 1755-60

"Unmoved either by the smiles or the frowns of the world"

When Romaine was ejected from St. George's, Hanover Square, late in September, 1755, he continued to meet, apparently weekly, a number of his hearers in a private home. Haweis mentions that these meetings were held in "the house of a Mr. Butcher, if I am rightly informed," and adds that for this irregularity he was threatened with "a prosecution in the most apostolic court."¹ Lady Huntingdon had been following with interest Romaine's difficulties at St. George's, and she now summoned him to her house in Park Street. There he accepted appointment as her chaplain and began to conduct preaching services, first in her kitchen and later in her drawing room.² Thus began an association between Romaine and Lady Huntingdon which was to extend over a long period of years, during which he spent much of his time preaching in her houses, chapels, or hired rooms--in London and throughout England. The Countess, while completely in accord with the Church of England--both as to doctrine and organization--soon began to use her increasing number of chaplains in preaching missions. Romaine was one of the foremost of her helpers in this "irregular" type of ministry. Cadogan, because of his Hutchinson-

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¹Thomas Haweis, The Life of William Romaine, M.A. (London: T. Chapman, 1797), p. 52.

²[Aaron Crossley Hobart Seymour] The Life and Times of Selina Countess of Huntingdon (2 vols.; London: William Edward Painter, 1844), I, 132f.

ian High Church background, fails in his biography of Romaine to mention in any way the latter's long period of association with Lady Huntingdon.

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The latter half of 1755 found the English people in a state of fearful apprehension of a French invasion. For some time English and French colonists in America had been at swords' points, and the rescue effort under Major-General Edward Braddock (1695-1755) had ended in defeat with his death on July 13. The patrolling of the Atlantic sea routes by the British and their capture of French prizes resulted in a speeding up of French ship building. This spelled invasion to the English, and channel defences were set up. John Wesley offered to raise a company of two hundred Methodist soldiers to help stem the tide in case of invasion.¹ The panic of the people was trebled by the news of the destruction of Lisbon, Portugal, by an earthquake on November 1 with the loss of over 30,000 lives. The Bishop of London, Thomas Sherlock (1678-1761), in a letter to the clergy urged the latter to provide definite spiritual leadership in the crisis:

As to you my brethren of the clergy, who share with me the care of souls in these populous cities, let me exhort you (though I trust you want not to be exhorted) to awaken the people, to call them from the lethargy in which they have too long lived, and make them see their own danger. Speak to them, persuade them, as knowing the terrors of the Lord. Speak to their hearts and consciences with such plainness as becomes the ministers of the gospel; tell them in season and out of season, that unless they repent, they must perish. If the warnings we have had are a call to the people to repentance, remember they are still stronger calls on us to preach repentance, and to discharge the duty we owe to God and his church, and to the flock of Christ over whom we are placed.²

On November 30 Romaine preached a sermon at St. Dunstan's from Amos 4:12, "Prepare to meet thy God." It was published soon

¹John S. Simon, John Wesley and the Advance of Methodism (London: The Epworth Press, 1925), pp. 307f.

²Quoted in William Romaine, An Alarm to a Careless World in Works of the Late Reverend William Romaine, A.M. (8 vols.; London: T. Chapman, 1796), V, 229f.

afterward under the title, An Alarm to a Careless World. The author's outline follows:

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First, We here learn that God our Saviour, who once came in great humility to visit us, is now preparing to meet us in judgment. And

Secondly, We should therefore be prepared to meet him. And

Thirdly, I shall endeavor to stir you up to the true gospel preparation, that whenever our Saviour comes, you may lift up your heads with joy, knowing that your redemption draweth nigh.¹

He drew attention to the signs of Christ's return recently fulfilled--of wars and rumours of wars, of pestilence, of earthquakes--but most significant of all, "the present decay of religion among us; this renders the rest more terrible, and makes it to be feared, that as we are ripe for destruction, so we may soon expect to have our candlestick removed: 'for when the Son of Man cometh, shall he find faith upon the earth?' says Christ."² He continued:

There will be so little, that he shall scarce find any. The true saving faith will be diminished from among the children of men! and it has for some time been banished out of the popish countries, and the reformed churches have lately fallen sadly from the faith, and have preserved very little more of christianity than the mere name: and in our own church we have kept up the form of godliness, but we are so far from having the power, that we deny any person can have it, and the few, who say they have it, are treated as madmen and enthusiasts.³

The preacher urged the necessity of preparing for future judgment by placing their "whole trust and confidence in the sufferings and death of Jesus Christ."⁴

A second sermon occasioned by contemporary events, The Duty of Watchfulness Enforced, was preached on December 14 and published early in 1756. From his text in Matthew 25:13, "Watch therefore, for ye know neither the day nor the hour wherein the Son of man cometh," Romaine emphasized the importance for the Christian of a life of daily watchfulness.

¹Ibid., 337 ²Ibid., 341. ³Ibid., loc. cit.

⁴Ibid., 356.

I define watchfulness to be that ready and prepared temper of mind, with which the believer is always waiting for his being called out of this world. He watches and is ready and prepared, because he knows that he shall be called soon. If no judgment should cut him off before he reach to the full age of man, yet he sees death approaching; and put it at the greatest distance, yet the eye of faith can bring it near: for what are threescore years and ten?¹

The sermon followed the same tenor as the first. A reference to his experience at St. George's, Hanover Square, illustrated his charge that many people frequent play-houses "to quiet conscience, and to lull it to sleep."²

And yet these very persons, who would not go to a play, unless they knew it would be a full house, are very angry at a full church; nay so very angry that they will not come to church, if it be full: nay so exceedingly angry, that I know some of them, who think the minister should be starved, and they will do what they can to starve him, who happens to have a crowded congregation.³

The unsaved were urged to seek peace of mind in Christ and his salvation.

I am now speaking to these persons who are alarmed at the signs of the times, and begin to be concerned about the salvation of their souls. You want to have your hearts established, that you may not be afraid of any evil tidings, but whenever your Lord comes may be found watching. He that put this good desire into your minds, will place you secure upon the rock of ages, if you wait upon him. When you are once united to Jesus Christ by faith, you are then out of the reach of every calamity. Nothing can hurt you: for the guilt of sin, from whence all your danger comes, is taken out of the conscience.⁴

In the beginning of the year 1756 Romaine replaced his lost position at St. George's with another at St. Olave's Church, Southwark, where he became curate and morning preacher.⁵ The church granted him the use of its rectory house, and there for a year he and Mrs. Romaine made their home. He continued his lectures at St. Dunstan-in-the-West, where the rector, William Gib-

¹William Romaine, The Duty of Watchfulness Enforced in Romaine's Works, 363. v

²Ibid., 370.

³Ibid., loc. cit.

⁴Ibid., 381.

⁵William Bromley Cadogan, The Life of the Rev. William Romaine, M.A. in Romaine's Works, VII, 45.

son (d. 1758),¹ seemed to allow him freedom of utterance. Besides his church duties and his preaching in Lady Huntingdon's kitchen, Romaine preached occasionally at Oxford.

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On April 11 Romaine preached two sermons at Oxford² from I Corinthians 3:11, "For other foundation can no man lay than that is laid, which is Jesus Christ," in which he elaborated upon the following outline--two points in each sermon.

First, Jesus Christ is the foundation of all saving knowledge.

Secondly, He is the foundation of all acceptance with God the Father.

Thirdly, He is the foundation of all holy obedience. And

Fourthly, He is the foundation of all present and eternal happiness.³

These sermons, together entitled The Sure Foundation, were anything but typical Oxford sermons; on the contrary, they were warmly Evangelical in tone. Romaine spoke plainly about sin. Men "have not a deep conviction of their lost estate by nature, which occasions their not feeling in its proper light the necessity of their recovery by grace."⁴ He thundered against the rationalists, "Jesus Christ will be exalted among you in proportion as the religion of nature falls in esteem."⁵ "Happy will it be for this place, if the noble company of his servants should increase, until the religion of nature has not one admirer left."⁶ He assured the Unitarians that

the christian worships one God in trinity, and trinity in unity; but this is rank idolatry with the natural man, who adores one supreme being, a metaphysical divinity, existing in one person, with certain imaginary attributes⁷

This may have been the occasion referred to by the Rev. Thomas

¹George Hennessy, Novum Repertorium Ecclesiasticum Parochiale Londinense (London: Swan Sonnenschein, 1898), p. 138.

²The first sermon was preached in the morning at St. Mary's and the second at St. Peter's in the afternoon. William Romaine, The Sure Foundation in Romaine's Works, IV, 231.

³Ibid., 242. ⁴Ibid., 258. ⁵Ibid., 266.

⁶Ibid., loc. cit. ⁷Ibid., 267.

Bliss (1738-1802), son of the Professor of Astronomy at Oxford, afterward the Evangelical Rector at Ashford, near Barnstaple, Devonshire.

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When I was about sixteen years of age (said he, in a late conversation with him) I heard Mr. Romaine preach a sermon in the city of Oxford, in which he advanced, with great earnestness, most of the principal gospel-doctrines. I was so completely exasperated at this mode of preaching, that I could have found it in my heart to have torn him to pieces. About ten days after (continued he) under a sermon delivered by Dr. Haweis, my views of divine things, my sensations, the objects of my love and hatred, were all totally changed; and I cordially embraced and relished those very doctrines which before I detested and abhorred.¹

Older and more seasoned listeners than Thomas Bliss must have been exasperated with Romaine, for within less than a year the London lecturer was excluded from the university pulpits.

The trouble with France led England to declare war on May 18, 1756, and France followed suit on June 9. The Seven Years' War which followed, to use Parkman's words, proved to be "the most terrible conflict of the eighteenth century; one that convulsed Europe and America, India, the coasts of Africa, and the islands of the sea."² The burden of the times was much upon Romaine's heart, and he spent much time in prayer for the spiritual and moral welfare of his country. He now felt himself led of God to organize a weekly prayer period for the purpose of interceding with God for England, a project which lay close to his heart throughout life and became one of his greatest contributions to the Evangelical Revival. Eleven years later he described the beginning of his prayer hour plan.

In the year 1756, a weekly hour of prayer was agreed upon by several religious clergy and laity, in order to humble ourselves under the mighty hand of God, till he should be pleased to put a stop to the calamities of that time. He did hear us, glory be to

¹Anonymous, "Memoir of the Rev. Thomas Bliss, A.B.," Evangelical Magazine, X (September, 1802), 338.

²Francis Parkman, Montcalm and Wolfe (2 vols.; London: J. M. Dent & Co., n.d.), I, 225.

a prayer-hearing God, and he turned our supplications into praises.¹

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When Britain was delivered from threatened dangers the prayer hour was devoted to intercession for the Church. Many years later Romaine told how "himself and three others agreed to spend one hour in the week, at a stated time, in prayer for the revival of the power of Godliness in the established-church."² This prayer effort was not organized—some of his brethren met with Romaine to pray, but most of those who united in the project prayed at the appointed hour in their own homes. This seems to have been the first rallying point for the Evangelicals within the Church of England.

Romaine also began at about the same time another life-long interest—his "clergy's litany"—in which he prayed by name for his friends among the awakened clergy. He himself says that

once a week, on Friday, I have what I call the clergy's litany. In which, after general petitions for the out-pouring of the Spirit upon all the ministers of our church, I make mention by name of those my fellow-labourers, whom God has highly honoured in making them faithful and useful in the ministry. As I go over their names, recommending them to the care, and their people to the blessing of our Glorious Head, it is my custom to ask particularly for them, such things as I know or hear they want.³

Vaughan tells how Romaine devoted two hours to this practice.

"He had their names written down on paper, and used to walk about his room, mentioning them one by one, and specifying their wants as far as he knew them."⁴ In later years he added a "love's litany" for his lay friends, and his letters often speak of his joy in praying for his friends in this unusual way.

¹Cadogan, Life of Romaine in Romaine's Works, VII, 54.

²Anonymous, "Memoir of the Late Rev. William Romaine, A.M.," The Evangelical Magazine, III (November, 1795), 449.

³Cadogan, op. cit., VII, 54f.

⁴Edward Thomas Vaughan, Some Account of the Reverend Thomas Robinson, M.A. (London: Sherwood, Neely, and Jones, 1816), p. 249.

The Romaines' first son was born in London late in May or early in June, 1756, and was baptized in St. Olave's, Southwark, on June 4.¹ The child was given his father's name, William, and following in his father's footsteps he became a minister in the Church of England upon reaching manhood.

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John Wesley's Methodist societies were multiplying rapidly throughout Great Britain. Lay preachers were being used more extensively year by year. The name "Methodist" was applied indiscriminately to all whose preaching was marked by the common Evangelical doctrines. This made for some confusion, and Wesley occasionally took opportunity to express his feelings on the subject. An example of this may be seen in his letter of September 9, 1756, to the Monthly Reviewers, in which he wrote:

Is it prudent, is it just, is it humane, to jumble whole bodies of people together and condemn them by the lump? Is it not a maxim now almost universally received that there are good and bad in every society? Why, then, do you continually jumble together and condemn by the lump the whole body of people called Methodists?²

After defending some of his hymns, he continued:

Perhaps you may say you have been provoked. By whom? 'By Mr. Romaine.' I answer, I am not Mr. Romaine; neither am I accountable for his behaviour. And what equity is this? One man had offended you: therefore you fall upon another. Will it excuse you to say, 'But he is called by the same name'? especially when neither is this his own name, but a term of derision. Gentlemen, do to others as you would have them do to you³

The Monthly Review meanwhile ignored Romaine's single printed sermons, reserving comment for his larger works.

Toward the end of 1756 Romaine published, at the request of the congregation of St. Olave's, The Parable of the Dry Bones, a sermon preached there on October 24. After admitting at the

¹St. Olave's, Southwark, Parish Register.

²John Wesley, The Letters of the Rev. John Wesley, A.M., ed. John Telford (Standard ed.; 8 vols.; London: The Epworth Press, 1931), III, 196.

³Ibid., 198f.

outset that the text in Ezekiel 37 prefigures the restoration of Israel, he maintained that "God's outward dealings with the Jewish church were a type and figure of his spiritual dealings with the christian church."¹ The sermon is an appeal to those who are dead in sins.

We are reckoned visionaries and madmen, and what not, because after his [Ezekiel's] example we preach the word of the Lord to the dead, When we tell sinners, that they are all dead, dead to God, dead to grace, and may soon die to glory; and when we call upon them in the name of the Lord to awaken from the dead sleep of sin, that Christ may give them life, then they may mock and ridicule. The same men would have made as great a jest of the prophet, if they had seen him preaching to a congregation of dry bones. But he preached as he was commanded, and so do we. Lord grant the success may be the same.²

Mere membership in the Church of England meant nothing, said Romaine, unless the Holy Spirit had quickened the dead sinner into spiritual life.

You may belong to the best constituted church upon earth, which has sound articles and creeds like strong bones and sinews, and flesh upon them, and which has a good liturgy, and decent public worship, like a fair skin to cover all; and yet in this communion your soul may be dead: for these external privileges cannot give the breath of life to the soul. "It is the spirit that quickeneth, the flesh profiteth nothing . . ."³

The sermon closed with a powerful personal appeal to find the parable fulfilled in the life of every hearer. Through this sermon John Valton (1740-94), later one of Wesley's outstanding lay preachers, was convicted of sin at about the age of twenty.

One day I met with Mr. Romaine's Sermons (was not this Book providentially put into my Hands to shew me the means to attain Salvation?) I read the Sermon on the Dry Bones but which I thought it impossible to live up to what was therein required, being amongst Friends who would laugh at me, and would stigmatise me with the odious Epithet of Methodist.⁴

George Whitefield opened his Tottenham Court Chapel in what was then a thinly settled section of north London on Novem-

¹William Romaine, The Parable of the Dry Bones in Romaine's Works, IV, 342.

²Ibid., 346. ³Ibid., 348.

⁴John Valton, Autobiography, MS.

ber 7, 1756. The substantial brick building was a center of Evangelical activity for many years. On December 30 Whitefield wrote to a friend, "A neighbouring Doctor hath baptized the place, calling it "Whitefield's Soul-trap." pray the friend of sinners to make it a soul-trap indeed, to many wandering creatures."¹

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The Chapel did not displace the Moorfields Tabernacle; services were now conducted in both locations. Romaine seems never to have preached for either Whitefield or Wesley in their London chapels although he was on friendly terms with them. John Berridge (1716-93), warm friend of Romaine's and Vicar of Everton, Bedfordshire, said in 1763 that "neither the hospital chaplains [the Rev. Martin Madan and Thomas Haweis] nor the vicar of St. Dunstan's cared (we quote Mr. Berridge) to peep into the Tottenham pulpit."² Romaine's strong attachment to the Church of England apparently would not allow him to participate, in London, at any rate, in the irregular activities of his friends.

The Romaines moved from the rectory house of St. Olave's, Southwark, to a house on Walnut Tree Walk, Lambeth, about the beginning of 1757. Cadogan's description of their new home seems strangely incongruous to one acquainted with modern Walnut Tree Walk, heavily built up with housing projects as it is.

Here he [Romaine] had a delightful retreat, in which he spent some of the happiest of his years. A little garden, which he dressed, kept, and planted; and as he viewed the productions of it with faith, and received them with thankfulness, he converted it into another Eden.³

For eleven years the Romaines' Lambeth home was a rendezvous for their Evangelical friends. At his early breakfasts Romaine re-

¹George Whitefield, The Works of the Reverend George Whitefield, M.A. (6 vols.; London: Edward and Charles Dilly, 1771-72), III, 196f.

²[Seymour] Life and Times of the Countess of Huntingdon, I, 358.

³Cadogan, Life of Romaine in Romaine's Works, VII, 45.

ceived "serious candidates for orders, and his younger brethren in the ministry."¹ The names of many well known clergy might be listed here—men who in their earlier years sat at Romaine's table and nourished both body and soul. He thus imparted something of himself—of his faith—to a younger generation of Evangelical preachers, who were to carry on after his work was finished.

Except when upon his preaching tours, Romaine led a quiet and regular life. Haweis says that "he rose during the last fifty years of his life at five o'clock, breakfasted at six, dined at one on some plain dish, and often, as I have seen, on cold meat and a pudding, drank little or no wine, supped at eight and retired at nine."² He was averse to needless interruptions, often appearing brusque and unsympathetic on that account. As the years passed he grew more mellow. His family devotions were times of great spiritual refreshment, and visitors were always happy to be invited to be present. Very little is known of the family life of the Romaines. His letters mention scarcely anything of family conditions apart from general statements as to health. An obituary for Mrs. Romaine in the Gentleman's Magazine states that the Romaines had two sons and a daughter.³ The name of the second son, Adam, who died in Ceylon in 1782 would be unknown but for the War Office lists.⁴ Nothing whatever is known of the "daughter, also dead."⁵

In the year 1757 Romaine widened the influence of his prayer hour by publishing An Earnest Invitation to the Friends of the Established Church, to Join, with Several of Their Brethren, Clergy and Laity, in London, in Setting Apart One Hour of Every

¹Ibid., loc. cit. ²Haweis, Life of Romaine, p. 84.

³Gentleman's Magazine, LXXI (October, 1801), 965.

⁴Infra, p. 273. ⁵Gentleman's Magazine, loc. cit.

Week, for Prayer and Supplication, during the Present Troublesome Times. Bishop Ryle calls this tract "one of the most useful publications that Romaine ever sent forth" and adds that "there is strong reason to believe that this little publication was made eminently useful when it first appeared, and has led to an amazing succession of supplications, intercessions, and prayers down to the present day."¹ The author called upon true Christians to spend one hour weekly on Sunday evening in prayer, humbling themselves before God, confessing personal and national sins, and praying God's blessings upon Britain and her people in the time of her great need. That Romaine's heart was warm toward those outside the Established Church is evidenced by the following quotation:

May the God of love dispose us also to pray fervently for all the protestant dissenting congregations, which love the Lord Jesus in sincerity. May he shed that love abroad in all our souls, which alone can effectually free us from party spirit.²

He urged his readers to "determine, through God's assistance, that nothing shall hinder you from joining us. Break through all engagements, all hindrances to meet the Lord's people at the throne of grace."³ The pamphlet was reprinted in 1779 and 1795.

Two examples of contemporary responses to the Earnest Invitation may be noted here. John Newton, still a layman, wrote to a friend in 1758:

I thank you for Mr. Romaine's book. I have endeavoured to observe his appointment, as likewise the Dissenters' hour on Wednesday mornings. Blessed be God for a prevailing Intercessor, a great High Priest, who bears all our prayers and all our concerns before the throne. The times are indeed dark.⁴

¹J. C. Ryle, The Christian Leaders of the Last Century (London: T. Nelson and Sons, 1899), p. 178.

²William Romaine, An Earnest Invitation to the Friends of the Established Church in Romaine's Works, II, 434.

³Ibid., 432.

⁴Josiah Bull, John Newton of Olney and St. Mary Woolnoth

At about the same time the Rev. James Hervey wrote to a correspondent from Weston Favell:

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My dear Friend,--I am much obliged to you for your donation of thirty shillings to purchase five hundred of "An Earnest Invitation to the Friends of the Established Church," &c. I have put the money into the hands of one who loves our Lord Jesus in sincerity, and who will take care that the pamphlet is properly dispersed according to our desires. 'Tis an excellent design. I daily beg of God to bless it; for what he vouchsafes to bless, will be blessed indeed.

Inclosed I send you a form of prayer, founded on the plan laid down in the Earnest Invitation, &c. 'Twas transmitted to me last night by a pious clergyman, who, I believe, was himself the author of it. You may get one of your sons to transcribe it, if you do not have leisure enough to do it yourself, and permit such serious persons to take copies, as you think will make a proper use of it.¹

Simultaneously with An Earnest Invitation Romaine published anonymously The Duty of Praying for Others. This sermon consists of practical exhortations to united prayer based upon the account in Acts 12 of Peter's deliverance from prison in answer to the concerted prayers of the Church. He appealed to all Christians to devote their Sunday evenings to prayer upon returning from worship.

Go to the throne of grace at the appointed hour, and use your interest with him that sitteth upon the throne. Don't spend your evening in talking of other men's matters, but mind your own duty. The less they mind theirs, the more should you pray for them. And instead of prating, as I have heard many professors of religion prate, "Oh that we might have more public fasts, more public meetings for prayer, more general reformations, &c." get into thy closet, and set about thy own reformation as soon as thou wilt. Pray and fast, as long as thou wilt, and the more thou growest in grace, the more wilt thou pray for others, as well as thyself. Let us all then with one heart and one voice now begin, and God grant we may pray without ceasing, as they did in the text, until we obtain the like deliverance.²

Romaine appeared for the last time in the Oxford University pulpit on March 20, 1757. He treated one text, Isaiah 45:8,

(London: The Religious Tract Society, n.d.), p. 100.

¹James Hervey, Letters of the Rev. James Hervey, A.M. (Edinburgh: John Grieg, 1845), pp. 433f.

²[William Romaine] The Duty of Praying for Others in Romaine's Works, VI, 209.

at both the morning service at St. Mary's and the afternoon service at St. Peter's:

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Drop down, ye heavens, from above, and let the skies pour down righteousness: let the earth open, and let them bring forth salvation, and let righteousness spring up together; I the Lord have created it.

In the sermons, published the same year as The Lord Our Righteousness, he likened the sinful condition of the natural man to the dry and barren earth after a long drought. True righteousness is from above, and the sinner can only receive it from God as the dry earth does the refreshing rain. The result is salvation and a life that pleases God because it is God-empowered. The sermons are strongly Calvinistic in tone, emphasizing God's sovereignty in bestowing upon helpless man all the graces of heaven. Romaine often quotes the Articles and Homilies to show that he is preaching the doctrine of the Church. He aimed his shafts at the University:

. . . how seldom do we hear any thing from the pulpit about original sin, or about there being none righteous, no not one. Instead of this antiquated doctrine, what is more common than to hear declamations upon the sufficiency of human reason in matters of religion, upon the dignity of human nature and upon moral rectitude? And is it not the general scope of young preaching to recommend practical duties, as necessary terms and conditions of our justification before God? Is this the case, my brethren, or is it not? Certainly you know it is. Have you not heard reason extolled as a sufficient guide in matters of religion, contrary to the express word of God, which declares that the natural man receiveth not the things of the Spirit of God, nor while he continues a natural man, can he know them, let him pretend to reason ever so much about them?¹

After a heavy indictment of the Church for having substituted human reason for God's righteousness in Christ, the author closed with the following challenge:

Is this our religious situation, or is it not? Let matter of fact speak. Are the celebrated books, in which youth are now lectured, written in the protestant spirit against the merit of works, and tending to establish the righteousness of Christ? Is

¹William Romaine, The Lord Our Righteousness in Romaine's Works, VI, 169f.

this also the general scope of our preaching? Is it our righteousness, or God's that we seek to establish? Let experience answer. And it answers loud enough--We hear man's righteousness echoed from the pulpit and from the press--and in this protestant church--in this sound and best constituted church upon earth, too many of her sons have learnt to reject the fundamental doctrine, upon which she was established. When we are thus departing and falling away from our first principles, it seemed to me necessary to call upon you, as christian men to embrace, and as members of our church, to defend them. Whoever amongst us seeks justification through Christ's righteousness, cannot be offended at what I have said--and I would offend those, who seek for justification without Christ's righteousness. I would gladly stir them up and provoke them to examine their principles, and to try whether they can trust their eternity upon them. If they trust to their own righteousness, they are lost forever. If there be any truth in God--if there be any reliance upon his word, there is no righteousness but Christ's, wherein sinners can appear without spot of sin at the bar of justice. . . . Trust to it, and God the Father will see you perfect in beauty, through the comeliness which Christ will put upon you. Reject it, and think of appearing before him with the least stain of sin, he is of purer eyes than to behold you. . . . Oh that his good spirit may practically convince every one who hears me this day, of his want of some better righteousness, than his own, and may he enable us to wait upon the Lord our righteousness, until the text be fulfilled in us.¹

Among the students who heard Romaine was Thomas Haweis (1734-1820), then in his early twenties, who "heard him preach with delight."² Haweis had been converted earlier under the ministry of Samuel Walker, Evangelical Rector of Truro, Cornwall. The latter wrote to Thomas Adam of Winttingham in April, 1757, that

Tom Haweis, is at Christ Church, and doing service among a few young gentlemen there. He tells me today, he is remarked as a dangerous fellow; and adds, that Romaine has again been in the University pulpit, where he preached imputed righteousness, but it is said will be allowed to preach no more there.³

He wrote more definitely to Lady Huntingdon on October 25, "Mr. Romaine has been preaching in the University pulpit, but his doctrine cannot be endured, and he will not be permitted to

¹Ibid., 184f.

²[Seymour] Life and Times of the Countess of Huntingdon I, 226.

³Edwin Sidney, The Life and Ministry of the Rev. Samuel Walker, B.A. (2n ed.; London: R. B. Seeley and W. Burnside, 1838), p. 329.

preach there again."¹ Young Haweis and his spiritual father were right in reporting that Romaine would not preach again at Oxford. His doctrine had offended the authorities, and he had been excluded from the University pulpit. Romaine prefixed the following letter to The Lord Our Righteousness:

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To the Rev. Dr. [Thomas] Randolph [1701-83], Vice-chancellor of the University of Oxford, and President of Corpus Christi College.

When I delivered these discourses, I had no design to make them public; but I have been since compelled to it. I understand they gave great offence, especially to you, and I was in consequence thereof refused the university pulpit. In justice, not to myself, for I desire to be out of the question, but to the great doctrine here treated of, namely, the righteousness of the Lord Jesus, as the only ground of our acceptance and justification before God the father, I have sent to the press what was delivered from the pulpit. I leave the friends of our church to judge, whether there be any thing herein advanced contrary to scripture, and to the doctrines of the reformation. If not, I am safe. If there be, you are bound to make it appear. You have a good pen, and you have great leisure. Make use of them; and I hope and pray you may use them for your good and mine.

I am, with my constant and hearty prayers for the university's prosperity, Mr. Vice-Chancellor,

Your humble Servant in Christ,

WILLIAM ROMAINE.²

Thus ended Romaine's service as preacher to the University.

Haweis, who was ordained in 1757 and became Curate of St. Mary Magdalene, Oxford, dates his personal acquaintance with Romaine from this period. In his Life of Romaine he gives a description of his friend as he first knew him.

His stature was of the middling size, his visage thin and marked, the lines of his face were strong, and as he advanced in age, deeply furrowed; his eye was quick and keen, yet his aspect benign, and frequently smiling; his manners were plain; I thought his address rather rough than polished: he dressed in a way peculiar to himself; he wore a suit of blue cloth always, a grey wig without powder, and generally but a poor one; and I remember

¹The Harbinger: or, New Magazine of the Countess of Huntingdon's Connexion, XLIII (June, 1866), 149.

²Romaine, The Lord Our Righteousness in Romaine's Works, VI, 145f.

³Haweis, Life of Romaine, p. 76f.

to have been struck, when I first met him, with seeing him comb it himself in the vestry at St. Dunstan's before the service began--he latterly wore a better: his stockings were coarse and blue, as his cloaths; I doubt whether they were yarn or worsted.¹

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According to Haweis, this was the period when Romaine began to disassociate himself from the Hutchinsonians. Allowance must be made at this point for Haweis's keen dislike for the Hutchinsonian system. No doubt it was true that Romaine's "zeal, spirituality, and labours had left them far behind," but to charge them with being "wrapped up in notions, formality, and bigotry"² is bigotry itself. Haweis accuses the Hutchinsonians of being "studious to steer clear of the growing stigma of Methodism, and looking for preferments, and good things of the Church, unattainable in the course Mr. Romaine was determined to pursue."³ Cadogan, himself Hutchinsonian in background, says that Romaine's former friends called him "the departed brother" and felt that his zeal had led him into "serious mistakes and irregularities."⁴ Romaine never lost the love for the Hebrew Old Testament and the allegorizing method he learned from the Hutchinsonians. Newton once wrote to the Rev. William Howell, "Mr. Romaine is much of a Hutchinsonian; but when he preaches in that strain I do not think his sermons so edifying as those which he delivers in the more usual and popular way."⁵

In the spring of 1757, upon returning to London with her family, Lady Huntingdon opened her house twice weekly for preaching services. Romaine, Martin Madan, and Henry Venn were the chief preachers for some time. Seymour gives a long list of the nobility who attended these meetings. Whitefield wrote her that

¹Ibid., pp. 76f. ²Ibid., p. 65. ³Ibid., loc. cit.

⁴Cadogan, Life of Romaine in Romaine's Works, VII, 36f.

⁵John Newton, Letters by the Rev. John Newton, ed. Josiah Bull (London: The Religious Tract Society, n.d.), pp. 202f.

he rejoiced "in the increase of your Ladyship's spiritual routs. I can guess at the consolation such uncommon scenes must afford to your Ladyship's new-born soul."¹ At Lady Huntingdon's house Romaine first was introduced to William Legge, second Earl of Dartmouth (1731-1801), Evangelical layman. Dartmouth, while lending support and influence to the Revival movement, rose in the Government to Privy Councillor in 1765, Colonial Secretary from 1772 to 1775, and Lord Privy Seal from 1775 to 1782.

Lord Dartmouth, influenced doubtless by Lady Huntingdon's example, had opened his Cheltenham house for services twice a week. His chaplain, the Rev. George Downing, had been excluded from the pulpit of the parish church because of his faithful preaching and now officiated in the Earl's house. The latter wrote to Lady Huntingdon:

I wish (says he) your Ladyship would use your influence with Mr. Whitefield and Mr. Romaine to pay us a visit. Mr. Stillingfleet has been obliged to return to Oxford to attend to some indispensable duties, and I know not where to direct to Mr. Madan or Mr. Venn. Mr. Talbot² has promised to come as soon as possible, and next month I expect good Mr. Walker, of Truro. . . . I hope shortly we shall have a large place, for I have no hopes of again obtaining the use of the parish church.³

Whitefield responded to this request,⁴ but apparently Romaine did not.

The earliest evidence of Romaine's itinerant preaching is found at this time. During the year 1757 the Countess of Huntingdon engaged Romaine and Madan to undertake a series of evangelistic tours which took them, probably during the summer, through Hertfordshire, Bedfordshire, and Buckinghamshire, preaching wherever they found opportunity. In Warwickshire they were joined by

¹[Seymour] Life and Times of the Countess of Huntingdon I, 228.

²Infra, p. 237. ³[Seymour] op. cit., I, 429.

⁴L. Tyerman, The Life of the Rev. George Whitefield (2d ed.; 2 vols.; London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1890), II, 400.

the Rev. William Talbot (1717-74) of Kineton, and the three carried their campaign into Worcestershire and Gloucestershire.¹

1757
Age 42

Summertime found Romaine on periodic visits to his parents in the north. That he let his light shine in his old home community is shown in an entry in John Wesley's journal on July 4, 1757.

We took horse at two [from Durham]. The clouds and wind in our face kept us cool till we came to Hartlepool. Mr. Romaine has been an instrument of awakening several here; but for want of help they soon slept again. I preached in the main street to near all the town, and they behaved with seriousness.²

This was the year that Romaine's father died, but as his earliest extant^{family} letters date from 1758, no record survives of his reaction to this event. His mother lived until 1771, and until that time he regularly visited Hartlepool.

The dividing of the Revival forces on Calvinism and Arminianism did not affect the friendly feeling between Romaine and the Wesleys. On September 21, 1757, Charles Wesley in a letter to his wife from London makes the first of a number of references over a period of years to visits with Romaine. "Yesterday I dined with Mr. Madan and Mr. Romaine, and had much fellowship with them in prayer. Both send greetings."³ John Wesley undertook to defend himself and Romaine, together with other preachers of salvation by faith, against the aspersions cast upon them by Robert Sandeman (1718-71) during this year. Sandeman, son-in-law of John Glas (1695-1773), had published a 500 page criticism of Hervey's Theron and Aspasio entitled Letters on Theron and Aspasio. Published under the pseudonym of Palaemon the work stirred

¹[Seymour] op. cit., I, 428f.

²John Wesley, The Journal of the Rev. John Wesley, A.M., ed. Nehemiah Curnock (Standard ed.; 8 vols.; London: The Epworth Press, 1938), IV, 222.

³Charles Wesley, The Journal of the Rev. Charles Wesley, M.A., ed. Thomas Jackson (2 vols.; Wesleyan Methodist Book-Room, n.d.), II, 217.

up wide discussion, and a controversy developed, accompanied by a literature of its own.¹ The chief tenet of Glas and Sandeman, held by their followers to this day, was that saving faith is simply mental assent to the truth of the gospel. Sandeman denied as "salvation by works" any appeal to the unsaved to turn to, or seek, Christ; such appeals he styled "popular doctrine." One passage from his book is now quoted:

Throughout these letters, I consider all those as teachers of the popular doctrine, who seek to have credit and influence among the people, by resting our acceptance with God, not simply on what Christ hath done, but more or less on the use we make of him, the advance we make toward him, or some secret desire, wish, or sigh to do so; or on something we feel or do concerning him, by the assistance of some kind of grace or spirit; or lastly, on something we employ him to do, and suppose he is yet to do for us. In sum, all who would have us to be conscious of something else than the bare truth of the gospel; all who would have us to be conscious of some beginning of a change to the better, or some desire, however faint, toward such change, in order to our acceptance with God; these I call popular preachers, however much they may differ from each other about faith, and grace, special or common, or about any thing else.²

Sandeman quoted from the works of many of the "popular preachers," including Wesley and Romaine. He took exception to Romaine's question, "When the blessed Jesus invites, when he presses you to accept health and salvation at his hands, what can tempt you to reject his gracious offer?"³ Sandeman's comment on this passage was as follows: "Thus it would seem our devotion must be animated by the consideration of the great goodness and condescension of the Deity manifested in sending us the precious person of a clergyman, as his representative, to waste his lungs for an hour or two upon us."⁴ On November 1, 1757, Wesley answered Sandeman's

¹See list of works in L. Tyerman, The Oxford Methodists (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1873), pp. 313f.

²[Robert Sandeman] Palaemon, Letters on Theron and Aspasio (2d ed., 2 vols.; Edinburgh: Sands, Donaldson, Murray, and Cochrane, 1759), II, 481.

³William Romaine, A Practical Comment on the Hundred and Seventh Psalm in Romaine's Works, IV, 143.

⁴[Sandeman] Palaemon, op. cit., II, 451.

book with a letter to him entitled "A Sufficient Answer to Letters to the Author of 'Theron and Aspasio.'" Wesley had not agreed with Hervey as to his emphasis upon the imputed righteousness of Christ and had even written A Letter to the Rev. Mr. Hervey¹ against his Theron and Aspasio, but he now found himself much more closely allied doctrinally to Hervey than to Sandeman. He told Sandeman that he was "a gross, willful slanderer," that he did not know what faith is, that he contradicted himself, and that he neither had charity¹ or knew what it means.² Under each of these subdivisions Wesley refuted his opponent's statements, ably defending the Evangelical doctrine of faith.

Romaine published a third tract in 1757, A Seasonable Antidote Against Popery, in answer to those who pretend to be enemies of the Roman Catholic Church while maintaining "the fundamental principles of the church of Rome." The immediate provocation was a tract by Josiah Tucker, Rector of St. Stephen's Church, Bristol, on the doctrine of justification. Romaine printed Tucker's tract in full to show that he taught salvation by works.

One passage will illustrate this:

The man is therefore brought to the bar a second time [the first brought him face to face with the mediation of Christ]; and is then to be tried upon the terms of this new and better covenant, viz. Whether he has so co-operated with divine grace, and so improved his talent, as to have repentance and present obedience towards God, and faith and gratitude towards our Lord Jesus Christ.--If he has these qualifications, his plea is allowed of, his person accepted, and he is justified³

The main body of Romaine's tract consists of a dialogue between Enquirer, a member of St. Stephen's, and Believer, presumably of

¹L. Tyerman, The Life and Times of the Rev. John Wesley, M.A. (3rd ed.; 3 vols.; London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1876), II, 320.

²John Wesley, Letters, III, 231ff.

³[William Romaine] A Seasonable Antidote against Popery in Romaine's Works, II, 385.

London, on the contrast between the doctrine of the tract and that of the New Testament.

1757
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Age 43

Notice must be taken of another publication of 1757, the third edition of Methodism and Enthusiasm Detected; Intended as an Antidote Against the Delusive Principles and Unscriptural Doctrines of a Modern Set of Seducing Preachers; and as a Defence of Our Regular and Orthodox Clergy, from Their Unjust Reflections; Addressed to the Rev. Mr. Romaine, the Rev. Mr. Jones, &c. The anonymous author was William Mason (1719-91), Justice of the Peace at Rotherhite Wall, Surrey. He was one of Romaine's friends and "sat for many years under his ministry."¹ The title was intended to be deceptive--it seemed to promise strictures upon the Evangelical preachers. It began by speaking disparagingly of "ignorant, enthusiastic preachers" who hold forth "novel doctrines, extravagant follies, and destructive errors." The author then by degrees turns to explaining and defending the Evangelical doctrines. Written in a racy, attractive style, it accomplished its aim. Readers were told that while the clergy blamed people for "rambling away from their own Parish Churches,"² this was not as serious as ^{the} way in which most of the clergy had forsaken the doctrines of their Church. The pamphlet even even deceived Tyerman, who calls it "most enigmatical." "It is difficult to divine the writer's object. At the beginning, he seems to belabour the poor Methodists; at the end he defends and praises them."³ The Evangelical Magazine relates an amusing anecdote about the tract.

¹Anonymous, "William Mason, Esquire, of Bermondsey, Late Justice of the Peace for the County of Surrey," Evangelical Magazine, II (January, 1794), 6.

²[William Mason] Methodism Displayed, and Enthusiasm Detected (4th ed.; London: M. Lewis, 1759), p. 30.

³Tyerman, Life and Times of John Wesley, II, 292.

A gentleman passing by a bookseller's shop, caught by the title-page, went in and bought it. In the evening, after the business of the day was over, he put it into the hands of his son, saying, he had purchased it as an antidote against that poisonous doctrine he had lately imbibed, and insisted upon his reading it, hoping it would prevent his running after a set of enthusiastic preachers. The son obeyed. While reading the first and second pages, the father frequently interrupted him by saying, Mind that, But proceeding a little farther, he soon perceived the design of the author; and altering his language, begged he would cast it behind the fire; The son replied, "Sir, I began to read it at your request, do suffer me to finish it."¹

On the afternoon of Christmas Day, 1757, Romaine preached at St. Dunstan-in-the-West a sermon on the text, "There was no room for them in the inn."² He must have been surprised early in the new year to see in the book stalls his Christmas sermon, The Necessity of Receiving Christ in Our Hearts, published as Correctly Taken in Short Hand by One of the Audience, as Same Was Delivered from the Pulpit. Subjoined to the sermon were some critical observations on it by an anonymous writer. The following paragraph is from the sermon:

The Sum and Substance of all I have said is this: Christ came into the World to save us from our Sins; but such is the Ingratitude and Baseness of our Hearts, we find Room to admit any sinful Guest, and nourish every wicked Thing; but our Hearts are naturally shut against Christ. And now I have brought this Discourse to the Point I have been aiming at all the while; which is to put one Question to every one of you, and may God enable you, honestly, to answer it: Have every one of you found Room for Christ in your Hearts? And do you make him the King and Lord over all your Affections; and do you serve him with a hearty and sincere Obedience? If you do, may the Lord God carry you on Step by Step, in the Way of his Commandments

A single quotation from the criticism of the sermon will indicate its tone, as well as the general attitude of the day.

I am persuaded the major Part of your Audience were regenerated in Baptism, being then, once for all, born of the Spirit

¹Anonymous, "William Mason, Esquire, of Bermondsey, Late Justice of the Peace for the County of Surrey," Evangelical Magazine, II (January, 1794), 7.

²Luke 2:7.

³[William Romaine] The Necessity of Receiving Christ in Our Hearts (London: 1758), pp. 20f.

in or by Water, and cannot have a second new Birth. Why then were they required to shew Marks of Regeneration? Would it not have been more pertinent to have asked them for Marks of Renovation, or of a renewed Heart and Mind?

The Rule of God's Commandments is the only Test for trying our Hearts and Lives by; and we may safely rely on the following Marks, viz. If we sincerely take care to do the best we can, are daily gaining Ground of our Vices and Passions, and find ourselves, after the strictest Examination, to be on the improving Hand; then may we comfortably believe that our Regeneration yet abides salutary and entire, and that we are in a State of Grace and Salvation.¹

Under the leadership of Venn and Thornton Clapham was now a center of Evangelical fellowship and inspiration for the clergy and lay leaders of the London area. "The names of Romaine, Venn, Jones, Madan, Downing, Maxfield,² &c. are frequently mentioned as taking a prominent part in the religious reunions at Clapham,"³ says a writer in the Harbinger of contemporary correspondence. Whitefield was a frequent visitor at John Thornton's house when he was not away on his preaching tours. On January 15, 1758, he wrote to Lady Huntingdon, who was at Brighton:

Mr. Romaine, Jones, and Venn are heard with surprising attention, and a mighty power seems to attend the word. All meet frequently at the Clapham Bethel for mutual prayer and edification, and our glorious Immanuel continues to smile on our feeble endeavours. How have we wrestled in earnest, ardent, out-pouring of our souls in that noble mansion, for each other's spiritual growth—for the extension of the Redeemer's kingdom, and the conversion of ungodly ministers! These spiritual routs are blessed entertainments!⁴

The Rev. William Gibson, Rector of St. Dunstan-in-the-West, died on January 22, and as his successor was not instituted until six months later it is probable that Romaine was called upon for extra service during the vacancy. Romaine's earliest extant letter, apart from those in the Warburton controversy,⁵ was addressed to his sister Dorothy in Hartlepool on July 18, 1758, and informed her of the birth of his second son. He hoped to be

¹Ibid., p. 25. ²Infra, p. 147.

³Harbinger, XLIII (September, 1866), 230. ⁴Ibid., 233.

⁵Supra, pp. 25ff.

able to visit in Hartlepool as soon as he could get his "churches provided for."¹ New troubles were just at hand with the institution of the Rev. Alexander Jacob as Vicar of St. Dunstan's on July 21,² for he was not long in showing his antagonism to Romaine and his doctrine. A second letter to Romaine's sister followed.

1758
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Age 43

I can say nothing yet about coming down. I have had sad troubles at St. Dunstan's, with the new Vicar. He will let none preach for me without a licence, which puts me to great inconvenience; but all is governed by One, who knows what is best, and does what is best, for his own glory, and his people's good.³

Whether or not Romaine went to Hartlepool that summer, he did carry on an extensive preaching tour through Northamptonshire, Buckinghamshire, and Bedfordshire. The following letter to Lady Huntingdon was written upon receiving word of the death of her son, Henry Hastings (1739-58):

November 7th, 1758

Madam,--I was in Northamptonshire with Mr. Hervey, when your Ladyship's letter came to my house. Upon reading the contents of it, I looked up to the God of all comfort and consolation, praying him to support you under your present and every other cross, which he shall please to call you to bear. May you be enabled to glorify him under every one of them, and may each bring you nearer to our suffering Head, and make you more like him.

You will rejoice with me in hearing that the kingdom of our dear Lord spreads daily. In my late excursion in Northamptonshire, Bucks, and Bedfordshire, I found great congregations, both in houses and in churches; and I met with numbers under awakenings, and several who had received Christ Jesus the Lord, and had found true joy and peace in believing. Oh what matter of thankfulness is this! Let us praise the immense, infinite love of Jesus Christ, and let us pray him to spread still farther the glories of the cross.

Mr. Whitefield is come to town [from Scotland], full of love and zeal, and burns still clearer and brighter. What a wonderful instrument is he! When I look at myself compared to him, I think what is a glow-worm in moonshine? It is totally eclipsed; and yet the moon and the glow-worm shine by the same borrowed light. Oh for more of Christ, and less of self.⁴

Romaine's reference to Hervey probably marks his last

¹Romaine's Works, VIII, 162.

²Hennessy, Novum Repertorium Ecclesiasticum Parochiale Londinense, p. 138.

³Romaine's Works, VIII, 164f.

⁴Harbinger, XLIII. (September, 1866), 257.

visit with his friend, for the latter died on Christmas Day, 1758, at the age of forty-four, after years of weakened health. On January 4 Romaine preached a funeral sermon for him in which he stated that Hervey "had an excellency, which I never saw to so great a degree in any other person. He never let an opportunity slip of speaking of the love of Christ."¹

1758
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Age 44

Romaine seemed already to have sensed that an effort would soon be made to exclude him from the St. Dunstan lectureship, for he dedicated his Discourses Upon Solomon's Song to the parishioners of the church. In his preface he thanked them for their many favours and continued:

My gratitude cannot better appear, than in labouring to the best of my power in that station to which you have called me. Ever since you were pleased unanimously to choose me your Lecturer, I have endeavoured to discharge my duty as one who must give an account.²

He has honestly declared unto them the whole counsel of God, who knows his heart.

You have heard me for some years, and chiefly upon the same subject. I hope you are not tired of hearing of the love of Jesus to poor helpless sinners; I am sure I am not tired of speaking upon it.³

In the series of twelve sermons on selected texts from the Song Romaine pens a description of "the mutual love of Christ and his church."⁴ The sermons are all evangelistic in tone and aimed at winning the unsaved and deepening the spiritual life of believers. He pressed home the truth that mere membership in and attendance upon the services of the Church of England meant nothing in itself; "a parcel of loose stones thrown together in a heap would make just such a church,"⁵ unless the members are un-

¹William Romaine, The Knowledge of Salvation Precious in the Hour of Death in Romaine's Works, VI, 234.

²William Romaine, Twelve Discourses upon Some Practical Parts of Solomon's Song in Romaine's Works, V, v.

³Ibid., vi.

⁴Ibid., 29.

⁵Ibid., 243.

ited by a living faith to the Head of the Church. The Monthly Review said of this book, "Those who think, with Mr. Romaine, that Solomon's Song can afford a foretaste of those pleasures which 'are at God's right hand for evermore,' may find abundance of consolation in the perusal of these right godly discourses: which, however, we can by no means recommend to the carnal reader" ¹

1758
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Age 44

Before passing on from the year 1758, notice should be taken of Romaine's portrait by Francis Cotes, R.A. (1725?-70), finished during the year.² It now hangs in the National Portrait Gallery in London. Among other later portraits, one, now lost, was done by a student of Cotes's, John Russell, R.A. (1745-1806).³

The year 1759 found Romaine exchanging his position as curate and morning preacher at St. Olave's, Southwark, for a similar one at St. Bartholomew the Great, West Smithfield. The Rector of this church, now the oldest parish church in London, was the Rev. Richard Thomas Bateman, already mentioned in connection with Whitefield and Wesley.⁴ As Chaplain in the Royal Navy, Bateman was away from St. Bartholomew's much of the time,⁵ and the circumstances under which Romaine closed his ministry there⁶ seem to indicate that he had most of the responsibility of the

¹Monthly Review, XIX (September, 1758), 317.

²Proceedings of the Wesley Historical Society, XV (September, 1925), 83.

³George C. Williamson, John Russell, R.A. (London: George Bell & Sons, 1894), p. 130.

⁴Supra, p. 53.

⁵Bateman refused responsibilities in connection with Sion College because of his prolonged absences from London. He wrote from Plymouth on Nov. 11, 1758: "With regard to Sion College it is out of my power to attend, as I am a Chaplain in his majesty's Navy . . . must be excused . . ." E. H. Pearce, Sion College and Library (Cambridge: University Press, 1913), p. 55.

⁶Infra, p. 136.

church..

The war with the French was not going well. The surrender of Louisbourg in the previous August had afforded temporary relief, but the English were again in a panic over the possibility of a French invasion early in 1759. On one of the public fast days proclaimed by the Government Lady Huntingdon heard Whitefield preach at the Tabernacle on the text, "Rend your hearts, and not your garments."¹ The same evening she heard John Wesley on "Seek ye the Lord while he may be found"² as one of "an overflowing multitude."³ So impressed was she by the national call to prayer that she arranged for a series of all day prayer meetings to be held in her London house.

These services were conducted by the leading figures of the Evangelical Revival. On Wednesday, February 21, Whitefield, Charles Wesley, Maxfield, and Venn in turn led the meetings, and on Friday, February 23, the leaders were Romaine, John Wesley, Madan, and Thomas Jones.⁴ God's presence seems to have pervaded the gatherings.

I trust (says her Ladyship) great and permanent effects will follow, and national judgments be suspended. May the Lord graciously countenance this attempt, and grant that increasing prayer in the name of Jesus may ascend from every heart.⁵

John Wesley's journal describes the service on Tuesday, February 27:

I walked with my brother and Mr. Maxfield to L[ady] H[untingdon]'s. After breakfast came in Mr. Whitefield, Madan, Romaine, Jones, Downing, and Venn, with some persons of quality, and a few others. Mr. Whitefield, I found, was to have administered the sacrament; but he insisted upon my doing it. After which, at the request of L[ady] H[untingdon], I preached on I Cor. xiii. 13. Oh what are the greatest men to the great God! As small dust in

¹Joel 2:13. ²Isa. 55:6.

³[Seymour] Life and Times of the Countess of Huntingdon, I, 395.

⁴Ibid., 396. ⁵Ibid., loc. cit.

the balance.¹

Charles Wesley wrote the same day to his wife:

1759

Age 44

. . . . the Lord met us at his Table. . . . All the Ministers
prayed in turn. It was a most blessed Time of Refreshment. . . .

. . . . I should tell you, my Brother preached and won all our Hearts.²

At the usual prayer meeting on Wednesday evening, February 28, Venn and Madan presided, Whitefield closing with a "short exhortation." The next morning Jones of St. Saviour's preached and Romaine pronounced the benediction. One the following Friday evening Charles Wesley gave an address, and other parts of the service were taken by Whitefield, Romaine, Downing, and Venn. The Lord's Supper was administered on Tuesday, March 6, by Whitefield. Romaine prayed before the distribution of the elements and Madan after. Whitefield then addressed the gathering.

All were touched to the heart (says her Ladyship) and dissolved in tears. My inmost soul felt penetrated at the height and depth of that love which passeth knowledge, and I was ready, with Peter, to say, 'It is good to be here.' Lord, teach me how to improve to the utmost these gracious visitations.³

The closing prayer was offered by the Rev. John Fletcher (1729-85), a young Swiss preacher, soon to be instituted to the living of Madeley, a newcomer to these services. Lady Huntingdon observed that "Mr. Fletcher concluded with a prayer, every syllable of which appeared to be uttered under the immediate teaching of the Spirit."⁴ So closed a notable prayer campaign.⁵ Probably at no other time during the century were so many Evangelical leaders, both among the regulars and irregulars, in close service and fellowship. Tyerman exclaims, "Glorious men, and glorious meetings!"

¹John Wesley, Journal, IV, 300. Brackets are Curnock's.

²Charles Wesley, The Journal of the Rev. Charles Wesley, M.A., ed. Thomas Jackson (2 vols.; London: Wesleyan Methodist Book-Room, n.d.), II, 219.

³[Seymour] op. cit., I, 397. ⁴Ibid., loc. cit.

⁵Summarized from ibid, 396f.

No wonder God was present! Who can estimate the results of these godly meetings?"¹

1759
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Age 44

Romaine's sister Miriam (1720-97) was married at Sunderland on March 23, 1759, to a widower, Thomas Parker (1726?-71).² This was probably the same Thomas Parker of Sunderland who witnessed the marriage of Christopher Hopper (1722-1802), one of Wesley's lay preachers, at St. Andrew's, Newcastle-on-Tyne, on April 7, 1759.³ Later it will be seen that Romaine's three sisters all appear to have married men from Wesley's societies.⁴

Trouble was brewing at St. Dunstan-in-the-West. The repugnance toward Romaine's doctrine on the part of the new Vicar, Alexander Jacob, linked with a disaffection on the part of some of the churchwardens gradually brought on a crisis. The complaint here was the same that had brought about his exclusion from the pulpit of St. George's, Hanover Square, four years before. Too many people were attending Romaine's services. The parishioners were inconvenienced, often finding their pews taken by outsiders who came early. The Vicar and the churchwardens went back to Dr. White's will and learned that the endowment had been provided for lectures to be given while the courts were in session. Romaine had been lecturing the year round, providing substitutes in his absence, but now on the first Sunday of the long vacation he was told that he could not lecture until the courts sat again.⁵

¹Tyerman, Life of George Whitefield, II, 416.

²Durham Marriage Bonds.

³St. Andrew's Parish Register. The date is given as April 17, 1759, in The Lives of Early Methodist Preachers, ed. Thomas Jackson (6 vols.; London: Wesleyan Conference Office, n.d.), I, 210.

⁴Infra, pp. 132, 196.

⁵G. R. Balleine, A History of the Evangelical Party in the Church of England (London: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1908), pp. 52f.

Meanwhile strange things were happening in and around Everton, in Bedfordshire. Evangelical preaching in that section had been accompanied by great interest, many conversions, and those physical manifestations often known to characterize primitive revival movements. Lady Huntingdon by letter from Bath requested Romaine and Madan to go at once to Everton and "examine minutely into the circumstances."¹ The Vicar at Everton since 1755 was the Rev. John Berridge, M.A. (1716-93), Fellow of Clare College, Cambridge. He composed the epitaph which adorns his tombstone in Everton churchyard, part of which runs:

1759
—
Age 44

Reader,
Art thou born again?
No salvation without a New Birth!
I was born in sin, February, 1716.
Remained ignorant of my fallen state till 1730.
Lived proudly on Faith and Works for Salvation
till 1754.
Admitted to Everton Vicarage, 1755.
Fled to Jesus alone for refuge, 1756.
Fell asleep in Christ, [January 22, 1793].²

Berridge, the wit of the Revival, began to change the style of his preaching "about Christmas, 1757,"³ according to Richard Whittingham, his curate and biographer, but the date was actually earlier. Madan, in a letter written at Cheltenham on August 6, 1757, quotes from a letter he had seen from Berridge:

God has been pleased to bless and prosper my labours, in a very extraordinary manner, for these last three months. Since I preach the real gospel of Christ, seven people in my own parish have now received the gospel in the appointed way of repentance towards God, and faith towards our Lord Jesus Christ. Nine or ten from Potton are in a hopeful way, two at Gamlingay, and two at Eaton. There is now such a storm arising, that I know not how it will end, or when. I bless God, my mind is very quiet. Thou, O God, wilt keep him in perfect peace whose mind is stayed on thee! The tempest is now whistling about my ears; but it does

¹[Seymour] op. cit., I, 398.

²Richard Whittingham, "Memoir of His Life" in The Whole Works of the Rev. John Berridge, A.M. (2d ed. with additions; London: Ebenezer Palmer, 1864), p. lvii.

³Ibid., p. xiii.

not ruffle or discompose my heart. Some time ago, I was told by several persons, that twelve clergymen had combined together, in order to oppose and prosecute me, if they could. My 'Squire swears he will do my business; and the last Lord's Day evening, when I came from church, he stopped me, and called me by the usual names of Enthusiast, &c. Today, I hear the 'Squire has sent for such of his tenants as are disposed to hear the word of God, and has given them warning to leave their farms directly. He tells all, what things he will do against me; and to show he is in earnest, swears by his Maker he will do it.¹

John Wesley, who had visited Everton early in March, wrote to Lady Huntingdon on March 10:

Mr. Berridge appears to be one of the most simple as well as most sensible men of all whom it has pleased God to employ in reviving primitive Christianity. . . . His word is with power; he speaks as plain and home as John Nelson [1707-74], but with² all the propriety of Mr. Romaine and tenderness of Mr. Hervey.

Romaine and Madan were warmly received by Berridge and the Rev. William Hicks, Rector of Wrestlingworth, four miles from Everton. The latter had been converted the previous August under his neighbour's ministry and was now active in the Revival movement. The only record of the London ministers' visit is found in a lengthy quotation from the diary of John Walsh, a converted Deist, in John Wesley's journal. Walsh mentions their presence in the Everton neighbourhood from July 9 to 13. At Potton they heard the testimony of John Keeling, a recent convert, and observed how some listeners were overcome emotionally. Walsh's account runs thus:

I discoursed also with Ann Thorn, who told me of much heaviness following visions with which she had been favoured; but said she was at intervals visited still with such overpowering love and joy, especially at the Lord's Supper, that she often lay in a trance for many hours. She is twenty-one years old. We were soon called into the garden, where Patty Jenkins (one of the same age) was so overwhelmed with the love of God that she sunk down, and appeared as one in a pleasant sleep, only with her eyes open; yet she had often just strength to utter, with a low voice, ejaculations of joy and praise; but, no words coming up to what she felt, she frequently laughed while she saw His glory. This is quite unintelligible to many; for a stranger intermeddleth not

¹Evangelical Magazine, XXI (December, 1812), 462.

²John Wesley, Letters, IV, 58.

with our joy. So it was to Mr. M[adan], who doubted whether God or the devil had filled her with love and praise. Oh the depth of human wisdom! Mr. R[omaine], the meantime, was filled with solemn awe.

1759
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Age 44

On other occasions men and women fell to the ground as dead, or as in the agonies and convulsions of death; others shrieked and bellowed; many testified to having found salvation amid these scenes of excitement. Walsh wrote on July 13:

Mr. R[omaine], as well as Mr. M[adan], was in doubt concerning the work of God here. But this morning they were both fully convinced, while Alice Miller, the little pale girl, justified May 20, who is in the sixteenth, and Molly Raymond, who is in the twelfth, year of her age, related their experience, their artless confidence confirming all their words.¹

Madan and Romaine accompanied Walsh to Tadlow, in Cambridgeshire, where Berridge was preaching. It need not be inferred from Walsh's statements that they approved all that they saw. They rejoiced in the progress of the Gospel, but their own methods produced results in a quieter way--without external emotional disturbances. A few weeks later Lady Huntingdon herself visited Everton and, upon her return to London, introduced Berridge to the Evangelical circles there.²

London lost Henry Venn in August,³ 1759, when he left the curacy of Clapham to become Vicar of Huddersfield, in Yorkshire, through the recommendation of Lord Dartmouth.⁴ Venn proved to be an effective addition to the scattered Evangelical forces in Yorkshire. He continued his assistance to the Countess of Huntingdon, who was now in an unofficial way directing many special preaching efforts. She wrote to Lord Dartmouth on August 16:

¹John Wesley, Journal, IV, 335. Brackets are Curnock's.

²[Seymour] op. cit., I, 400.

³John Wesley dates his removal on August 7. Journal, IV, 348.

⁴John Venn, Annals of a Clerical Family (London: Macmillan and Co., 1904), p. 77.

. . . . Mr. Madan, Venn, Romaine, Berridge, and Fletcher, all fully occupied in their different spheres. Wide and effectual doors have been opened for these faithful souls in many places--persons of all ranks flock to hear them, and impressions are made on many, which I trust will abide. So many invitations for help are sent me from various quarters that I know not which way to turn myself.¹

1759
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Age 44

When Romaine returned to St. Dunstan's after the summer holiday he was unprepared to find "the pulpit door locked, the vicar sitting in the pulpit, and the beadle sitting on the stairs."² The explanation was that the time for his lecture had been changed to seven o'clock in the evening. Romaine could scarcely have been greatly surprised at the turn of events. On July 5 Charles Wesley had written to his wife, "On Tuesday I breakfasted with Mr. Romaine and his wife, who were very loving and open. He expects to be thrust out of the churches soon."³ Romaine continued to appear in his place, and his friends then "took the case before the King's Bench, asking for a mandamus to restore the Lecture to its usual hour, and to allow it to continue the year round"⁴ The churchwardens presented their grievance in an affidavit.

"Great crowds of people," they declared, "not parishioners, have been accustomed to assemble about the church every Sunday afternoon more than an hour before the opening of the doors, when Mr. Romaine was expected to preach, and to fill the aisles and pews as soon as the doors were opened, preventing the parishioners getting to their seats, and this crowd for two years past has been continually increasing."⁵

The Monthly Review of September, 1759, noticed two anonymous tracts defending Romaine in the matter, A Letter to the Inhabitants of St. Dunstan's in the West, Relating to Their Late Remarkable Proceeding with Regard to the Rev. Mr. Romaine Their Lectur-

¹Harbinger, XLIII (September, 1866), 311

²Balleine, History of the Evangelical Party, p. 53.

³Thomas Jackson, The Life of the Rev. Charles Wesley, M.A. (2 vols.; London: John Mason, 1841), II, 163.

⁴Balleine, op. cit., loc. cit. ⁵Ibid., pp. 52f.

or, and A New Letter to the Parishioners of St. Dunstan's--Relating to the Suspending the Rev. Mr. Romaine.¹ These were soon answered by "one of the inhabitants" of St. Dunstan's in a short pamphlet with a long title:

An Apology for the Parishioners of St. Dunstan's in the West, for Refusing the Use of Their Pulpit, any longer, to the Rev. Mr. Romaine, Their Late Lecturer. In Which the Fact Is Impartially Stated, and Their Proceedings Vindicated, from the Charge of Oppression, Tyranny, and Irreligion, with Which They Have Been Plentifully Aspersed. Being a Full and Complete Answer to All Those Objections That Have Been Raised, both in Public and Private, to Their Conduct in This Affair. Likewise Shewing That Lectureships Are a Novel Invention, and Introduced only to Indulge the Indolence and Laziness of the Incumbent. In a Letter from One of the Inhabitants, to That Rev. Gentleman.

The author stated that the tract was written because "the good People call'd Methodists, have made a Handle"² of the affair to exclaim against the church. He assured Romaine that he had "no design to cast the least Blemish on you, as a Minister or to lessen your Merits in the Opinion of your Admirers, or to lessen your Usefulness to those who think themselves edified by your Labours."³ It was maintained, and not unjustly, that the lectureship was not a freehold. ". . . . we believe you will not say, that we insur'd it to you for Life, nor will you, I imagine, consider yourself in the Quality of a Vicar or Rector of a Parish, instituted thereto by the Donation or Investiture of a College or some noble Patron."⁴ It follows that "a Clergyman, therefore, should remember, that when he undertakes a Lectureship, he is thrusting his Sickle into another Man's Corn; that he invades a Province which does not properly belong to him."⁵ Allowing for exaggeration on the part of the author, the modern minister must envy Romaine his power to draw hearers, as pictured in the following

¹Monthly Review, XXI (September, 1759), 271

²Anonymous, An Apology for the Parishioners of St. Dunstan's in the West (London, C. Symson, [1759]), p. 3.

³Ibid., p. 4. ⁴Ibid., pp. 6f. ⁵Ibid., p. 8.

paragraphs:

. . . . the Parishioners ought not to be obstructed in passing to their Pews and Seats in the Church, because they have both a natural and acquired Right to them, preferable to all Chance-Auditors.

You will likewise acknowledge, Sir, that but little Order or Decency can be observed in an Assembly, consisting of a promiscuous Crowd of People, pushing, squeezing, and shoving forward, riding on one another's backs, and tearing their cloaths to-pieces, with Eagerness to get within hearing of the Preacher; some panting for breath; others sweating and staring, with their eyes staring out of their heads; others, not able to bear up against the Press with which they are throng'd on every Side, fainting and falling to the Ground, where it is almost impossible to prevent their being trampled to Death. All this, Sir, and much more you must undoubtedly have been an Eye-Witness to from your exalted Station in the Pulpit.¹

Another Consideration, which weigh'd with the Parishioners, and prevail'd with them to deal with you in this manner, was, their utter Inability to attend the Divine Worship in that peaceable quiet Manner they used to do, being prevented by that tumultuary Accession of People from all Quarters that crowd our little Church whenever you ascend the Pulpit. It is with the utmost Difficulty that we are able to get to our Pews, and we are forc'd to struggle thro' a ragged, not to say, unsavoury Multitude, at the Hazard of our Cloaths, and not unfrequently, of our Pockets. Can you blame us then, for ridding ourselves of a Nuisance, so ungrateful and injurious to us, and intolerable in the House of God, where the utmost Decency and Decorum ought to be preserved? Can you be angry with us for desiring to be easy and quiet in our Attendance on the Divine Service?²

The Monthly Review said of A Letter of Consolation to the Rev. Mr. Romaine, Occasioned by His Suspension, &c. by the Rev. Mr. G----- W---te-----d, "A religious Catch-penny. Mr. Whitefield, we dare be confident, is innocent of its production; it is unworthy of his abilities; as the occasion, we would hope too, is beneath his notice."³

During these difficult days Romaine was trying to assist his friend, John Newton, since 1755 a tide-surveyor at Liverpool. In 1757 Newton's mind had turned toward entering the ministry of Church, and he gave himself to the serious study of Hebrew and Greek. He was refused ordination by the Bishop of Chester, up-

¹Ibid., pp. 9f. ²Ibid., p. 11.

³Monthly Review, XXI (September, 1759), 272.

on whom he waited in London in December, 1758. He visited Romaine and Jones while in the city.¹ After another refusal, this time by the Archbishop of York in February, 1759, he began to consider turning to the Independents. In August he had written as follows to his friend, Dr. Edwin Young (1683-1765) of Welwyn:

'I have only now,' he says, 'to appeal to my Lord of Canterbury, and to leave the issue with the Lord; for I think upon a refusal there--which I am prepared to expect--that I will retract the pursuit, and take up the conclusion Mr. Romaine has already made for me, that it is not the will of the Lord I should appear on that side.'²

At the close of the year 1759 Newton was invited to become the pastor of an Independent church at Warwick, and he gave earnest consideration to the call. 'Mr. Romaine,' he said 'advises me to accept it.'³ After much wavering between the Church of England and Nonconformity, through the efforts of Lord Dartmouth and Thomas Haweis he was ordained to the living at Olney, in Buckinghamshire, by the Bishop of Lincoln on June 17, 1764.⁴

An unusual wedding took place at St. Dunstan's on Friday, December 14, 1759. Romaine officiated at the marriage of Josiah Dornford, of Deptford, and Miss Eleanor Layton, both of whom became very active in Wesley's societies. The bride had been converted through the preaching of Wesley and Romaine. Mrs. Dornford describes the occasion, when a number of well known preachers were present.

Mr. D[ornford] prevailed with me to let him ask my Uncle's consent, and we were accordingly married by the Rev. Mr. Romaine, on Dec: the 14th 1759, and Mr. John Wesley gave me away at St. Dunstan's Church. We went immediately to Mr. D[ornford]'s house, the Rev. Mr. Jones of St. Saviour's and his Wife, the Rev. Mr. Charles Wesley and his Wife, the Rev. Mr. Maxfield and his Wife, with the Rev. Mr. John Wesley and the Rev. Mr. Romaine and their Wives, Cousin W[att]s⁵ and his Sister, Mr. W----- and my Sis-

¹Bull, John Newton, p. 100. ²Ibid., p. 103.

³Ibid., p. 104. ⁴Ibid., p. 124.

⁵Wesleyan Methodist Magazine, CXXXIV (August, 1911), 623.

ter, all dined with us, and the day was spent suitably to the occasion.¹

1759
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Age 45

John Wesley in his journal says, "I was at a Christian wedding, to which were invited only two or three relations, and five clergymen, who spent part of the afternoon in a manner suitable to the solemn occasion."²

Ann Downes, widow of the Rev. John Downes (1681?-1759), Rector of St. Michael's, Wood Street, London, published a pamphlet in 1759 which Wesley later described as having "nothing extraordinary in it, but an extraordinary degree of virulence and scurrility."³ Curnock gives the following quotation from this rare tract:

. . . . there are four large tribes or families [of Methodists]: the Wheslers, the Whiflers, the Madmen, and the Romancers (so called from their leaders, Wesley, Whitefield, Madan, and Romaine).⁴

After a number of months the St. Dunstan case was concluded. The Gentleman's Magazine carried this note under the date of May 2, 1760:

Came on in the court of King's Bench, in Westminster Hall, the hearing between the parish of St Dunstan in the West, and the Rev. Mr. Romaine, in relation to the time of preaching Dr White's lecture; when the court unanimously decided in favour of the parish, and discharged the rule with costs.⁵

Lord Mansfield's decision was that the lectures would not be continued the year round and that seven o'clock in the evening was a reasonable hour for them to be held.⁶ The churchwardens thereafter showed their resentment against Romaine by refusing to open

¹Anonymous, Some Memoirs of the Life and Death of Mrs. Eleanor Dornford (London: Andrews and Son, 1790), pp. 19f.

²John Wesley, Journal, IV, 361. ³Ibid., 420.

⁴Ibid., loc. cit. Brackets are Curnock's.

⁵Gentleman's Magazine, XXX (May, 1760), 246.

⁶Balleine, op. cit., p. 53.

the church doors until that hour had arrived. Great crowds of people filled Fleet Street outside the church "till the wooden giants on the tower had beaten out the hour of seven," when they would "grope their way cautiously to their seats."¹ The reason for this prudence was that the churchwardens refused to light the church for Romaine's lectures.² A very eerie scene it must have been, for he was forced during the winter months to "read prayers and preach by the light of a single candle, which he held in his own hand."³

These disgraceful conditions remained unchanged until several years later,⁴ the Bishop of London, Dr. Richard Terrick (1710-77), Romaine's predecessor in the St. Dunstan lectureships, walking through Fleet Street, noticed the throng of people obstructing the traffic. Upon learning of the difficulties under which Romaine lectured, the Bishop interceded for him with the Vicar; thereafter the hour of service was six o'clock, the church doors were opened in proper time, and the building was lighted.⁵ Cadogan says that by decision of the court of King's Bench Romaine was deprived of the parish lectureship but confirmed "in that founded by Dr. White, and endowed with a salary of eighteen pounds a year."⁵ He gives the date of this decision as 1762, which is, of course, an error, unless there was a second and later case.

Romaine was now settled in St. Dunstan's for life, and even after his death he was often referred to as Lecturer of St.

¹Balleine, op. cit., p. 53.

²Cadogan, Life of Romaine in Romaine's Works, VII, 28.

³Ibid., loc. cit.

⁴Terrick became Bishop of London on June 13, 1764. Hennesy, Novum Repertorium Ecclesiasticum Parochiale Londinense, p. 3.

⁵Summarized from Cadogan, op. cit., VII, 28.

Dunstan-in-the-West rather than as Rector of St. Andrew-by-the-Wardrobe and St. Anne, Blackfriars, because of his many years of service at the church in Fleet Street. John Newton may well have had this period of his friend's ministry in mind when in a funeral sermon for him he described him as "an honourable and useful man, inflexible as an iron pillar in publishing the truth, and unmoved either by the smiles or the frowns of the world."¹

1760
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Age 45

¹Bull, John Newton, p. 328.

CHAPTER V

ST. DUNSTAN TRIAL TO SETTLEMENT AT BLACKFRIARS, 1760-66

"A party for me, another against me"

The date of the beginning of Romaine's acquaintance with the Rev. Benjamin Ingham (1712-72) cannot even be approximated. They may have been casual acquaintances in their student days at Oxford, but Romaine would have shunned intimacy with him for Ingham was a member of John Wesley's Methodist circle. In 1735 Ingham had accompanied the Wesleys to Georgia, and upon his return to England he had cast his lot with the Moravians, preaching in their societies until his separation from them in 1753. He then organized in Yorkshire "a circuit of his own of about five hundred miles, and had several thousand followers."¹ These societies were quite separate from the Church of England. George Burder (1752-1832) states that "members were received into the churches by the laying-on of hands; they had elders, and the feast of Charity; and the Lord's Supper once a month or so."² Ingham had married Lady Margaret Hastings (1701?-68), sister of the late Earl of Huntingdon, and it was very likely through Lady Huntingdon that Romaine came to be friendly with them. He was a guest at their home in Aberford whenever he was in Yorkshire and occasionally preached in their societies. Seymour describes the regard

1760
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Age 45

¹L. Tyerman, The Oxford Methodists (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1873), p. 136.

²[George Burder] Adolescens, "Memoir of the Late Rev. Benjamin Ingham, of Aberford, in Yorkshire," Evangelical Magazine, XXII (August, 1814), 306.

Romaine bore to his

"dear brother Ingham," whose chapels he constantly attended, whose friendship he cultivated, and whose ministry he so highly esteemed. Lady Margaret was a woman of superior attainments, and he was attached to her in the best bonds. At a period when his poor stipend was wholly inadequate subsistence for his family, his necessities were often liberally supplied by her bounty. Mr. Ingham sometimes accompanied him in his preaching excursions into several parts of the county of Durham; Mr. Romaine preaching wherever he obtained a church, and Mr. Ingham in the Methodist chapels and private houses.¹

Lady Huntingdon and Romaine were in Aberford visiting the Inghams in September, 1760, and while in the north visited a number of the Inghamite societies in Yorkshire and Lancashire, the two preachers alternating in their preaching day by day. They attended a general meeting of the ministers and laymen at Wheatley on September 27 and spent several days at Thinoaks in Craven, where elders were ordained.² When the party returned to Aberford they were joined by the Rev. William Grimshaw (1708-63), since 1742 the incumbent at Haworth, where he lived in the old parsonage later made famous by the Brontë sisters. Grimshaw had come to an experience of personal faith in Christ³ about the year of his arrival at Haworth and since that time had been in active co-operation with Whitefield, Wesley, and Ingham.⁴ He now persuaded

¹[Aaron Crossley Hobart Seymour] The Life and Times of Selina Countess of Huntingdon (2 vols.; London: William Edward Painter, 1844), I, 272f.

²Ibid., I, 273.

³"I was now (says he) willing to renounce myself, with every degree of fancied merit and ability, and to embrace Christ only for my all in all. O what light and comfort did I now enjoy in my own soul, and what a taste of the pardoning love of GOD!" Erasmus Middleton, Biographia Evangelica (4 vols.; London: Alex. Hogg, 1779-86), IV, 399.

⁴Cragg says that "Grimshaw and Berridge justified themselves on the grounds that they were being irregular for the love of souls, whereas many of their pluralist brethren who had two or three parishes, were irregular for the love of money." George G. Cragg, Grimshaw of Haworth A Study in Eighteenth Century Evangelicalism (London: The Canterbury Press, 1947), p. 25.

Romaine to accompany him to Haworth, a distance of about thirty-five miles. There a large crowd heard the London lecturer read prayers inside the church, after which Grimshaw announced that "his brother Romaine would preach the glorious Gospel from brother Whitefield's pulpit in the churchyard."¹ Romaine, who had no liking for outdoor preaching, complied in this instance and preached powerfully, probably from a tombstone.

1760
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Age 46

Romaine's youngest sister, Elizabeth (b. 1723), was married on October 11, 1760, to Michael Callinder of St. Nicholas Parish, Newcastle-on-Tyne, described as a widower and seedsman, 40 years of age.² Callinder seems to have been active in Wesley's societies in Durham. Telford states that "Bennet and Michael Calendar of Newcastle gave security for £200 to the Bishop of Durham when the licence was issued on October 2,"³ 1749, for the marriage of John Bennet and Grace Murray. This marriage came as a great shock to John Wesley, for he had thought himself engaged to Grace Murray himself, while Bennet was one of his most trusted lay preachers.

During the year 1760 Romaine published his Twelve Discourses Upon the Law and the Gospel, sermons preached at St. Dunstan-in-the-West with the general text, "For the law was given by Moses, but grace and truth came by Jesus Christ."⁴ In them he proposed to discuss the Scriptural distinctions between the law and the gospel. Said he, "the generality of people confound them, and put one in the place of the other."⁵ He mentions some of the

¹[Seymour] op. cit., I, 274. ²Durham Marriage Bonds.

³John Wesley, The Letters of the Rev. John Wesley, A.M. ed. John Telford (Standard ed.; 8 vols.; London: The Epworth Press, 1931), III, 15. See also V, 71.

⁴John 1:17.

⁵William Romaine, Twelve Discourses Upon the Law and the Gospel in Works of the Late Reverend William Romaine, A.M. (8 vols.; (London: T. Chapman, 1796), III, v.

mistaken views he intends to correct in the book.

1760

Age 46

Some suppose they are to be accepted of God for their works, and that they can be justified by the law in the sight of God. Others make their keeping of the law the condition of their receiving the blessings of the gospel, as if these were to be the purchase and reward of their partial obedience. Some are persuaded they must do all they can, and keep the law with all their might, and wherein they come short of the perfect demands of the law, Christ will, out of his merits, atone for their failings. And others again think that Christ has abated the rigour of the law, and that the gospel is nothing more than a new law dispensation, in which the Lord has been pleased to declare that he will accept of sincere obedience instead of perfect.¹

Since all have broken the moral law--which provides only punishment for those who offend in the smallest point--it follows that none can be saved by the law.

According to the law salvation is by works, according to the gospel it is by grace.

The law says, Do this; but the gospel says, Believe this, and thou shalt be saved.

The law threatens to punish the sinner for the first offence, but the gospel offers him pardon for many offences.

The law leaves him under guilt and condemnation, the gospel invites him to receive pardon and salvation.

The law sentences him to death, the gospel offers him justification to life.

By the law he is a guilty sinner, by the gospel he may be made a glorious saint.²

While upholding the dignity of the moral law, the author presents the ceremonial law as it typified the redemption of Christ, to whom the believer is under the law of faith. Like all of Romaine's works, the book was intensely evangelistic in its appeal. The Monthly Review asserted that the discourses "contain little that can recommend them to the perusal of rational inquirers after truth, neither just notions of God, nor of the gospel of Christ, but a great deal of unintelligible jargon, which, however agreeable soever to Mr. Romaine's implicit admirers, will be treated with contempt by every sober and judicious Christian."³

The Rev. William Felton (1710?-81), Rector of Wendon Lofts, Essex,

¹Ibid., vf. ²Ibid., xxf.

³Monthly Review, XXIII (September, 1760), 309.

answered Romaine's book in a pamphlet dated February 26, 1761, and entitled A Letter to the Reverend Mr. Romaine, Containing Remarks on His Discourses upon the Law and the Gospel. The Monthly Review observed that Felton's "motive for entering upon this controversy is certainly a good one, viz. to obviate the effects of Mr. Romaine's doctrine upon the minds of his hearers."¹ Felton, like so many writers of the Eighteenth Century, felt that an emphasis upon justification by faith necessarily implied the abandonment of any concern for good works. "I cannot," declared Felton, "but express my great Concern, that you take so much Pains to discourage your Hearers in the performance of moral duties, and attempting to work Righteousness."² His conclusion rests all hope for salvation upon human endeavour.

. . . . I hope we may depend so far on the serious Performance of religious and moral Duties, that we may humbly present ourselves before the Throne of Grace, beseeching our Lord to pardon the Defects of our Service; and as we have done the best in our Power, we may trust that God will accept our sincere Endeavours to obey his Will, according to his declared and promised Mercy.³

Thus was the Reformation doctrine of justification of faith condemned when preached by the Evangelicals.

A rare pamphlet in the British Museum bears the following title:

Christ and Nicodemus; or an Evening-Conference; in Which the Nature, Necessity and Marks of the New-Birth Is Clearly and Progressively Described and Explained, both from Scripture and Experience--the Whole Agreeable to the Doctrine of the Church of England as Set Forth in Her Articles and Homilies, and Now Preached by Many of Her Faithful though Despised Ministers. To Which Is Added by Way of Introduction, a Short Account of the State of Man both Before and After the Fall. Part Extracted from Mr. J. Wesley's and Part from Mr. Romaine's Sermons.

¹Monthly Review, XXIV (June, 1761), 471.

²William Felton, A Letter to the Reverend Mr. Romaine, Containing Remarks on His Discourses Upon the Law and the Gospel. (London: John Rivington, 1761), p. 21.

³Ibid., p. 28.

The introduction to the pamphlet reads in part as follows:

A small copy of verses on this important (though little known) subject casually fell into my hands, which I read over and over with great satisfaction and profit to my own soul. And thinking it might (with God's blessing) be of like benefit to others if made known, I have therefore taken some pains to improve the same by enlarging upon the subject, and also adding to it such scripture reference and other explanatory notes, as may render it plain and easy even to the weakest capacity; for whose use it is chiefly designed.

And if, by divine assistance, this piece should be a means, in God's hands, of awakening any one soul to a true sense of their lost condition, or helping any one forward in their spiritual journey, my labour is not in vain: yet not unto me, but unto God the Father, and to our Lord Jesus Christ, be ascribed all the glory,

J.W.¹

This pamphlet is not noticed in Richard Green's Wesley bibliography.²

Wesley's sense of spiritual kinship with Romaine, as revealed in this jointly composed work, is seen again in a letter addressed by him on January 7, 1761, to the "Author of the 'Westminster Journal.'"³ That paper had published a letter against the "Methodists," charging that there is "gone abroad . . . an ungoverned spirit of enthusiasm, propagated by knaves and embraced by fools."⁴ The leaders were charged with a lust for personal power--"In Great Britain we have many popes, for so I must call all who have the souls and bodies of their followers devoted to them."⁵ Wesley's reply to this charge against the unnamed leaders of the Revival was as follows:

Call them so and welcome. But this does not touch me; nor Mr. Whitefield, Jones, or Romaine; nor any whom I am acquainted with. None of us have our followers thus devoted to us. Those who follow the advice we constantly give are devoted to God, not

¹J[ohn] W[esley] Christ and Nicodemus (2d ed.; London: J. Wakelin, 1760), p. 8.

²Richard Green, The Works of John and Charles Wesley. A Bibliography (2d ed.; London: Methodist Publishing House, 1906).

³This letter was also published in the London Chronicle.

⁴John Wesley, Letters, IV, 129. ⁵Ibid., loc. cit.

man.¹

1761

Age 46

Wesley's letter takes up his opponent's other charges, point by point, defending his friends and himself.

According to Cadogan's loosely worded statements, Romaine had continued in St. Olave's, Southwark "to the year 1759"² and "after he left the cure of St. Olave's, was morning preacher for near two years at St. Bartholomew the Great, near West Smithfield, and removed from thence to Westminster chapel, where he had the same office for six months, till the dean and chapter withdrew their patronage and protection from it, and refused him their nomination for a licence to preach there."³ Cadogan would thus have Romaine leave St. Bartholomew sometime during 1761 for Westminster Chapel.⁴ The circumstances under which Romaine left St. Bartholomew the Great can now be reconstructed. The will of the Rector, Richard Thomas Bateman, states that he was "Chaplain on board H. M. Ship of War, 'Monmouth,'" and that the will was proved on February 20, 1761.⁵ Bateman's successor at St. Bartholomew, the Rev. John Moore, was instituted on June 15, 1761,⁶ according to Hennessy. In January, 1815, the Evangelical Magazine published a letter of Romaine's dated June 19, 1761, just four days after the new rector came to St. Bartholomew. The letter is addressed to "The Friday Night [Society?]" and begins thus:

¹Ibid., loc. cit.

²William Bromley Cadogan, The Life of the Rev. William Romaine, M.A. in Romaine's Works, VII, 45.

³Ibid., 47f.

⁴Romaine did not go to Westminster Chapel until 1763. Infra, pp. 159f.

⁵R. T. Bateman Will. Principal Probate Registry, London.

⁶George Hennessy, Novum Repertorium Ecclesiasticum Parochiale Londinense (London: Swan Sonnenschein, 1898), p. 101.

My dear Friends,

Finding that I cannot meet the Society this evening, I have two things to recommend to you, which I hope the Lord God will please to bless to your souls. The first is, That you would consider the present afflicting providence as the work of God. Men can do nothing but what God pleases; therefore murmur not, nor repine at second causes; for it is a reflection upon God. Remember, God does all things well;--well for his own glory, and well for his people's good; and in this providence, among the rest. May this confidence quiet your afflicted spirits, and teach you to submit to the Lord's sovereign will! 'Oh!' say you, 'this is a hard lesson; for now the Lord is taking away from us the Gospel, and the means of grace!' I would observe, in the second place, God takes away very often from his people all their props, that they may lean more upon him. He has laid but one foundation; and on that only must we build; but if we think of any thing else, he soon convinces us of the weakness of such confidence. Look then, my dear Friends, at the God-Man, Christ Jesus; make him your all in all, and then you will want means less, because you trust more to the God of all means.¹

The letter closes thus: "To his mercy I commend you, who am bound, by many ties, to be your faithful and loving pastor, tho' dismissed for a time, W. Romaine."² As has already been suggested,³ Romaine probably had been carrying much of the responsibility of St. Bartholomew the Great, due to Bateman's long absences with the Royal Navy. He had endeared himself to the people and looked upon himself as their "pastor"—perhaps he had hoped to become the new rector. Upon the institution of John Moore he was suddenly dismissed. To his credit he urged "submission to God's will"⁴ upon his erstwhile flock.

Perhaps it was well for Romaine that the summer of 1761 proved to be a busy one. The first of Lady Huntingdon's chapels was opened at Brighton by Martin Madan during the summer. The Countess had been doing visitation work among women and children at the seaside resort for several years. The small, neat chapel was built next to her house in North Street with the money re-

¹Evangelical Magazine, XXIII (January, 1815), 10f.

²Ibid., 11. ³Supra, pp. 116f.

⁴Evangelical Magazine, XXIII (January, 1815), 11.

⁵[Seymour] op. cit., I, 314.

ceived from the sale of her jewels. Seymour says that after Madan opened the chapel he was succeeded by "Messrs. Romaine, Berridge, Venn, and Fletcher, who severally took charge of a congregation and people for whom they soon learned to cultivate the sincerest affection."¹

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From Brighthelmstone, as Brighton was then known, Romaine wrote on July 20 to Mrs. Thomas Medhurst² of Kippax, Yorkshire, Lady Huntingdon's niece:

Jesus be your's, all he is, and all he has. Then you will be as rich as an archangel. I hope he will be my guide, and bring me to [Kippax] on Friday next, between one and two. I am not sure, because I have not taken a place in the stage, nor shall till I go to London, which will be on Tuesday next. If I cannot come on the stage, perhaps I may see you before. We go on sweetly in this place. Christ is indeed exalted, and reigns glorious in many a heart, as I wish he may in yours.³

Another letter to Mrs. Medhurst a day or two later announces that he will arrive on Friday, July 24, and adds a postscript:

Strange doings at [Kippax?]?! A party for me, another against me. Violent on both sides. Alas, alas! what's all this about? I sent word I should preach there on Sunday, the 26th; I know not whether they will let me: if they do, I hope you will mount me on that very quiet mare I heard of last year.⁴

Seymour describes an uncomfortable situation which had developed in Yorkshire just at this time between John Wesley and his doctrine of Christian Perfection and men like Grimshaw and Venn, who could not see eye to eye with him in this matter. Wesley and Romaine both arrived in Kippax on the twenty-fourth. The former's

¹Ibid., loc. cit.

²Mrs. Medhurst was the daughter of the Earl of Huntingdon's sister, Lady Catherine-Maria Hastings, and the Rev. Granville Wheeler. Robert Surtees, The History and Antiquities of the County Palatine of Durham (4 vols.; London: Nichols, Son, and Bentley, 1816-40), I, part II, 176.

³William Romaine, Letters from the Late Rev. William Romaine, A.M., to a Friend, on the Most Important Subjects, ed. Thomas Wills (5th ed.; London: Smith and Elder, 1822), p. 169.

⁴Ibid., pp. 171f.

journal tells of their meeting in the parish church, St. Mary's.

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From Bramley I rode to Kippax. Mr. Venn came a little after we were gone into the church. Mr. Romaine read prayers. I preached on 'Christ crucified, to the Jews a stumbling-block, and to the Greeks foolishness.' Oh why should they who agree in this great point fall out about smaller things?¹

They did fall out, however, as the years passed, not only about "smaller things," but about "this great point" as well.

The year 1761 was a year of crisis for Ingham's Yorkshire societies. He had become interested in the doctrines of Glas and Sandeman in 1759 through reading the latter's Letters on Theron and Aspasio and Glas's Testimony of the King of Martyrs. In August, 1761, he sent two of his most trusted preachers, William Batty (1715?-87) and James Allen (1731?-1804), to Scotland in order to learn more about Glasite church order.² A letter from Sandeman to Samuel Churchhill dated in Edinburgh, September 7, 1761, contains the following sentences:

The Yorkshiremen, who were both preachers of long standing, staid with us more than eight days. I went with them to Perth, Dunkeld, and Dundee,--the longer we were acquainted we were the fonder of each other. Mr. Glas was very much pleased with them. They brought a very affectionate letter, with five guineas, from Mr. Ingham, who is the chief leader in raising the profession of faith in Yorkshire, and in the neighboring counties.³

Batty and Allen returned to Yorkshire "thoroughly converted to the Sandemanian theology and discipline,"⁴ which emphasized weekly communion, required participation in the love feasts and

¹John Wesley, The Journal of the Rev. John Wesley, A.M., ed. Nehemiah Curnock (Standard ed.; 8 vols.; London: The Epworth Press, 1938), IV, 472.

²Seymour and Tyerman give the impression that Batty and Allen went to Scotland in 1760 and that the disruption of Ingham's societies began that autumn. [Seymour] op. cit., I, 274f., 280f. Tyerman, Oxford Methodists, pp. 145f.

³Letters in Correspondence by Robert Sandeman, John Glas, and Their Contemporaries, ed. Gabriel Russell (Dundee: Daniel Macintosh, 1851), p. 65.

⁴Tyerman, Oxford Methodists, p. 145.

foot-washing, and provided for a plurality of elders.¹ Hornsby states that the general conference of the Inghamite societies received the report of Batty and Allen at Thinoaks in October, 1761, when

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it was decided to organise the churches on the "congregational plan" instead of the Methodist "society plan." But difficulties soon began to appear, and ere long the Inghamite churches were rent asunder.²

Ingham realized his mistake—but too late! His societies were torn by dissention over the nature of the true Church. Those who favoured the principles of Sandeman felt that Ingham exercised too great authority, whereas he, like Wesley, believed it was his right to direct the societies he had organized. Although many attempts were made at reconciliation, they all failed. In Seymour's words, "Lady Huntingdon wrote, Mr. Romaine visited Yorkshire, Mr. Whitefield prayed and wept—but all proved ineffectual."³ Allen led the defection by seceding with many members to Sandemanianism;⁴ many societies "were merged in the Wesleyan or Dissenting bodies, especially in the class of Scotch Presbyterians called Daleites."⁵ Seymour says that Ingham managed to retain control of only thirteen "out of upwards of eighty flourishing Churches."⁶ Romaine entertained a high regard for Ingham and his societies. Burder recalls a visit with Romaine about the

¹See summary of Sandemanian practices in Tyerman, op. cit., p. 144.

²John Thomas Hornsby, "John Glas (1695-1773" (Unpublished Ph.D. thesis, New College, University of Edinburgh, 1936), p. 286.

³[Seymour] op. cit., I, 275.

⁴[George Burder] Adolescents, "Memoir of the Late Rev. Benjamin Ingham, of Aberford, in Yorkshire," Evangelical Magazine XXII (August, 1814), 307f.

⁵Abel Stevens, The Illustrated History of Methodism (2 vols.; London: James Hagger, n.d.), I, 320.

⁶[Seymour] op. cit., loc. cit.

year 1780. The conversation turned to the scattered remains of the Inghamite societies, in which Burder had occasionally ministered, and Romaine said:

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If ever there was a church of Christ upon earth, that was one. I paid them a visit, and had a great mind to join them. There was a blessed work of God among that people, till that horrid blast from the north came upon them and destroyed all!¹

During the summer of 1761 Lady Huntingdon remodeled the manor house of Ote Hall, about fourteen miles north of Brighton, for use as a chapel. The mansion, formerly owned by a branch of her own family, was offered to her by Francis Warden (1700?-84), Justice of the Peace for Sussex. The large hall was transformed into a chapel and the upper rooms into apartments for herself and the transient preachers.² Among others who ministered at Ote Hall over a period of years were Romaine, Venn, Madan, Ber-ridge, Townsend, Haweis, Augustus M. Toplady (1740-78), and Walter Shirley (1725-86), cousin to the Countess.³ Romaine wrote to the latter in 1761:

Such a time I scarce ever knew as we have had in Oathall. I had met the Society twice, and had spoken with them, one by one, for two Sundays, before we had the sacrament; we were about one hundred communicants, fed at the Lord's table. It was a feast indeed; he not only made us welcome to the bread and cup of salvation, but also vouchsafed his divine presence, and gave us blessed foretastes of the marriage supper. Surely Oathall is a highly favoured place, where the Lord himself delighteth to dwell!!⁴

One of the early converts at Ote Hall was Captain Jonathan Scott (1735-1807), whose name often appears in the literature of the Revival from this time on. He had been a soldier from the age of seventeen and had participated with the Seventh

¹[Burder] op. cit., XXII, 308.

²Thomas Haweis, The Life of William Romaine, M.A. (London: T. Chapman, 1797), p. 88.

³[Seymour] op. cit., I, 316f.

⁴Evangelical Register, I (July, 1825), 193.

Regiment of Dragoons in engagements on the continent. Quartered near Brighton, he was overtaken by a storm while hunting near Ote Hall, and while taking shelter in a farm-house he was invited to hear Romaine preach. Upon attending one of the services he was converted. His biographer says that

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Mr. Romaine preached on our Lord's words in John xiv. 6. "I am the way." The truth delivered was exactly suited to his case; and God, who, in his good providence, brought him to hear it, by the power of his grace, made it effectual to the everlasting benefit of his soul.¹

The young captain was eager to get acquainted with his spiritual father, but all his efforts in that direction failed. He rode home with him after preaching, was invited to have refreshment in the same home with him, and "made use of all the means he could devise to bring about a free intercourse," but without success. "Mr. Romaine continued shy and distant; so that Mr. Scott could never accomplish his purpose while he continued in the country."² Shortly after, while passing through London, Scott called on Romaine and was most cordially received; they became lifelong friends.

Scott began immediately to preach as opportunity afforded. Fletcher of Madeley wrote to Lady Huntingdon:

I went last Monday to meet Captain Scott, one of the first-fruits that have grown for the Lord at Oathall--a captain of the truth--a bold soldier of Jesus Christ. God hath thrown down before him the middle wall of bigotry, and he boldly launches into an irregular usefulness. For some months he has exhorted his dragoons daily; for some weeks he hath preached publicly at Leicester, in the Methodist meeting-house in his regimentals, to numerous congregations, with good success. The stiff regular ones pursue him with hue and cry, but I believe he is quite beyond their reach. God keep him zealous and simple! I believe this red-coat will shame many a black one. I am sure he shames me.³

Whitefield wrote to Scott:

¹J. W., "Memoir of the Late Jonathan Scott," Evangelical Magazine, XV (November, 1807), 492.

²Ibid., 493. ³[Seymour] op. cit., I, 318.

Blessed be the Captain of our salvation for draughting out some young champions to reconnoitre and attack the enemy. You will beat the march in every letter and bid the common soldiers not halt but go forward. . . . Hoping one day or another to see your face in the flesh, and more than hoping to see you crowned with glory in the kingdom of Heaven, I must hasten to subscribe myself, my dear Captain, yours &c. in our all-glorious Captain-General,

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Whitefield described Scott's experience in the Tabernacle and added, "I have invited the Captain to come to London, and bring his artillery to Tabernacle-rampart, and try what execution he can do here."² In 1769 he sold his commission and gave himself to the gospel ministry.³ He was ordained by the Independents at Lancaster and served with success as an itinerant preacher. His biographer says that he supplied in Whitefield's London pulpits for upwards of twenty years and adds that "it should be noticed, to the praise of Mr. Romaine's liberality, that he not only gave him encouragement to preach, but was particularly active in bringing him to that place."⁴

Scott's experience of Romaine's aloofness was characteristic of the man. Romaine had many close friends, but few of them could recall with pleasure their first personal contacts with him. His was not the warm, genial manner of Whitefield and Wesley--on the contrary, he was very reserved and reticent with strangers. Cadogan recalls that "he had a natural quickness, and sometimes roughness in his manner, which were often mistaken, when not meant, for anger and rudeness."⁵ Haweis also notices this trait when he says that "his temper was not always proof against impatience . . . and subjected him to the imputation of

¹Evangelical Magazine, XXIII (July, 1815), 272.

²[Seymour] op. cit., I, 318. ³J. W., op. cit., XV, 496.

⁴Ibid., 537.

⁵Cadogan, Life of Romaine in Romaine's Works, VII, 41.

rudeness."¹ This dour quality in Romaine was doubtless Dr. Archibald W. Harrison's inspiration in characterizing him recently as "that good but dull man."² Both Cadogan and Haweis indicate that Romaine's shortness was not proof against sudden relaxation. The Rev. Thomas Towle (1724-1806), a Nonconformist minister, heard him make some remarks at St. Dunstan's about Dissenters which he considered unjust. When Towle went to his house with his complaint, Mr. Romaine replied, "I do not want to have any thing to say to you, Sir."--"If you will hear me, Sir," added the other, "I will tell you my name; I must, Sir, acquaint you with my profession, I am a Protestant dissenting Minister."--"Sir," said Mr. Romaine, "I neither wish to know your name, nor your profession." Upon which Mr. Towle . . . bowed and took his leave. Some time after Mr. Romaine, to the great surprise of his hearer and reprover, returned his visit, and after the usual salutation,--"Well, Mr. Towle, I am not come to renounce my principles, I have not changed my sentiments, I will not give up my preference to the church of England, &c.; but I am come as a christian to make some apology. I think my behaviour to you, Sir, the other day, was not becoming, nor such as it should have been, &c." They then shook hands, and parted good friends.³

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Towle later said, "a friendly intercourse was kept up between him and myself to the day of his death . . ."⁴ Haweis tells of a man who took a petition to Romaine,

which he returned without looking at it, and was shewing him the door--"Your Master, Sir," said the person humbly, "who knows my case, would have treated me with greater tenderness." He stopped short, took back the paper, examined its contents, and procured for the petitioner the favour he requested.⁵

That Romaine's ministry was so effective, in spite of his apparent lack of personal warmth and friendliness, is a remarkable tribute to its spiritual character.

On June 6, 1762, the Evangelical forces lost one of their keenest leaders, the Rev. Thomas Jones,⁶ Chaplain of St. Sav-

¹Haweis, op. cit., p. 77.

²Archibald W. Harrison, The Evangelical Revival and Christian Reunion (London: The Epworth Press, 1942), p. 206.

³Cadogan, op. cit., VII, 91f. ⁴Ibid., 93.

⁵Haweis, op. cit., pp. 77f. ⁶Supra, pp. 74f.

hour's, Southwark, who died on that date after a lingering illness. Jones was only a little over thirty years of age, and he was greatly missed in London. Martin Madan was still Chaplain of the Lock Chapel, recognized as a chapel of the Established Church, but Jones had been the only beneficed clergyman among the Evangelicals in the metropolis. Romaine felt this loss very deeply, as may be seen in his letter to Richard Hill (1732-1808):

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Sunday morning, this city received a most heavy stroke from the hand of God. That dear minister of the Lord, Mr. Jones, was taken from us. . . . My dear Sir, pray for me; this is a great shock to me. I am now alone, as I first set out; not one minister in any parish church to countenance me. Thank God, I have One with me, whose favour is better than life. In Him I depend. He never failed me yet. May He be your Saviour and my Saviour, in life and in death.¹

Romaine preached a sermon on Jones's death, "The Blessedness of Living and Dying in the Lord," which he published the same year "for the Benefit of his Widow."² The sermon dwells upon the death scene in the harrowing manner of the times. Henry Venn wrote from Huddersfield to a friend at Clapham:

The Sermon you were so kind as to inclose, gave us a most pleasing account of Mr. Jones's death. Most comfortable and animating are such scenes! In them we see how true the Lord our strength is, . . . we may see what manner of support and consolation He imparts in the dying hour; and that having loved his own which are in the world, He loveth them unto the end.³

The Monthly Review did not share Venn's feeling about the sermon.

To read the senseless Sermon before us were enough indeed to give the Reader a surfeit of all religion. But it is really not more an object of ridicule than of indignation; and the author of it not less profane than stupid. . . .⁴

¹Edwin Sidney, The Life of Sir Richard Hill, Bart. (London: R. B. Seeley and W. Burnside, 1839), p. 520.

²William Romaine, The Blessedness of Living and Dying in the Lord in Romaine's Works, VI, 257.

³John Venn, The Life and a Selection from the Letters of the Late Rev. Henry Venn, M.A., ed. Henry Venn (4th ed.; London: John Hatchard and Son, 1836), p. 91.

⁴Monthly Review, XXVII (August, 1762), 260.

Romaine was in Yorkshire again in the summer of 1762, this time for the purpose of attending Wesley's Nineteenth Conference, which opened at Leeds on August 10. Besides the Wesleys and their preachers, Whitefield, Madan, Venn, and Lady Huntingdon were present.¹ Wesley's only comment on the conference in his journal is that "we had great reason to praise God for his gracious presence from the beginning to the end."² George Story (1738-1818) tells only of his appointment as a lay preacher;³ no other account of the conference proceedings survives. It is possible that the Countess and her clerical friends hoped to bring about an understanding with Wesley on the doctrine of "Perfection." Wesley's letters of this period are filled with discussions of this doctrine. His doctrine was set forth in a letter to Charles Wesley written in September, 1762:

I was thinking on Christian Perfection, with regard to the thing, the manner, and the time.

1. By perfection I mean the humble, gentle, patient love of God and man ruling all the tempers, words, and actions, the whole heart and the whole life.

I do not include a possibility of falling from it, either in part or in whole. Therefore I retract several expressions in our hymns which partly express, partly imply, such an impossibility. And I do not contend for the term 'sinless,' though I do not object against it. Do we agree or differ here? If we differ, wherein?

2. As to the manner, I believe this perfection is always wrought in the soul by faith, by a simple act of faith; consequently in an instant. But I believe a gradual work both preceding and following that instant. Do we agree or differ here?

3. As to the time, I believe this instant generally is the instant of death, the moment before the soul leaves the body. But I believe it may be ten, twenty, or forty years before death. Do we agree or differ here?

I believe it is usually many years after justification, but that it may be within five years or five months after it. I know no conclusive argument to the contrary. Do you?

If it must be many years after justification, I would be glad to know how many. Pretium quotus arrogat annus? And how many

¹[Seymour] op. cit., I, 281.

²John Wesley, Journal, IV, 525.

³The Lives of Early Methodist Preachers, ed. Thomas Jackson (6 vols.; London: Wesleyan Conference Office, n.d.), V, 237f.

days, or months, or even years can you allow to be between perfection and death? How far from justification must it be? and how near to death?

If it be possible, let you and me come to a good understanding, both for our own sakes and for the sake of the people.¹

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Charles appeared to be wavering on the doctrine of Perfection. This appears plainly in the preface to his Short Hymns on Select Passages of the Holy Scriptures, published in two volumes in 1762:

Several of the hymns are intended to prove, and several to guard, the doctrine of Christian Perfection. I durst not publish one without the other.

In the latter sort I use some severity; not against particular persons, but against Enthusiasts and Antinomians, who by not living up to their profession, give abundant occasion to them that seek it, and cause the truth to be evil spoken of.²

John Wesley's feeling about this change in Charles's viewpoint is expressed in a letter to Dorothy Furley dated September 15, 1762, in which he cautioned her to "take care you are not hurt by anything in the Short Hymns contrary to doctrines you have long received."³ Jackson states that Charles's "views on this subject appear to have undergone a change, in consequence of the extravagance and pride of which he was a distressed witness."⁴ Jackson's reference was to the Rev. Thomas Maxfield (d. 1784), one of Wesley's first lay preachers, later ordained by Dr. William Barnard (1697-1768), Bishop of Londonderry, "to assist that good man [John Wesley], that he may not work himself to death."⁵ Since 1760 Maxfield had been the leader of a small group of "entirely

¹John Wesley, Letters, IV, 187f.

²John and Charles Wesley, The Poetical Works of John and Charles Wesley, ed. G. Osborn (13 vols.; London: Wesleyan-Methodist Conference Office, 1868-72), IX, vii.

³John Wesley, Letters, IV, 189.

⁴Thomas Jackson, The Life of the Rev. Charles Wesley, M.A. (2 vols.; London: John Mason, 1841), p. 208.

⁵John Wesley, Journal, V, 11.

sanctified" Foundery workers who met on Fridays. Tyerman says that

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some of these favoured ones soon had dreams, visions, and impressions, as they thought, from God; and Maxfield, instead of repressing their whimsies, encouraged them. Presently their visions created contempt for those who had them not; and were regarded as proofs of the highest grace. Some of the preachers opposed these holy visionaries with a considerable amount of roughness. This excited their resentment. They refused to hear their rebukers preach, and followed after Maxfield. Their numbers multiplied; and Maxfield told them they were not to be taught by man, especially by those who had less grace than themselves.¹

Maxfield's circle tended to withdraw from the Foundery fellowship, and complete separation occurred in April, 1763. George Bell, another of Wesley's London workers, also claiming to be "entirely sanctified," headed a small clique of followers who "fancied themselves more holy than Adam and Eve before they yielded to temptation."² Of Bell and his deluded adherents Tyerman writes:

They professed to have the gift of healing, and actually attempted to give eyesight to the blind, and to raise the dead. From a misconstrued text in the Revelation, they inferred that they were to be exempt from death.³

Maxfield and Bell with their groups were associated together to some extent in the autumn of 1762, and it is little wonder that Charles Wesley was questioning some implications of the doctrine of "Perfection."

Evidently Romaine was present only at the opening of Wesley's Leeds conference on August 10, for on the twelfth he was back in London. On that date he wrote to his sister Dorothy, "Matter enough I have to write about. My last journey gives me a

¹L. Tyerman, The Life and Times of the Rev. John Wesley, M.A. (3rd ed.; 3 vols.; London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1876), II, 432f.

²John S. Simon, John Wesley the Master Builder (London: The Epworth Press, 1927), p. 125.

³Tyerman, Life and Times of John Wesley, II, 434.

large subject, but I forbear at this time" ¹ Within a short time he went to Brighton for a month. A letter to Lady Huntingdon dated August 21 runs thus:

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I have so managed my matters as to be able to set out for Brighthelmstone on Monday morning next: and, God willing, shall stay there till Michaelmas. O! join your prayers with ours, that the Lord of the harvest would be with us, and bless our labours in this part of his harvest-field. ²

After the Leeds conference Lady Huntingdon spent some time in Knaresborough, where she had "frequent meetings of all the Gospel clergymen in Yorkshire, with a view to stimulate them to more active exertions in diffusing the light of divine truth." ³ From Knaresborough she went to Harrogate, where Romaine preached a number of times, probably after he had finished his stay at Brighton. ⁴ The Countess and the Calvinistic clergy were much concerned at this time over the excesses being carried on in the name of "Perfection." Another letter from Romaine to Lady Huntingdon, dated November 11, 1762, refers to the leaven of Perfectionism which had penetrated the Brighton chapel congregation.

The temptation with which, at this day, he [Satan] disturbs them, is to hinder them from living upon Christ, as poor, needy, helpless sinners, and from finding by faith all they want in his fullness. This exalts the Saviour too much, and makes them too safe and happy; therefore Satan would persuade them to get riches, strength, and a clean heart, quite without sin in themselves; so that then they may look inward with complacency and delight, and look outwards on others of supposed smaller attainments with a 'STAND BY—I AM HOLIER THAN THOU,' and look upwards with a 'God, I thank thee that I am not as other men are.' Thus you see pride enters in, and Christ is thrust out. ⁵

The same subject is brought up by Grimshaw in a letter written to Romaine on December 8, 1762:

I think, we are both agreed to pull down man, and when we have the proud chit down, to keep him down. For this is the main.—And never let him recover so much as his knees, till with a broken heart and a contrite spirit, the dear REDEEMER raise him. He ought to be convinced, that a good life will no more conduce,

¹Romaine's Works, VIII, 197. ²[Seymour] op. cit., I, 321.
³Ibid., 281. ⁴Ibid., 282. ⁵Ibid., 323.

than a wicked life, to his justification Nor will I allow, that it is any more by good works after grace received, than before, that the believer is saved¹

Grimshaw had worked consistently with Wesley and his societies for many years, and yet the two diverged on this point. The former's well-known "Creed," which he sent to Romaine in this letter, contains the following articles on sanctification:

XXII. I believe, it is by the SPIRIT we are enabled, not to eradicate, as some affirm (for that is absurd) but to subjugate, the old man: To suppress, not extirpate, the exorbitancies of our fleshly appetites: To resist and overcome the world and the devil; and to grow in grace, gradually, not repentively, [i.e. suddenly, or all at once] unto the perfect and eternal day.--This is all I know, or acknowledge, to be Christian Perfection, or Sanctification.

XXIII. I believe, that all true believers, will be daily tempted by the flesh, as well as the world and the devil, even to their lives end; and that they shall feel an inclination, more or less, to comply, yea, and do comply therewith.--So that the best believer, if He knows what He says, and says the truth, is but a sinner at best.²

He later says that Jesus "alone is not only the believer's wisdom and righteousness, but his sanctification and redemption: And in HIM is a fountain ever open for sin and uncleanness unto the last breath of his life."

The Maxfield-Bell situation now moved rapidly toward a denouement. After many unsuccessful efforts to bring Bell into line, Wesley expelled him on December 26 from his societies, desiring "that he would come thither no more."³ He allowed Maxfield to continue for a while. On January 5, 1763, he wrote to his brother Charles:

This week I have begun to speak my mind concerning five or six honest enthusiasts. But I move only an hair's breadth at a time, and by this means we come nearer and nearer to each other. No sharpness will profit. There is need of a lady's hand as well as a lion's heart.

Mr. Whitefield has fallen upon me in public open-mouthed, and

¹Middleton, Biographia Evangelica, IV, 413.

²Ibid., 412. Brackets are Grimshaw's.

³John Wesley, Journal, IV, 542.

only not named my name. So has Mr. Madan. But let them look to it. I go on my way.¹

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By this time Bell was announcing the approaching end of the world on February 28. Wesley wrote twice to the editor of the London Chronicle, on January 7 and February 9, stating that Bell and his followers had been "given orders that they shall meet under my roof no more,"² and that he himself did not believe "either the end of the world or any signal calamity will be on the 28th instant." Further, "not one in fifty, perhaps not one in five hundred, of the people called Methodists believe any more than I do either this or any other of his prophecies."³

Bell's prophecies produced a frenzy among the people. Wesley preached on the fateful evening, trying to show the people "the utter absurdity of the supposition that the world was to end that night." His journal adds: "But notwithstanding all I could say, many were afraid to go to bed, and some wandered about in the fields, being persuaded that, if the world did not end, at least London would be swallowed up by an earthquake."⁴ Maxfield's followers, while professing not to take Bell seriously, spent the night in one of their homes "in full expectation," to quote Tyerman, "of hearing the blast of the archangel's trumpet."⁵ Bell himself was arrested before the hour of his prophesied catastrophe and met his disappointment in prison. Southey says that Bell

recovered his senses, to make deplorable use of them: passing from one extreme to another, the ignorant enthusiast became an ignorant infidel; turned fanatic in politics as he had done in religion; and having gone through all the degrees of disaffection and disloyalty, died at a great age, a radical reformer.⁶

¹John Wesley, Letters, IV, 199f. ²Ibid., 201.

³Ibid., 203. ⁴John Wesley, Journal, V, 9.

⁵Tyerman, Life and Times of John Wesley, II, 438.

⁶Robert Southey, The Life of Wesley (2d ed.; 2 vols.;

The Bell crisis had passed, but at a high cost to Wesley, for the latter was held by many of his ministerial brethren to have been responsible for the Bell extravagances--not to mention his allowing Maxfield to remain in his societies. The following significant letter from Wesley to Lady Huntingdon is undated but inscribed in the recipient's hand, "Received at Brighthelmstone, March 21, 1763, S.H.":

1763
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Age 48

My Lady--For a considerable time I have had it upon my mind to write a few lines to your Ladyship, although I cannot learn that your Ladyship ever enquired whether I was living or dead. By the mercy of God I am still alive, and following the work to which he has called me, although without any help, even in the most trying times, from those I might have expected it from. Their voice seemed to be rather, 'Down with him--down with him; even to the ground.' I mean (for I use no ceremony or circumlocution) Mr. Madan, Mr. Haweis, Mr. Berridge, and (I am sorry to say it) Mr. Whitefield. Only Mr. Romaine has shown a truly sympathizing spirit, and acted the part of a brother. I am the more surprised at this, because he owed me nothing, only the love which we all owe one another. He was not my son in the Gospel, neither do I know that he ever received any help through me. So much the more welcome was his kindness now. The Lord repay it sevenfold into his bosom.

As to the prophecies of these poor wild men, George Bell and half a dozen more, I am not a jot more accountable for them than Mr. Whitefield is, having never countenanced them in any degree, but opposed them from the moment I heard them; neither have these extravagances any foundation in any doctrine which I teach. The loving God with all our heart, soul, and strength, and the loving all men as Christ loved us, is, and ever was, for these thirty years, the sum of what I deliver, as pure religion and undefiled.

However, if I am bereaved of my children, I am bereaved! The will of the Lord be done!

'Poor and helpless as I am, Thou dost for my
vileness care!

Thou hast called me by my name! Thou dost
all my burdens bear,'

Wishing your Ladyship a continual increase of all blessings,
I am, my Lady, your Ladyship's servant for Christ's sake,

JOHN WESLEY¹

The Countess sent this letter to Romaine, who wrote to her on
March 26 as follows:

London: Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme, and Brown, 1820), II, 344f.

¹[Seymour] op. cit., I, 229f.

Madam--Thanks to your Ladyship for your kind remembrance of me in your last. I rejoice in your joy, and am always glad to hear of the prosperity of your family: for yours the dear people are, and are as nearly related as your own children are. They are also to me tied in the best bonds, and what is in my power shall not be wanting for them. I do not despair of seeing them for a few days before the summer.

Enclosed is poor Mr. John's (Wesley's) letter. The contents of it, as far as I am concerned, surprise me: for no one has spoken more freely of what is now passing among the people than myself. Indeed, I have not preached so much as others whose names he mentions, nor could I. My subject is one, and I dare not vary from it. The more I read and preach upon the all-sufficiency of the adorable Jesus, the more I am determined to know nothing but him, and him crucified. But whatever stands in my way of exalting him I would tread upon it as the merest dross and dung. A perfection out of Christ, call it grace, and say it is grace from him, yet with me it is all rank pride and damnable sin. Oh! Madam, we should be careful of his glory, and not give it to another, least of all to ourselves. Depend upon it, man cannot be laid too low, nor Christ set too high. I would, therefore, always aim, as good brother Grimshaw expresses it, to get the old gentleman down, and keep him down: and then Christ reigns like himself, when he is ALL, and man is nothing!

I pity Mr. John from my heart. His societies are in great confusion; and the point which brought them into the wilderness of rant and madness is still insisted on as much as ever. I fear the end of this delusion. As the late alarming Providence has not had its proper effect, and perfection is still the cry, God will certainly give them up to some more dreadful thing. May their eyes be opened before it be too late!

I am glad we shall see you so soon. I rejoice for myself; but I fear you will not stay long. Things are not here as at Brighthelmstone. We have many precious souls, but we really want LOVE. The Foundry, the Tabernacle, the Lock, the Meeting, yea, St. Dunstan's, has each its party, and brotherly love is almost lost in our disputes. Thank God, I am out of them. I wish them all well, and love them all; and where we differ, there is exercise for my charity. But I condemn none that will not subscribe to my creed. By the grace of God I am what I am. My wife joins me in duty and affection to your Ladyship, and we are your faithful servants in our most dear and eternally precious Jesus,

W. ROMAINE¹

In these letters one senses the depressing spirit of antagonism which existed at this time between those whose fellowship in past yearshad been a source of blessing and inspiration.

The Revs. Howell Davies (d. 1770) and Howell Harris (1714-73), leaders of the Calvinistic Methodists in Wales, were in southern England early in 1763. Harris heard Romaine in London

¹[Seymour] op. cit., I, 330f.

on January 17.¹ Davies was supplying Lady Huntingdon's chapel at Brighton and seems to have requested Romaine to succeed him there; Romaine, however, could not find a substitute for St. Dunstan's.

1763

Age 48

He wrote the Countess on February 5:

I hope some kind providence will soon send me amongst you. Madam you know is refused preaching for me by an order of Vestry made some years ago; and Haws has no licence from any bishop, nor has Tynley.²

In the same letter he writes of his work in London.

For my part, I am quite fixed, and every day more so, in my present work. I am called to it, and commanded therein to abide with God. People say to me, you might be more useful here--or, what a great deal of good you might do there. Alas! they know me not.³

Romaine's only regular work at this time was the St. Dunstan lectureship. Unsuccessful attempts were made to secure Romaine for regular services in other London churches during the years when he had no living. An example of these is found in the vestry minutes of St. Helen's, Bishopsgate, dated June 27, 1754, and October 10, 1754:

At the request of some of the Parishioners It was moved That Revd Mr Romaine might have the use of this Church for the reading of prayers and preaching a Sermon One day in a week. Consideration thereof adjourned to the next Vestry.

The above Motion was given up by the Gentleman on whose behalf it was made.⁴

Grimshaw of Haworth died of a highly infectious "putrid fever" which raged through his parish on April 7, 1763.⁵ Henry

¹Proceedings of the Wesley Historical Society, XVII (June, 1928), 116

²Free Church of England Magazine and Harbinger of the Countess of Huntingdon's Connexion, II (February, 1868), 43.

³Ibid., 42.

⁴The Annals of St. Helen's, Bishopsgate, London, ed. John Edmund Cox (London: Tinsley Brothers, 1876), p. 162.

⁵John Wesley in his Journal, IV, 496, dates Grimshaw's death in 1762. See a discussion of this error in Proceedings of the Wesley Historical Society, V (1905), 59f.

Venn preached his funeral sermon at Luddenden Chapel, near Halifax, where the Haworth parson was buried at his own request.

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Romaine preached a funeral sermon for his friend ten days after his death at St. Dunstan-in-the-West from the text in Philippians 1:21, "For to me to live is Christ, and to die is gain."¹ Grimshaw's loss was mourned by thousands, and his service and fellowship were greatly missed, especially in Yorkshire.

Wesley's "lady's hand" failed with Maxfield, and on April 28 his "lion's heart" asserted itself. Maxfield's adherents questioned Wesley's authority. Tyerman says that one of them resented Wesley's reproof and cried out,

"We will not be browbeaten any longer; we will throw off the mask;" and, accordingly, returned her own and her husband's tickets, saying, "Sir, we will have no more to do with you; Mr. Maxfield is our teacher."²

Maxfield's intractability and insubordination led to his departure from Wesley's societies on the above date.³ After preaching for a time to those who followed him out of Wesley's chapels, he preached in Dissenting assemblies, concluding his life as Minister of the Dissenting chapel in Princes Street, Moorfields.⁴

Maxfield's departure accentuated for Wesley the whole problem of the administration of the sacraments in his societies.

Harrison stresses the point that Wesley originally hoped that

there would be a sufficient number of truly evangelical clergy in the Established Church scattered throughout the country, who would shepherd the Methodist flocks, and help him in his growing responsibilities. This was far from being the case, and it was a hard problem how to answer his people, who saw no reason why

¹See notes on this sermon in Middleton, Biographia Evangelica, IV, 407.

²Tyerman, Life and Times of John Wesley, II, 433.

³John Wesley, Journal, V, 12.

⁴Walter Wilson, The History and Antiquities of Dissenting Churches and Meeting Houses, in London, Westminster, and Southwark (4 vols.; London: W. Button and Son, 1808-11), IV, 283.

they should attend the ministrations of some incumbent who was either unfit for the office he held or an active persecuter of the Methodists.¹

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Age 48

Both of the Wesleys had been unwilling to allow the lay preachers to baptize and administer the Lord's Supper. Maxfield's ordination by the Bishop of Derry had given them another clergyman.

Many of the lay preachers, however, began to administer the sacrament on their own authority, some taking out licences as Dissenting ministers. This was a cause of great concern to Charles Wesley, whose love for the Church of England was not a mere matter of convenience. In 1760 he had written to John:

Upon the whole I am fully persuaded almost all our preachers are corrupted already: more and more will give the Sacrament and set up for themselves, even before we die: and all except the few that get Orders will turn Dissenters before or after our death.

You must wink very hard not to see all this. But I now call upon you in the name of God to consider with me, What is to be done?²

To John Nelson (1707-74), lay preacher and friend, he wrote:

I think you are no weathercock. What think you then of licensing yourself as a Protestant Dissenter, and baptizing and administering the Lord's Supper--and all the while calling yourself a Church of England-man? Is this honest? consistent? just? Yet this is the practice of several of our sons in the Gospel, even some whom I most loved, and most depended upon . . . John, I love thee from my heart; yet rather than see thee a Dissenting Minister, I wish to see thee smiling in thy coffin.³

John Wesley saw the practical side of the problem. The Methodist societies were steadily increasing in all parts of Britain. How were the members to receive the sacraments? Maxwell was now lost to the cause--he and Charles could not possibly meet the needs of their people.

Opportunately, an expedient presented itself, and there can

¹A. W. Harrison, The Separation of Methodism from the Church of England (London: The Epworth Press, 1945), p. 13.

²Frank Baker, Charles Wesley as Revealed by His Letters (London: The Epworth Press, 1948), p. 99.

³Ibid., pp. 100f.

be no doubt that Wesley ever afterward regretted his having made use of it. One Erasmus, purporting himself to be a Greek bishop, appeared in London just at this time.¹ He attempted to introduce himself to Lady Huntingdon, but she was suspicious of him.

There is something singular in this man (writes her Ladyship), and it strikes me that he is not altogether what he appears or pretends to be. Mr. Romaine, Mr. Madan, and others, have strong doubts of the reality of his office.²

John Wesley befriended the man and later wrote, "I examined his credentials, and was fully satisfied."³ An inquiry from the Patriarch of Smyrna confirmed the fact that Erasmus was Bishop of Arcadia in Crete. At Wesley's request, Erasmus ordained one of his lay preachers, John Jones, a well educated man, versed in the Biblical languages, a former physician who had given up his practice to assist in the work of the societies. Charles was astounded at his brother's action and refused to allow Jones to assist him at the sacrament in London. Jones later found his position so uncomfortable that he left the Methodists, was ordained by the Bishop of London, and was Vicar of Harwich for many years.⁴ The whole affair became known and was joked about in the London papers. An anonymous satire appeared, Diotrephes and Stentor: A New Farce Acted near Moorfields,⁵ consisting largely of an amusing dialogue on the ordination between Diotrephes (Wesley) and one of his helpers. The full climax of this episode was not to

¹At the beginning of the year 1763, according to William Myles (1757-1828) in his Chronological History of the People Called Methodists. This reference is found in Simon, John Wesley the Master Builder, p. 130.

²[Seymour] Life and Times of the Countess of Huntingdon, I, 331.

³John Wesley, Letters, IV, 289.

⁴Jackson, Life of Charles Wesley, II, 414.

⁵Proceedings of the Wesley Historical Society, XI (September, 1917), 72.

be reached until early in 1765, when the scandal of other ordinations by Erasmus became an embarrassment to Wesley.¹

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Lady Huntingdon's circle was deeply touched when on May 12, 1763, her younger daughter and namesake, Selina (1737-63), died after a seventeen day fever. In the middle twenties, she was described by her mother as "my dearest, my altogether lovely child and daughter, Lady Selina Hastings, the desire of my eyes and continual pleasure of my heart."² Romaine seems to have been very close to the Countess at this trying time, for his name is mentioned by Lord Dartmouth³ and Henry Venn⁴ in their letters of condolence to her. He gives a detailed account of Selina's death in a letter to Mrs. Medhurst dated May 14.⁵

Romaine made his annual trip north in the summer, and August 1 found him at Everton, in Bedfordshire, supplying the pulpit for his friend Berridge, who put in a month preaching at Ote Hall and London.⁶ Upon being relieved at Everton by Madan, Romaine proceeded to Brighton. Two letters written from Brighton to Mrs. Medhurst are of interest. That written on September 1 describes the tiring aspect of an itinerant preacher's life:

I have at last got a spare hour to write to my dear friends at [Kippax], and to tell them how much I wish all spiritual blessings in Christ Jesus may be their's. Since I left you, all has been hurry, travelling from place to place, till kind Providence has brought me to Brighthelmstone, where I hope for a little rest—not so much to my soul; blessed be the grace of sweet Jesus, I have that—but rest from distraction, hurry, dust, heat, and want of sleep. This is a kind of heaven [haven?] after a storm. Not that I expect a continual calm here: it would be a sad place indeed, if there were no enemies, no warfare, no tri-

¹Infra, p. 175. ²[Seymour] op. cit., I, 332.

³Ibid., 335. ⁴Ibid., 336.

⁵Romaine, Letters to a Friend, pp. 21ff.

⁶[Seymour] op. cit., I, 359.

als and troubles in it.¹

1763

A paragraph from the letter of September 26 reveals Romaine's attitude toward leaving London.

Age 48

Would ----- be worthy my acceptance? The worth of it does not come before me, but what my Master expects of me. His will must be my rule; and it has been a long time as plain to me as that two and two make four. I am stationed by myself. I am alone in London; and while he keeps me there, I dare not move; as when he has a mind to move me, my way will be a plain from London as it is now to abide in it. If I hearkened to self, and wanted to run away from the cross, I know of no place so snug as -----; but would you have me sych a coward as to fly, and such as one to stand by me--one who has kept me in many battles, and one who, I trust, will presently make me more than conqueror?²

The writer, it should be remembered, had an assured income of but eighteen pounds a year--the St. Dunstan stipend.

Another venture of faith was now in the offing. Romaine began to preach in the New Way Chapel,³ Westminster. This chapel of ease to St. Margaret's had been built about the year 1631⁴ on waste ground belonging to the Dean and Chapter of Westminster;⁵ the site is now occupied by the bombed structure of Christ Church, Broadway. Cadogan, as has been noted,⁶ errs in stating that Romaine came to this chapel from St. Bartholomew the Great in 1761. Haweis's account, unhampered by a time note, is now quoted.

. . . . the chapel of the Broadway, Westminster, becoming vacant by the death of a Mr. Briant, I was informed that his widow, who had the property of it, wished to dispose of it; and as I was then serving at the Lock, my friends were very earnest I should make application for it, and enlarge the sphere of my labours and usefulness. With her the matter met no difficulty, and I was referred to the Dean of Westminster, then Bishop of Rochester,⁷

¹Romaine, Letters to a Friend, p. 35.

²Ibid., p. 42.

³Also referred to as Broadway or Westminster Chapel.

⁴T. Francis Bumpus, London Churches Ancient & Modern (2 vols.; London: T. Werner Laurie, n.d.), II, 140f.

⁵Edward Walford, Old and New London (New ed.; 6 vols.; London: Cassell & Co., n.d.), IV, 21.

⁶Supra, p. 136. ⁷Dr. Zachary Pearce (1690-1774).

the chapel being a peculiar of that deanery. On him I waited at the chapter-house, and made my respectful application for a licence to the chapel, but was very ungraciously refused

My brother Romaine, however, though I withdrew from the contest, determined to undertake the service, and having a licence in the diocese of London, probably hoped he should not be disturbed in his service, and that he might not perhaps be alike obnoxious. He therefore opened the chapel, and laboured for awhile with great acceptance and success; but before the expiration of a year, the Bishop's mandate to desist and the terrors of the spiritual court compelled him to decamp, and leave the congregation he had collected.¹

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Haweis's "Mr. Briant" was evidently the Rev. Francis Bryars of St. Clements Danes, who on May 21, 1754, was granted a lease of ground and four tenements "belonging & part of the Chapel on W. side of a street called the New Way."² In June, 1759, the Dean of Westminster held a visitation of the Abbey parishes and chapels and Francis Bryars is recorded as officiating in the New Way Chapel.³ Bryars's will was proved on July 12, 1763,⁴ thus providing a time notice for Haweis's account. Walcott, without stating his authority, recounts an anecdote of Romaine's popularity at the New Way Chapel, which, taken with an excerpt from the Westminster Chapter Book, goes far toward explaining his curt dismissal. Thus Walcott:

At this time Dr. [Thomas] Wilson [1703-84], then Vicar of St. Margaret's, was a suitor at court for a Bishopric; and being asked by King George III., "What news from his parish?" he replied that there was that fellow Romaine, who had got a Chapel in the New Way, and drew all his parishioners from the Church." The King quickly enjoined, "Well! we will make a Bishop of him,--that will silence him!"⁵

Wilson was Prebendary of Westminster; and he soon saw to it that the irritating competition was eliminated. The following transcription from the Chapter Book tells its own story:

¹Haweis, Life of Romaine, pp. 79f.

²Westminster Chapter Book. ³Ibid.

⁴Francis Bryars Will. Principal Probate Registry, London.

⁵Mackenzie E. C. Walcott, The Memorials of Westminster (New ed.; London: Francis and John Rivington, 1851), p. 285.

Acts of a chapter held the 2d day of February 1764

The Dean [Zachary Pearce] .

Subdean [John Thomas]

Dr. [Thomas] Wilson

Dr [John] Blair

Mr. [Richard] Cope

Dr [Philip] Lloyd

Dr. [Reeve] Ballard

being present

Ordered that the Chapter Clerk write to Mr Romaine to acquaint him in the name of the Dean and Chapter of Westminster that he is hereby forbidden to preach or otherwise officiate in the New Way Chappel in the parish of Saint Margaret he having no Lycense from their Commisary or consent of the Minister of the said parish.¹

Wright, while following Cadogan's erroneous date of 1761, quotes from a letter written by Toplady some time later to William Lunell (1700-74) of Dublin, a Moravian banker friendly to the Methodists.

[. . . . This] eminent man two or three years ago attempted to get possession of a chapel [situate in the] New Way, Westminster, within a few doors of my mother's house, but the [dean and] chapter ordered it to be shut up, and so it has continued ever since. [Subsequently], at Mr.²Romaine's request, I tried for it myself, but could not succeed.

On December 27 Romaine had written to his sister Dorothy, "I have got a little chapel, at which I preach twice on Sunday, and a third time, at night, at St. Dunstan's."³ He wrote to her again on March 3:

I have got more preferment, God be thanked; I am turned out of my little chapel. Rejoice with me, that I am counted worthy to suffer shame for his dear, dear, dearest of all names, Jesus. I do love him more for this mark of his love. 'Tis worth more than a thousand a year. I find to lose for Christ is vast gain. Who would not part with farthings for guineas; Oh I cannot tell you, words fail, how he has made up this loss to me, and how he has won my very heart by it, and endeared himself beyond measure to me.⁴

Something of the man's spirit can be caught from these lines. He was not discouraged. He still had his St. Dunstan lecture, and Lady Huntingdon seemed able and willing to keep him busy in her

¹Westminster Chapter Book.

²Thomas Wright, Augustus M. Toplady and Contemporary Hymn Writers (London: Farncombe & Son, 1911), p. 46. Brackets are Wright's.

³Romaine's Works, VIII, 185.

⁴Ibid., 188.

chapels.¹

1764
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Early in 1764 Romaine published his Treatise upon the Life of Faith, which was to become his best known work. It has often been reprinted to the present, usually in combination with two later works, as The Life, Walk, and Triumph of Faith. The preface announces that "the design of this little treatise is to display the glory and all-sufficiency of the Lord Jesus Christ, and to encourage weak believers to glorify him more by depending and living more upon his all-sufficiency."² The author stresses two aspects of faith.

The first is the state of safety, in which he is placed by Christ, and is delivered from every evil and danger in time and in eternity, to which sin had justly exposed him; and the second is the happiness of this state, consisting in an abundant supply of all spiritual blessings freely given to him in Christ, and received as they are wanted, by the hand of faith out of the fulness of Christ.³

The first part of his definition of faith closely resembled that of Glas and Sandeman,

Now faith signifies the believing the truth of the word of God: so says Christ, "Thy word is truth:" it relates to some word spoken or to some promise made by him, and it expresses the belief which a person who hears it has of its being true.⁴

Wesley wrote in his journal on January 20, 1765:

I looked over Mr. R[omaine]'s strange book on the Life of Faith. I thought nothing could ever exceed Mr. Ingham's;⁵ but really this does. Although they differ not a hair's-breadth from each other, any more than from Mr. Sandeman.⁶

The Calvinistic tone of Romaine's book was bitter to Wesley's

¹Seymour says that Romaine was preaching in Brighton at the beginning of 1764. Life and Times of the Countess of Huntingdon, I, 360.

²William Romaine, A Treatise Upon the Life of Faith in Romaine's Works, I, v.

³Ibid., 15. ⁴Ibid., 17.

⁵See reference to Ingham's Discourse on the Faith and Hope of the Gospel in Tyerman, Oxford Methodists, pp. 147ff.

⁶John Wesley, Journal, V, 105f. Brackets are Curnock's.

taste, and its thesis of victory over sin through complete dependence upon Christ rather than upon the possession of an inward experience of "Perfection" doubtless influenced his judgment of the work. Romaine continued his definition of faith:

. . . . [faith] relates to some word spoken or to some promise made by him [God], and it expresses the belief which a person who hears it has of its being true. He assents to it, relies upon it, and acts accordingly. This is faith.¹

This goes far beyond the position of Sandeman, who limited faith to bare assent. The treatise divides the life of faith into three periods, in which believers progressively are children, young men, and fathers in the faith. In the section devoted to the childhood of faith, the author discusses hindrances to spiritual growth and their remedies. Young men in the faith are characterized by spiritual strength--received from Christ as a consequence of their being well-founded upon him. They do battle for for him, and in due course "thro' much exercise and fighting these young men, strong and mighty in the scriptures, grow up to be fathers in Christ" ² The fathers have learned complete distrust of themselves and complete dependence upon Christ, who has become their Prophet, Priest, King, and Advocate.

The Monthly Review greeted the Life of Faith with the following paragraph:

There is a certain class of Readers which, no doubt, will look upon this as a sweet treatise, a comfortable treatise, a precious treatise, a soul-reviving, soul-refreshing treatise, &c. &c. To us it appears a silly treatise, a stupid treatise, a non-sensical treatise, a fanatical treatise, &c. &c.³

Thomas Chalmers contributed an introductory essay to The Life, Walk, and Triumph of Faith in the next century. He recognized

¹Romaine, Life of Faith in Romaine's Works, I, 17.

²Ibid., 108.

³Monthly Review, XXXI (September, 1764), 225.

the devotional value of the work in the following words:

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We know of no Treatises where this evangelical infusion so pervades the whole substance of them as those of Romaine. Though there is no train of consecutive argument--though there is no great power or variety of illustration--though we cannot allege in their behalf much richness of imagery, or even much depth of Christian experience. And, besides, though we were to take up any of his paragraphs at random, we should find that, with some little variation in the workmanship of each, there was mainly one ground or substratum for them all--yet the precious and consoling truths, which he ever and anon presents, must endear them to those who are anxious to maintain in their minds a rejoicing sense of God as their reconciled Father. He never ceases to make mention of Christ and of his righteousness--and it is by the constant droppings of this elixir that the whole charm and interest of his writings are upheld.¹

Overton in 1907 said that this work "is, perhaps, on the whole, the strongest book . . . [that] appeared among the Evangelicals."²

On January 8, 1764, John Wesley addressed a letter to the Countess of Huntingdon which reflects his awareness of the coolness that had gradually come over their once friendly association.

My Lady,

Shall I tell your Ladyship just what is in my mind, without any disguise or reserve? I believe it will be best so to do. And I think your Ladyship can bear it.

"When Lady H. (says my Brother) invites me to Brighthempston, will you bear me company"? In [I?] answer'd, "Yes": Being under no Apprehension of his claiming my Promise suddenly. And indeed I was perfectly indifferent about it, being in no want of Employment. It was therefore little concern to me, that Mr. Whitefield, Madan, Romaine, Berridge, Haweis were sent for over and over, & as much notice taken of my brother and me, as of a couple of Postillions. It only confirmed me in the Judgment I had formed for many Years, I am too rough a Preacher for tender Ears. "No, that is not it: but you preach Perfection." What! Without why or wherefore? Among the unawaken'd? Among Babes in Christ? No. To these I say not a word about it. I have two or three grains of Common Sense. If I do not know how to suit my Discourse to my Audience at these years, I ought never to preach more.

But I am grieved for your Ladyship. This is no mark of Catholic Spirit, but of great narrowness of Spirit. I do not say this, because I have any Desire to preach at Brighthelmstone. I cou'd not now, if your Ladyship desired it. For I am engaged every week, till I go to Bristol, in my way either to Ireland or Scot-

¹W. Romaine, Treatises on the Life, Walk, and Triumph of Faith. With an Introductory Essay by Thomas Chalmers. (2d ed.; 2 vols.; Glasgow: Chalmers and Collins, 1824) I, xixf.

²John Henry Overton, The Evangelical Revival in the Eighteenth Century (London: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1907), pp. 102f.

land. But this I wish even your Perfection, the Establishment of your Soul in Love!

I am, My Lady, Your Ladyship's Affectionate and Obedient Servant

JOHN WESLEY¹

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Within a few months Wesley's petulance had given way to a spirit of hopefulness which prompted him to attempt to form a union of all the Evangelical clergymen, both regular and irregular, of the Church of England. He had already had some correspondence with Lord Dartmouth on the vexed question of the relationship between the Evangelical parish clergymen and his societies and lay preachers.² On April 19, 1764, he sent to Dartmouth a letter, most of which he had written "near two years and a half" before, which he proposed to send to "forty or fifty clergymen"³ in the interest of better understanding between the Revival preachers. The next day he sent the same letter to Lady Huntingdon, altered only in the opening and closing paragraphs.

Who knows but it may please God to make your Ladyship an instrument in this glorious work? in effecting an union among the labourers in His vineyard? That He may direct and bless you in all your steps is [my] prayer⁴

Dartmouth after a time returned a reply which Wesley construed as favourable, and the latter decided upon "sending to each of those gentlemen the substance of what I wrote to your Lordship, and desiring them to tell me freely whatever objections they have against such a union."⁵ Thus he wrote to Lord Dartmouth on July 26, 1764. The lists of ministers vary somewhat in the various editions of Wesley's journal (the letter sent to Dartmouth), the letter to Lady Huntingdon, and a manuscript draft of the same let-

¹Proceedings of the Wesley Historical Society, XXVII (March, 1949), 3f.

²John Wesley, Letters, IV, 146ff.

³John Wesley, Journal, V, 60.

⁴John Wesley, Letters, IV, 239. ⁵Ibid., 259.

ter preserved at Cliff College. The lists are given here for the purpose of comparison, the first only in its original order:¹

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<u>Journal</u>	<u>Lady Huntingdon</u>	<u>Cliff College</u>
Perronet	Perronet	Perronet
Romaine	Romaine	Romain
Newton		Newton
Shirley	Shirley	Shirley
Downing	Downing	Downing
Jesse	Jesse	Jesse
Adam	Adam	Adam
Talbot	Talbot	Talbot
Riland	Riland	Riland
Stillingfleet	Stillingfleet	Stillingfleet
Fletcher	Fletcher	Fletcher
Johnson	Johnson	Johnson
Baddiley	Boddiley	Baddily
Andrews	Andrews	Andrews
Jane	Jane	Jane
Hart	Hart	Hart
Symes	Sims	Sims
Rouquet		Rouquet
Sellon	Sellon	Sellon
[Cooper		
Harmer		
Gwen] ²		
Venn	Venn	Venn
Richardson	Richardson	Richardson
Burnet	Burnet	Burnet
Furly	Furly	Furley
Conyers	Conyers	Conyers
Bentley	Bentley	Bentley
King	King	King
Berridge	Berridge	Berridge
Hicks	Hicks	Hicks
J.W.		J ^o & C ^s
C.W.	Wesley	Westley
Richardson	Richardson	Richardson
Colley		Colley
Crook [1st ed.]	Crook	Crook
Eastwood [1st ed.]	Eastwood	Eastwood
G.W. [1st ed.] ³	Whitefield	Whitefield
	Madan	Madan
	Haweis	Haweis
	Hartley	
	Boddiley	Baddily 2nd Halton

¹The original letter was first published in Wesley's Journal; see V, 61. On the letter to Lady Huntingdon, see Proceedings of the Wesley Historical Society, XII (1919), 29ff. For the Cliff College MS, see ibid., XXI (December, 1938), 194f.

²Curnock states that Edward Perronet adds these three names. John Wesley, Journal, V, 61. Brackets are Curnock's.

³These three names in the first edition of Wesley's Journal; see V, 61.

Davis
Mansell
Clark
Bliss
Goodday

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After the last name on the list follow these words:

not excluding any other clergyman who agrees in these essentials--

I. Original Sin.

II. Justification by Faith.

III. Holiness of Heart and Life; provided their life be answerable to their doctrine.¹

The letter is an admirable plea for brotherly love between the Evangelical clergy. The author speaks of the early unity. However, "as labourers increased, disunion increased. Offences were multiplied; and, instead of coming nearer to, they stood farther and farther off from, each other; till at length those who were not only brethren in Christ, but fellow labourers in His gospel, had no more connexion or fellowship with each other than Protestants have with Papists."² The following paragraphs contain the heart of the letter:

'But what union would you desire among these?' Not a union in opinions. They might agree or disagree, touching absolute decrees on the one hand, and perfection on the other. Not a union in expressions. These may still speak of the imputed righteousness, and those of the merits, of Christ. Not a union with regard to outward order. Some may still remain quite regular, some quite irregular; and some partly regular and partly irregular. But these things being as they are, as each is persuaded in his own mind, is it not a most desirable thing that we should--

1. Remove hindrances out of the way? Not judge one another, not despise one another, not envy one another? Not be displeased at one another's gifts or success, even though greater than our own? Not wait for one another's halting, much less wish for it, or rejoice therein?

Never speak disrespectfully, slightly, coldly, or unkindly, of each other; never repeat each other's faults, mistakes, or infirmities, much less listen for and gather them up; never say or do anything to hinder each other's usefulness, either directly or indirectly? Is it not a most desirable thing that we should--

2. Love as brethren? Think well of and honour one another? Wish all good, all grace, all gifts, all success, yea, greater than our own, to each other? Expect God will answer our wish, rejoice in every appearance thereof, and praise Him for it? Readily believe good of each other, as readily as we once believ-

¹John Wesley, Journal, V, 61. ²Ibid., 60.

ed evil?

Speak respectfully, honourably, kindly of each other; defend each other's character; speak all the good we can of each other; recommend one another where we have influence; each help the other on in his work, and enlarge his influence by all the honest means he can?

This is the union which I have long sought after; and is it not the duty of every one of us so to do? Would it not be far better for ourselves? Would it not be far better for the people, who suffer severely from the clashings and contentions of their leaders Would it not be better even for the poor, blind world, robbing them of their sport, 'Oh they cannot agree among themselves!' Would it not be better for the whole work of God, which would then deepen and widen on every side?¹

He urged the cooperation of all or any—"you may comply with this proposal, whether any other does or not. I myself have endeavoured so to do for many years, though I have been almost alone therein" ² If he had complied with the ideal expressed in this letter in the past, he certainly failed to do so in the future. As will be seen, Wesley's effort at union was a failure. No generation has been able to realize this ideal among those who are widely divergent in doctrine--except when doctrine has been held to be of secondary importance.

Rowland Hill (1745-1833), younger brother of Richard Hill, both sons of Sir Rowland Hill of Hawkstone, Shropshire, with several companions from Eaton spent some time in London in the spring of 1764. The group attended the services at St. Dunstan's on Thursdays to hear Romaine, who fed them "with the fat of the land." The lads were welcomed by Romaine to his fellowship breakfasts in Walnut Tree Walk, Lambeth. Young Hill wrote to his sister Jane:

I have many obligations to the great Mr. Romaine, who has often invited me and my companions to his house, where we often meet by eight in the morning. O how sweetly does he pray with us, teach and exhort us. Every word that comes from his mouth ought to be writ in letters of gold upon our hearts.³

¹Ibid., 61f. ²Ibid., 60.

³Edwin Sidney, The Life of the Rev. Rowland Hill, A.M. (4th ed.; London: Seeley, Burnside, and Seeley, 1844), p. 22.

In the autumn, after he had entered Cambridge, Rowland requested his sister to send him his picture of Romaine. With the caution of an older sister, Jane wrote to him on November 30:

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I have sent you Mr. Romaine's picture, according to your desire. May the image of Christ be more and more stamped upon your mind and mine, and may we who profess a faith in him, experience more and more the power of his death and resurrection in our souls, to his glory in the world, and our own abundant peace and growth in holiness.¹

That Jane Hill held Romaine in the highest respect is shown in her references to him in her correspondence.²

At the close of Romaine's lectures at St. Dunstan's³ for the summer, he preached for a fortnight at Brighton⁴ before proceeding north, where he enjoyed a time of great refreshing with his family and old neighbours. With preaching and visiting, the time was soon gone, as he wrote to a friend from Hartlepool on August 7, 1764:

My Jesus hath contrived so much work for me in these parts, and he is so evidently and powerfully with us, that I cannot leave my neighbours, who crowd to hear far more than ever, and they are to me as my own soul. We are beyond all description happy in our lovely Lord. Such meetings I never knew--and twice a day--and many churches open. Oh! that I could but stay--I am so knit in heart to my neighbours, and the most of them come and sit quietly to hear, that I know not how to leave them. But it must be.⁵

It must be, indeed! He continued his preaching down into Yorkshire, stopping doubtless with old friends and fellow-workers among the Evangelical clergy.

While Romaine was preaching in the northern counties, Wesley's Twenty-first Conference was in session at Bristol. Wes-

¹Sidney, Life of Sir Richard Hill, p. 71

²See, i.e., T. S. Jones, The Life of the Right Honourable Willielma, Viscountess Glenorchy (2d ed.; Edinburgh: William Whyte and Co., 1824), pp. 63f.

³The Rev. Joseph Williamson (1742?-1807) was instituted at St. Dunstan's on July 14, 1764. Hennessy, Novum Repertorium Ecclesiasticum Parochiale Londinense, p. 138.

⁴Romaine, Letters to a Friend, p. 48. ⁵Ibid., pp. 55f.

ley's journal note reflects the spirit of his recent letter to the clergy:

On Monday the 6th [of August] our Conference began. The great point I now laboured for was a good understanding with all our brethren of the clergy who are heartily engaged in propagating vital religion.¹

A number of the clergy attended the meeting--apparently with a grievance. Samuel Walker of Truro and Henry Venn of Huddersfield had asked Wesley some time before to remove his lay preachers from their parishes as unnecessary, since they themselves were preaching the Evangelical message;² this problem had never been settled satisfactorily. One of the lay preachers, John Pawson (1737-1806), later described this phase of the conference business in his Affectionate Address:

In the year 1764, twelve of those gentlemen attended our conference in Bristol, in order to prevail with Mr. Wesley to withdraw the preachers from every parish where there was an awakened minister; and Mr. Charles Wesley honestly told us, that if he was a settled minister in any particular place, we should not preach there. To whom Mr. Hampson replied, "I would preach there, and never ask your leave, and should have as good a right to do so as you would have." Mr. Charles Wesley's answer was in a strain of high church eloquence indeed! but I leave it. His prediction was never accomplished, nor ever can be. However, these gentlemen failed in their attempt that time; Mr. Wesley would not give up his societies to them.³

The friction between the Evangelical clergy and Wesley's preachers evidently had an important bearing upon the meager response to the "Union" letter of April 19. Only three answers were received--from Richard Hart (1727?-1808) of Bristol, Walter Sellon of Breedon, and Vincent Perronet (1693-1785) of Shoreham--two favourable and the third discouraging.⁴ Wesley felt that his ef-

¹John Wesley, Journal, V, 91.

²Simon, John Wesley the Master Builder, p. 159.

³Quoted in Tyerman, Life and Times of John Wesley, II, 511.

⁴John Wesley, Journal, V, 63ff.

forts were ineffectual. He announced the end of his hopes of a union of Evangelical clergyman in a paper on the conservation of Wesleyan Methodism which he read at his Leeds conference on August 4, 1769:

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It has long been my desire, that all those ministers of our Church, who believe and preach salvation by faith, might cordially agree among themselves, and not hinder but help one another. After occasionally pressing this, in private conversation, wherever I had opportunity, I wrote down my thoughts upon the head, and sent them to each in a letter. Out of fifty or sixty, to whom I wrote, only three vouchsafed me an answer. So I give this up. I can do no more. They are a rope of sand, and such they will continue.¹

From Yorkshire Romaine moved down into west England, continuing his preaching tour. In the course of his itineration he picked up a newspaper and, to his amazement, read that he was being considered as a candidate for the rectory of St. Andrew-by-the-Wardrobe and St. Anne, Blackfriars, in London.² The Rev. Phocion Henley (1728-64), Rector of St. Andrew's, had died on August 29, and, according to Seymour, Lady Huntingdon at once thought of Romaine. "It was immediately impressed on my mind (said Lady Huntingdon), that Mr. Henley's vacancy was to be filled by dear Mr. Romaine."³ The right of presentation to Blackfriars, as the church was usually called, alternated between the crown and the parishioners,⁴ and it was now the latter's turn to name the rector. Without Romaine's knowledge the Countess spoke to the Lord Chancellor, Robert Henley (1708?-72),⁵ and John Thornton and Madan canvassed the parishioners. Many of them thought

¹Tyerman, Life and Times of John Wesley, III, 49.

²Haweis, Life of Romaine, pp. 148f.

³[Seymour] Life and Times of the Countess of Huntingdon I, 361.

⁴Cadogan, Life of Romaine in Romaine's Works, VII, 68.

⁵The Lord Chancellor was the uncle of the deceased rector.

that Romaine was too proud to speak for himself. "He (it was said) disdains to ask our voices, while the candidate in canonicals comes hat in hand, bowing from door to door."¹ Each of the candidates was given a date upon which to preach a probation sermon, and Romaine's friends sent for him to appear in the pulpit of St. Andrew-by-the-Wardrobe on September 30.² He was back in London the day before and wrote to his sister Dorothy:

I have been about my master's business, preaching at Bath, at Bradford, at Powsey, &c. and, being now returned to London, to preach three times tomorrow, I could not help giving you an account of my matters, and of my dear Jesus's great goodness to me. He has travelled with me, and been with me of a truth. . . . You have great reason to bless the Lord Christ, for his goodness to you in the North; but he has a dear people, and a numerous one too, in the West, and growing,³ It will be a vast multitude when they all get together³

Lady Huntingdon and her friends refrained from attending church on the Sunday of Romaine's candidate sermon, in order that "the regular parishioners might not be incommoded, nor have any shadow of offence."⁴ His sermon, published later at the request of the church, was from the text in II Corinthians 4:5, "We preach not ourselves, but Christ Jesus the Lord; and ourselves your servants for Jesus' sake." The sermon is an excellent statement of the minister's relationship to Christ and the church. The only personal reference was a brief word concerning the matter of his not having solicited the parishioners.

Some have insinuated it was from pride, that I would not go about the parish from house to house canvassing for votes; but truly it was another motive. I could not see how this could promote the glory of God. How can it be for the honour of Jesus, that his ministers, who have renounced fame, and riches, and ease, should be most anxious and earnest in the pursuit of those very things which they have renounced? Surely this would be getting

¹[Seymour] op. cit., I, 361.

²Cadogan, op. cit., VII, 69.

³Romaine's Works, VIII, 176f.

⁴[Seymour] op. cit., I, 362.

into a worldly spirit, as much as is the spirit of parliamenteering.¹

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The sermon closed with these words:

If I never stand up any more in this place, may we all so know and believe in Christ Jesus the Lord, that we may be found in that happy number who shall ascribe honour and glory, and blessing and power, to Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, three persons, in one Jehovah, to whom be equal praise for ever and ever. Amen.²

Romaine was at Brighton³ on Sunday, October 14, 1764, when the Blackfriars parish clerk announced that a "Publick Vestry" would be held on October 18 "for reducing the Number of Candidates to two," and that

the 2 Candidates who shall appear to have the majority on such Vote or Poll will be declared so & returned as such & on Friday next the 19th Instant at 9 of the Clock in the forenoon precisely another Publick Vestry will be held in the said Place for the Choice of one of those two Candidates so to be Returned to be the Rector of the said Rectory by Vote also or by Poll (if demanded) which Poll will begin immediately afterward & whoever hath or shall have the Majority in such Second Vote or Poll will be declared duly elected Rector of the said United Parishes.⁴

The election was not decided as simply as it had been planned.

At the first vote for reducing the candidates to two, the Rev. John Warner received seventy-eight votes and Romaine seventy-three--these two having been the only candidates present at the election, according to the "Romaine vs. Smith" manuscript. Malcolm gives the same figures and adds that the Rev. James Smith, who seems to have been curate to the deceased rector, also received seventy-eight votes.⁵ According to Malcolm, Romaine's friends demanded a scrutiny, which resulted as follows: Warner, seventy-seven; Romaine, seventy-one; and Smith, thirty-six.

¹William Romaine, A Sermon Preached at St. Ann's, Blackfriars in Romaine's Works, V, 411.

²Ibid., 419. ³Romaine's Works, VII, 307.

⁴British Museum MS 36,193, f. 147.

⁵James Peller Malcolm, Londinium Redivivum (4 vols.; London: F. & C. Rivington, 1803), II, 364.

Warner and Romaine were returned as candidates, and, Smith protesting, the "churchwardens dissolved the vestry."¹ Warner then contested the right of the churchwardens to reduce the number of candidates to two and "requested them to present him to the Bp of London as being duly elected Rector in order that the Bishop might induct"² him to the living. The election was then postponed until January 22, 1765.

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Romaine continued his busy life³ while the Blackfriars churchwardens wrestled with their election problems. He often preached for Madan at the Lock Chapel. Lord Dartmouth mentions one of these Lock Chapel sermons in a letter to Richard Hill on November 26, 1764:

Yesterday, we had an excellent sermon there from Mr. Romaine, from these words, "Adam, where art thou?" which spiritually understood as relating to the state and condition of the soul, is the question that God is always asking by his word of every soul of man. In enlarging upon them, he laid open the nature of that state into which Adam and all his posterity fell, as a state of ignorance, guilt, and corruption, and of the image of God, after which believers are renewed in knowledge, righteousness, and true holiness, in a very heart-searching and edifying manner.⁴

At the beginning of 1765 Lady Huntingdon was planning a new work at Lewes, near Brighton. Her first move was to bring Romaine to town, and he preached on Galatians 6:17 in one of the churches of the Establishment.⁵ Local resentment made it necessary for him to carry on the preaching in a large room and later in the open

¹Ibid., loc. cit. ²British Museum MS 36,193, f. 147.

³On Oct. 11, 1764, John Wesley wrote: "The use of a large place [in Lowestoft, Suffolk] had been offered, which would contain abundance of people. But when I was come, Mr. Romaine had changed his mind; so I preached in the open air." Journal, V, 99. The anonymous author of The History of Wesleyan Methodism in the Town of Lowestoft, Suffolk, p. 13, gives the name of the vacillating minister as "Roman." He is not to be confused with William Romaine.

⁴Sidney, Life of Sir Richard Hill, p. 87.

⁵Evangelical Register, VII (1835), 248.

fields.¹ Lady Huntingdon described one of the services:

All gave earnest heed (said her Ladyship) while he applied those solemn words, "Behold the Lamb of God, that taketh away the sins of the world." I did not see one careless or inattentive person, and there is reason to think that many poor sinners were cut to the heart.²

Madan and Fletcher followed Romaine with similar experiences in one of the town churches, afterward repairing to a large room, probably the same as that used by Romaine, where they preached alternately to large crowds. A chapel was soon under construction, and it was opened for services on August 13, 1765.³

Wesley was now finding himself plagued by the consequences of the Greek ordination of John Jones.⁴ Thomas Maxfield had prevailed upon Erasmus to ordain several of his assistants,⁵ and in December, 1764, six of his own preachers were similarly ordained without his knowledge. These Wesley judged to be in every way "unqualified for that office" and guilty of "a fault which I know not who can excuse, buying an ordination in an unknown tongue."⁶ The newspapers exaggerated the facts for the entertainment of the opponents of the Revival. Tyerman quotes the following from Lloyd's Evening Post, December 7:

To the article in the papers relating to three tradesmen being ordained by a Greek bishop, another may be added, a master baker. And two celebrated Methodist preachers made also an application to the same bishop, to consecrate one or both of them bishops; but the Greek told them, it was contrary to the rule of his church for one bishop to make another: yet, notwithstanding all he said, they very unwillingly took a denial.⁷

Joseph Sutcliffe (1762?-1856) in his manuscript "History of Methodism" reports a conference held at the Foundery on January 7, 1765:

¹[Seymour] op. cit., I, 363. ²Ibid., 363f.

³Ibid., 364. ⁴Supra, p. 157.

⁵John Wesley, Letters, IV, 290. ⁶Ibid., loc. cit.

⁷Tyerman, Life and Times of John Wesley, II, 486f.

Present, Rev. John Wesley, Rev. John Richardson, Rev. Benjamin Colley; John Jones, M.D., John Murlin, John Mager; and Henry Hammond, John Norton, Christian Bromley, James Ward, John Redhall, John Butcher, Robert Clemenson, and Thomas Lee, Stewards. Agreed that James Thwayte, Benjamin Russen, James Satles, Richard Perry, Thomas Bryant, and John Oliver, having acted contrary to the Word of God and the duty they owe to their ministers and their brethren,

1. Can no more be owned as clergymen,
2. Can no more be received as preachers,
3. Nor as members of the Society.¹

Telford states that "Sutcliffe says the offence was that they had paid five guineas each to the Greek bishop (then in London) for ordination, and that the sentence had been required by the Rev. Messrs. Madan, Romaine, and Shirley."² That Wesley had not completely given up the six preachers may be seen in a letter he addressed to each of them on February 27, 1765, in answer to their request to be restored as local preachers.

Mr. Madan, Mr. Romaine, and the good-natured Mr. Shirley are almost out of patience with me for not disowning you on the housetop. In this situation of things it would be utter madness in me to do anything which they would call contumacy. I am every way bound to my good behaviour, and obliged to move with all possible circumspection. Were I to allow your preaching now, I should be in a hotter fire than ever. That you will preach again by-and-by I doubt not; but it is certain the time is not come yet.³

John Oliver, at least, was preaching again in Wesley's societies at Leeds in March, 1768, and served for a number of years at Chester, Birstal, and Bradford.⁴ Wesley was to hear more of the Greek ordinations, for Toplady revived the whole business in a tract published in 1771.⁵

When the election at Blackfriars was held on January 22, 1765, Warner refused to stand, claiming that he had been elected on October 18. Smith seems to have stood against Romaine, and

¹Quoted in John Wesley, Letters, IV, 290.

²Ibid., 291. ³Ibid., loc. cit.

⁴Ibid., V, 85; VI, 93; VII, 36, 68.

⁵Tyerman, Life and Times of John Wesley, II, 487ff.

the result was: Romaine, 134, Smith, 105.¹ Although Romaine had won the election, Smith "obtained an injunction, forbidding the Bishop from inducting Mr. Romaine till the matter was decided in the Court of Chancery."² Not until a year later was Romaine's election to be confirmed by court decision,³ and his attitude in the meantime is well expressed in a letter to Mrs. Medhurst on February 14:

He [my dearest Lord] seems willing I should preach more, and have a church in the city; but he will not let it come too easily, lest we should have whereof to glory. We are at law about it, and are likely to be a great while, but in the mean time he is doing all things well. The very moment all things are ready, the church will be opened: and if it never is, he does not want me there, with which I am satisfied.⁴

Romaine kept busy while awaiting the outcome of the Blackfriars case. In April, 1765, he was preaching for Lady Huntingdon at Brighton, assisted by the Welshmen, Howell Davies and Peter Williams (1722-96).⁵ About the middle of July he set out for the north, the Lord Chancellor having postponed the Blackfriars case until the next term,⁶ and in due time he arrived in Hartlepool. He had not been with his mother and sister long before he was suddenly summoned back to London. On August 20 he wrote to Mrs. Medhurst:

When I was at Hartlepool, I heard from London that Dr. Griffith thought my wife was sick unto death, and he had no hopes of her recovery. This alarmed me; and I set out immediately, and stopt not till I got to London, where I found things as bad as I had

¹Romaine's election was reported to have been greatly aided by the support of a public house proprietor. When he thanked him for his help, he replied, "Indeed, Sir I am more indebted to you, than you to me; for you have made my wife, who was one of the worst, the best woman in the world." Anonymous, "Memoir of the Late Rev. William Romaine, A.M.," Evangelical Magazine, III (November, 1795), 448.

²Malcolm, Londinium Redivivum, II, 364.

³Infra, p. 185. ⁴Romaine, Letters to a Friend, p. 64.

⁵[Seymour] op. cit., I, 365.

⁶Romaine, Letters to a Friend, p. 71.

been made to believe: but Dr. Griffith gave her something to which the Lord gave his blessing; and it abated the fury of her distemper, God having mercy on her and on me also.¹

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Earlier in the summer Lady Huntingdon had begun the construction of a house and chapel at Bath, the famous watering place, about a hundred miles west of London. At the same time Lord Chesterfield, Philip Dormer Stanhope (1694-1773), offered her the use of his house and chapel at Bretby Hall, about four miles from Burton-on-Trent, in Derbyshire.² The Rev. Messrs. Townsend of Pewsey and William Jesse (1707?-91) of West Bromwich began services at Bretby about the first of August. Shortly thereafter they were joined by Whitefield, who preached to great crowds in the chapel and in the open air.³ Just at the time that Romaine arrived back in London from Hartlepool Lady Huntingdon urgently requested him to come to Bretby, and, Mrs. Romaine having shown considerable improvement, he complied on Saturday, August 9. His experience is best told in his own words:

Lady H[untingdon] pressing me still to come down to [Bretby], my wife gave leave⁴ for me to go, and I went down to Derby Saturday se'night. We had there a most refreshing time--Fifteen pulpits were open--Showers of grace came down--Sinners in great numbers awakened, and believers comforted. Mrs. [John Wordsworth⁵] was taken ill, and was ordered to Bath, which broke up the family. They went away two days after I got down: but I staid to preach all the week, and especially on Sunday last at Derby, where I was much opposed by the mayor and the churchwardens, and the Arian party; but the Lord stood with me, and I was in the morning at the great church [All Saints'], and in the afternoon at St. Werburgh's. In the evening I got into the fly alone (in good company); and upon coming home last night, I found my wife had relapsed, and was again in danger; but again the Great Physician had interposed, and we are in hopes all will be well again soon.⁶

¹Ibid., pp. 73f. ²[Seymour] op. cit., I, 466.

³Evangelical Register, VII (August, 1835), 269.

⁴To his sister Romaine wrote, "she grew so fast better, that she herself insisted on my going to [Bretby]" Romaine's Works, VIII, 186.

⁵[Seymour] op. cit., I, 467.

⁶Romaine, Letters to a Friend, pp. 74f.

Seymour adds that at Bretby Romaine "refused to be a field preacher, and the crowd heard only what they could gather from the pulpit."¹ Philip points out the reasons for the unusual hospitality of the churches at this time to the Evangelicals.

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These fifteen pulpits were not open to Whitefield. He was too irregular for the Derbyshire clergy. He had, however, roused their people so, that it became good policy to admit Romaine. There was a better reason. It was a new thing to find Chesterfield patronizing religion; and therefore wise to make the most of his sanction whilst he was in the humour. Romaine also did well, in continuing regular. But for that, he would have been less useful. It enabled him to introduce the gospel into churches, where there was no leaven in the whole lump.²

Zachary Shrapnell, himself a convert of Romaine's, was at Bretby Park some time later and recorded the testimony of a woman who had been converted during Romaine's effort there.

Some time ago (she said) there was a famous man down in this country, called Mr. Romaine; he preached some miles off, and many of the neighbours went to hear him, so I thought I would go too. Accordingly away I trudged; and he had no sooner begun his discourse, but it seemed all directed to me: he opened the depravity of my heart and nature, convinced my conscience of the awful condition in which I had been living, showed me the wages of sin which was due to me, the truth of which I felt in my own soul. he then spoke of the fulness and glory of Christ, described his sufferings and passion, and the design of them, displayed the riches of his grace to the miserable and the desperate, and invited them to embrace it and be blessed. Sir, you cannot think the instantaneous and wonderful effect it had upon me. I was convinced of sin, justified by faith, and came home rejoicing; and from that day to this have never lost the sweet savour of the truths I then embraced.³

Romaine was soon off again—this time to Brighton and Ote Hall—where he preached steadily until the first week in November.⁴ While he was there, Lady Huntingdon's new chapel in Bath was completed, and the opening day was set for October 6, 1765. A great day had been planned, and Lady Huntingdon summoned her ministerial helpers—Whitefield, Shirley, Romaine, Venn, Madan,

¹[Seymour] op. cit., I, 466.

²Robert Philip, The Life and Times of the Reverend George Whitefield, M.A. (3rd ed.; London: George Virtue, 1842), pp. 513ff.

³[Seymour] op. cit., I, 466f. ⁴Ibid., 366.

and Joseph Townsend (1739-1816).¹ Romaine indicated his willingness to come but asked leave to continue in Brighton. The following letter of September 11, 1765, gives a good report of his activities at Ote Hall and Brighton:

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Madam--I hope this will find your Ladyship much recovered in body, and happy in the near enjoyment of our dear and precious Jesus, for which we have been praying heartily. There has been a great concern for you upon my own heart, and upon the minds of the people; which has been an earnest to me of the Lord's further purposes of good to them and others, by your means. We have very sweet meetings, and a great revival of work, especially at Oathall. The hearers there are very hungry, and the bread of life has a delightful relish. On Sunday se'ennight, although it rained fast till about twelve o'clock, the congregation was very large, and the chapel and porch were quite full. I staid to converse with the society, and preached again in the afternoon to them, and I verily think there are many truly awakened souls among them. Last Sunday was very fine, and the congregation far more than I had ever seen it at Oathall. The Baptists have kept very still since I came down. They have no preaching now at Brighthelmstone, but I fear they are only waiting for an opportunity to follow their old game. Our comfort is, the Lord will keep them that are his, and will preserve them from all evil. But as he does it by means, I could wish, now that I am among the people, to stay as long as I can with them. This is a very awful time. We have had four sudden deaths, which have greatly alarmed the careless. There is much stir, both among the gentry and the common people, and they crowd to hear. Our constant congregations are as numerous as they used to be on Sunday nights, and I find my own heart much in the work and more strongly attached than ever to this place; and the society most earnestly entreat you, if Mr. Madan should come down to Bath, that I may be suffered to stay here with them. Why should we both be there at the same time, to stand in one another's way? Why should Bath have all, and poor Brighton none? They are not likely to have a supply again in haste; and I promise you, if I succeed at Blackfriars, which I hope will be determined the beginning of November, that I shall have frequent opportunities of visiting Bath, as I shall not then be so closely confined as I am at present: and if I do not succeed, the Lord will, I trust, direct me what steps to take. I write these things, not as if I were unwilling to come, for indeed I am ready; only I am very very happy in this people, and they would not let me alone till I promised to write your Ladyship about my stay. I am at your command to go or stay, as you think proper, and as the Master's will is.

The Hymn-books went in a box last Monday se'ennight, and I hope are come to hand by this time. My wife knows nothing of Bath lodgings, she desires to know whether, if we come, it will be needful to bring down a servant with us? How is Mrs. Wordsworth? We long to hear. A line in answer will greatly oblige your faithful friend and servant in our inestimably rich and precious Jesus,

¹Ibid., I, 467.

A brief exchange of correspondence ensued, and after Romaine wrote on October 1, "I must openly tell you . . . that my very heart and soul are now in this work; inasmuch that I have not minded going to Cathall wet to the skin, for the joy that was set before me,"² the Countess excused him, and he remained at Brighton. At Bath the chapel was opened on the date announced. Whitefield wrote to Robert Keene (d. 1793), manager of his London interests, on October 7:

Could you have come, and been present at the opening of the chapel, you would have been much pleased. The chapel is extremely plain, and yet equally grand. A most beautiful original! All was conducted with great solemnity. Though a very wet day, the place was full, and assuredly the great Shepherd and Bishop of souls consecrated and made it holy ground by his presence. I preached in the morning, Mr. Townsend in the evening.³

Back in London, Romaine learned that the Blackfriars case would require more time. On November 6 he wrote to his sister in Hartlepool:

You ask about Blackfriars; the cause stands still: it was to have been heard the first day of this term; but the lawyers were not ready. They begged for more time, and my Lord Chancellor granted it to them. When it will come on now I cannot tell. But I can tell much of Jesus's goodness to me. He does not let all this waiting time be lost. He is teaching me to make up all my happiness in himself, and is kindly cutting off one and another view of rest, short of him, who is our only rest.⁴

He had a number of opportunities, meanwhile, to leave London.

Lord Dartmouth offered him the living of Bromwich, near Birmingham, several times, but it was always refused.⁵ From far away

¹Evangelical Register, VII (August, 1835), 271.

²[Seymour] op. cit., I, 467.

³George Whitefield, The Works of the Reverend George Whitefield, M.A. (6 vols.; London: Edward and Charles Dilly, 1771-72), III, 332.

⁴Romaine's Works, VIII, 178f.

⁵See letter of Romaine's in [Seymour] op. cit., I, 380.

Philadelphia, in America, came a call from St. Paul's Episcopal Church, at the magnificent stipend of £600 pounds a year.¹ This call was received through his friend Whitefield, who did not forget the London lecturer during his periodic trips to America.² Romaine wrote his people in Hartlepool about the Philadelphia offer but added,

1765
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Age 51

The Lord must determine. I would not have one wish against his will. . . . I will tarry his leisure, and look at his providences. My friends, in general, are for my staying in London; and so am I in my own mind. But I dare not choose, till my choice is made plain to me. Perhaps the Lord may fix me at Blackfriars; and then the matter will be ended at once.³

The Philadelphia offer was later made to Haweis, who thus explains why both he and Romaine refused it:

But the same reasons, I presume, made us both decline it: insulted as we had been, and without prospects of any preferment, we had numerous friends who loved and esteemed us, as much as others despised or hated us. These we were loth to forsake; and Mr. Romaine had peculiar causes for determining to maintain his stand, and grasp the standard of the cross on the mountain of the Lord's house, where providence had fixed him.⁴

St. Dunstan's was a comfort to Romaine during these months, although another man's pulpit must inevitably have lost some of its attractiveness when one of his own seemed to loom in the offing.

He wrote to Mrs. Medhurst on November 25, 1765:

Last night St. Dunstan's was a very Bethel; it was like the dedication of the Temple, when the glory of Jehovah came down and filled the house. I was preaching on these words--My meditation of him shall be sweet.--And so it was indeed.⁵

Romaine found time during the year 1765 to publish a

¹Cadogan, Life of Romaine in Romaine's Works, VII, 51.

²Whitefield wrote to Keene from Philadelphia on Oct. 21, 1763, "The bearer, Mr. R-----d, is a young sober gentleman, intended for the temple, and will be very glad to see and hear Mr. Romaine, and other gospel ministers." Whitefield's Works, III, 298.

³Romaine's Works, VIII, 198.

⁴Haweis, Life of Romaine, p. 81.

⁵Romaine, Letters to a Friend, p. 88.

a pamphlet, The Scripture Doctrine of the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, Briefly Stated. The preface, signed "W. R.," states that a "charitable lady" had requested the author to draw up the short treatise "for the benefit of the poor." A personal experience of salvation by faith is set forth as the necessary prerequisite to a real appreciation of the significance of the sacrament. God "has ordained bread and wine, to represent to the outward senses the spiritual support, which the soul receives from the body and blood of Christ."¹ The elements, however, not only symbolize the body and blood of Christ, but to the faithful they are seals of the communication "of that spiritual and divine life, which Christ's body broken, and his blood poured out, were the means of purchasing for a sinful world."² Romaine expounds the Evangelical doctrine of the Lord's Supper. His closing application is to three classes, the dead in sins, the awakened sinner, and the Christian brother.

John Berridge of Everton³ was in London in January, 1766, and he and Romaine visited together. The Bedfordshire Vicar unburdened his heart to Romaine, who resolved to help him in some way. He decided to approach Lady Margaret Ingham through her niece, Mrs. Medford. To the latter he wrote on January 16:

Yesterday I dined with Mr. Berridge. He was making great complaint of his debts, contracted by his keeping, out of his own living, two preachers and their horses, and several local preachers, and for the rents of several barns in which they preach. He sees it was wrong to run in debt, and will be more careful. But it is done. My application is to Lady Marg[aret]. Will you stand my friend with her, and tell her Berridge's case? If she pleases to assist him, I should be glad to convey her charity to him. You will be the judge whether this be proper or not to mention to her. I beg my kind love to her. Nothing is yet done at Blackfriars: but Jesus does all things well, he times all things for the best; I am sure of it, therefore I wait my Lord's time,

¹[William Romaine] The Scripture Doctrine of the Lord's Supper, Briefly Stated in Romaine's Works, II, 366.

²Ibid., 370. ³Supra, pp. 120ff.

and blessed waiting it is--¹

1766

Age 51

Mrs. Medhurst must have pleaded Berridge's case well, for Lady Margaret sent Romaine fifteen pounds for him. The donor, however, must have been surprised to learn of the use to which the money was put. Berridge wrote Lady Margaret a letter of thanks on January 28:

Madam--On Thursday last, I received a bill value fifteen pounds, conveyed by Mr. Romaine, but presented by your Ladyship, which is now converted into cloth for the use of lay preachers; and for this donation I now send you my hearty thanks. The Lord has promised to return it with a hundred fold into your bosom, and I believe you can trust him.²

There is no explanation of how Berridge's debts were paid!

Several of Romaine's letters of this period refer to a legacy of a "Lady Buchan" which Romaine was using to relieve distress among the unfortunate. He wrote to Mrs. Medhurst on February 4, 1766:

I have received Lady B[uchan]'s money, and have been much in gaols of late. I am confined to church people; and when I see a prisoner, a dissenter, and cannot relieve him, with a wife and several children, it makes my very heart ache.³

The Dowager Countess of Buchan, Lady Isabella Erskine, widow of David Erskine, Lord Cardross, of Scotland, had died on May 14, 1763.⁴ In her will she left £800 to be distributed by Romaine for charitable purposes as follows:

- £300 to poor prisoners confined for small debts--people of good character who behaved well when at liberty (especially poor widows).
- £200 to poor housekeepers (particularly women).
- £200 to poor clergy.
- £50 to French refugees.

¹Romaine, Letters to a Friend, pp. 97f.

²John Berridge, The Works of the Rev. John Berridge, A.M., ed. Richard Whittingham (London: Simpkin, Marshall, and Company, 1838), p. 366.

³Romaine, Letters to a Friend, p. 104.

⁴The Scots Peerage, ed. James Balfour Paul (9 vols.; Edinburgh: David Douglas, 1904-14), II, 276.

£50 to the asylum for poor girls near Westminster Bridge.¹

1766

The recipients of the charity were all to be of the Church of England. Romaine was bequeathed twenty guineas for his trouble in dispensing the money. It was rumoured about that Romaine himself had inherited a large legacy from Lady Buchan. As early as November 3, 1764, John Newton wrote to Captain Alexander Clunie (d. 1770):

Age 51

You said that the Countess of Buchan left Mr. R[omaine] a very large legacy. I doubt not but you was told so, and had reason for believing it. But as this report, if not true, may be in many respects to Mr. R[omaine]'s prejudice, I think it my duty to let you know that I have very good authority from a lady who is intimately acquainted with his circumstances, to believe it was otherwise.

The money left him was wholly for charitable purposes, except twenty pounds as a legacy for his trouble in distributing it; and that so far from being sole executor, he is not executor at all. If this is indeed the case, you will be glad to discountenance the other report, as it might deprive Mr. R[omaine] of those assistances which his family needs.²

On January 28, 1766, Lord Chancellor Henley gave his decision in the Blackfriars case--to Romaine. The following report appeared under that date in both the Gentleman's Magazine and the Annual Register:

The merits of the long contested election relating to the rectory of Black friars was argued before the Rt Hon. the Lord Chancellor in the court of Chancery at Westminster-Hall, when his Lordship was pleased to make a decree in favour of the Rev. Mr Romaine. It was the opinion of the court, that the inhabitants had no right to reduce the number of candidates at the first election, which of course made it void; and on the second election, in which the only candidates were the Rev. Mr Romaine and the Rev. Mr Smith, the former had the majority.³

Romaine's mingled feelings about the decision are reflected in his letters. That to his sister Dorothy, obviously misdated Jan-

¹Abstracted from Isabella Erskine Will. Principal Probate Registry, London.

²John Newton, The Christian Correspondent (Hull, George Prince, 1790), p. 56.

³Gentleman's Magazine, XXXVI (January, 1766), 45; Annual Register, IX (1766), 53.

uary 7, 1766, runs thus:

Although I am greatly hurried, yet I could not help informing you, that this day my cause, about Blackfriars, was finally determined, and in my favour. I have retired and been alone this afternoon to abase myself. This is to me an amazing event. That such an one should be made a pastor; one that is plagued to death with his own heart, to make him a watchman over others! What is the Lord doing? With the most utter abhorrence of myself, and of my being unfit to be minister of a great parish, in the midst of this great city--I have been forced to leave it to the Lord.

I have heard, in my heart, a voice say, "Whom shall I send?" And I have been compelled to say, "Here I am, send me." Trusting then, sweet Jesus, to thy grace and power, depending upon thine arm and blessing, out I go, not only unfit, but also adverse to the work. It is thine, Lord, "to work in me both to will and to do."¹

To Lady Huntingdon he wrote:

Now, when I was setting up my rest, and had begun to say unto my soul, 'Soul, take thine ease,' I am called into a public station, and to the sharpest engagement, just as I had got into winter quarters--an engagement for life. I can see nothing before me, so long as the breath is in my body, but war, and that with unreasonable men, a divided parish, an angry clergy, a wicked Sodom, and a wicked world, all to be resisted and overcome: besides all these, a sworn enemy, subtle and cruel, with whom I can make no peace, no, not a moment's truce, night and day, with all his children and his host, is aiming at my destruction. When I take counsel of the flesh I begin to faint; but when I go to the sanctuary I see my good cause, and my Master is Almighty--a tried Friend, and then he makes my courage revive. Although I am no way fit for the work, yet he called me to it, and on him I depend for strength to do it and for success to crown it, I utterly despair of doing anything as of myself, and therefore the more I have to do, I shall be forced to live more by faith upon him.²

The Countess was overjoyed at the confirmation of Romaine's election. The Rev. William Jesse describes the rejoicing at Ote Hall:

We have had quite a little jubilee on the confirmation of the validity of our dear brother Romaine's election. Never have I seen more heartfelt joy and gratitude than was expressed on that occasion by her Ladyship. I verily believe that if Mr. Romaine had not gained his election, the disappointment and vexation would have well nigh killed her.³

St. Andrew-by-the-Wardrobe received its name because of its proximity to the King's Wardrobe, a building used to house the clothing of former English rulers; the church was also called

¹Romaine's Works, VIII, 199f.

²[Seymour] op. cit., I, 362f.

³Ibid., 363.

St. Andrew's, Baynard's Castle, because of its nearness to that ancient structure. Nearby was the church of St. Anne, Blackfriars, built upon the site of the ancient Dominican monastery. All of these buildings perished in the Great Fire of 1666. The castle was not rebuilt, and the King's Wardrobe thereafter was at a new location. St. Andrew-by-the-Wardrobe was rebuilt in 1692 by Sir Christopher Wren (1632-1723) for the united parishes of St. Andrew-by-the-Wardrobe and St. Anne, Blackfriars.¹ In Romaine's day the church was seldom called by its full name. It was usually called Blackfriars Church or St. Anne's, Blackfriars. In the present work these latter names will be used since they recur again and again in the Evangelical literature of the period. The church was located upon rising ground north of Thames Street and south of Doctors Commons in the very shadow of St. Paul's Cathedral. In more recent times Queen Victoria Street has been built through the old neighbourhood, and the church now occupies the summit of a high piece of ground abutting on the new street adjacent to the modern building of the British and Foreign Bible Society. Wren's church was gutted by fire in the first incendiary bomb attack upon London on December 29, 1940. The united parishes are now engaged in an effort to raise funds for the restoration of the historic building.

The Annual Register announced that on Tuesday, February 25, 1766, "the Rev. Mr. Romaine took possession of the living of St. Anne's, Black-Friars, accompanied by the officers of the parish, &c. with the ceremonies used on that occasion. viz. locking the pulpit, ringing a bell, &c. After which he read prayers."²

¹Summarized from Edward Walford, Old and New London (6 vols.; London: Cassell & Co., n.d.), I, 303, and David Hughson, London (6 vols.; London: J. Stratford, 1805-09), III, 479.

²Annual Register, IX (1766), 69.

Hennessy states that Romaine was inducted to the living on Wednesday, February 26,¹ but his actual service did not begin until Sunday, March 2.² This was a great turning point in Romaine's career. In his fifty-second year, he had served the Church of England for nearly thirty years without a benefice. London now had an Evangelical clergyman with a church of his own. Overton and Relton do not overstate the situation³ when they say that "this was a highly important epoch in the history of the revival, which received from the appointment of Romaine to St. Anne's its first point d'appui in London."⁴ The new Rector's fear as to "a divided parish" was never realized, for, although many received him unwillingly, they gave no trouble, and those who were not won over to his side apparently never bothered him. Blackfriars Church became a rallying center for the Evangelicals in London, and from it Romaine's influence emanated to every part of England.

¹Hennessy, Novum Repertorium Ecclesiasticum Parochiale Londinense, p. 87.

²Gentleman's Magazine, LXV (September, 1795), 764.

³They err in stating that "Romaine offered himself as a candidate for" the living. John Overton and Frederic Relton, The English Church from the Accession of George I. to the End of the Eighteenth Century (1714-1800) (London: Macmillan and Co., 1906), p. 175.

⁴Ibid., loc. cit.

CHAPTER VI

SETTLEMENT AT BLACKFRIARS TO THE GORDON RIOTS, 1766-80

"I am getting in my harvest"

The minister who takes a new charge is always interested in seeing the parsonage or manse. Romaine was not long in discovering that the Blackfriars rectory house was entirely unfit for residence, completely out of repair, and in use as a warehouse. The old building was pulled down and a substantial and comfortable rectory built adjacent to the church on the north side. For some time Romaine continued to date his letters in Lambeth, where he still lived with his family in Walnut Tree Walk. Their removal to Blackfriars took place January 26¹ and June 28,² 1768.

Romaine's twenty-nine year ministry at Blackfriars began auspiciously. His letters indicate his satisfaction with the church's prospects. He early began to train his people in stewardship, and through the years they gave generously to the various new causes which were springing up--missions, Bible societies, and education. One of his first special offerings was taken for an American missionary project. During the spring of 1766 the Rev. Samson Occom (1723-92), American Indian preacher, and the Rev. Nathaniel Whitaker (1730-95), an American Presbyterian minister, came to Britain to campaign for funds for the Rev.

¹William Romaine, Works of the Late Reverend William Romaine, A.M. (8 vols.; London: T. Chapman, 1796), VII, 318.

²Ibid., VIII, 213.

1766
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Age 51

Eleaser Wheelock's (1711-79) Christian Indian school at Lebanon, Connecticut. Occom had been converted "chiefly by the preaching of Whitefield and Gilbert Tennant [1703-64]"¹ and after attending Wheelock's school accompanied Whitefield on a number of his American preaching tours. Occom and Whitaker were in England and Scotland from February 16, 1766, to July 22, 1767, and, according to Brown, collected £12,500² from people of all denominations. King George III subscribed £200, and Lord Dartmouth became the principal trustee for the British funds. Whitefield, of course, was an ardent supporter of the cause, as may be seen in a letter written on April 25, 1766:

1766
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Age 51

The prospect of a large and effectual door opening among the heathen, blessed be God, is very promising. Mr. Occum, the Indian preacher, is a settled humble christian. The good and great, with a multitude of a lower degree, heard him preach last week at Tottenham-Court chapel, and felt much of the power and presence of our common Lord. Mr. R[omain] hath preached, and collected a hundred pounds,³ and I believe seven or eight hundred pounds more are subscribed.³

The Gentleman's Magazine and the Annual Register were not so pleased with Romaine's efforts on behalf of the American Indians and frankly told their readers so.

. . . . It is said, the Rev. Mr. Romaine, after one sermon only, collected 100l. 12s 5d. for an American charity; and were that pious divine, as well as others, to turn their thoughts to the increase of a fund for providing for the orphans of their poor deceased brethren, the good resulting from it would be its own reward.⁴

Wheelock's school was removed in 1770 to Hanover, New Hampshire,

¹L. Tyerman, The Life of the Rev. George Whitefield (2d ed.; 2 vols.; London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1890), II, 494.

²William Brown, History of the Propagation of Christianity among the Heathen since the Reformation (3 vols.; Edinburgh: William Blackwood and Sons, 1854), III, 481.

³George Whitefield, The Works of the Reverend George Whitefield, M.A. (6 vols.; London: Edward and Charles Dille, 1771-72), III, 335.

⁴Gentleman's Magazine, XXXVI (April, 1766), 197, and Annual Register, IX (1766), 87.

where its name became Dartmouth College.

1766

Age 51

Romaine spent a month preaching for Lady Huntingdon in Brighton and Ote Hall shortly after the middle of July.¹ Venn and Fletcher were also preaching in Sussex at that time, and there were many seasons of Christian fellowship with old friends. Thomas Powys, of Berwick, Shropshire, described as "a gentleman of large fortune and high connexions"² was at Brighton with his wife, and the couple became very friendly with the Romaines. Romaine was in the north sometime during the summer. He spent some time with the Rev. Richard Conyers (1725-86) at Helmsley, in Yorkshire.³ On one of these northern excursions an amusing incident took place at Bootle, in Cumberland. Romaine had been invited to preach in the church there, and one of the churchwardens later told Haweis the story. The churchwarden

observed him pull hard at the old pulpit door, without being able to open it; he immediately suspected that a blacksmith in the parish, who was a great enemy to the Gospel, had played them a trick, and stepping up to the clerk, desired him to sing a long psalm, whilst he ran to get pincers, and a hammer to open the pulpit door. This was at last done with as little noise as possible; and Mr. Romaine got admission to the pulpit and preached to the great edification of the people.⁴

Early in October Romaine proceeded to Bath, where he preached in Lady Huntingdon's new chapel for about six weeks.⁵ John Wesley

¹L. Tyerman, Wesley's Designated Successor (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1882), p. 111.

²[Aaron Crossley Hobart Seymour] The Life and Times of Selina Countess of Huntingdon (2 vols.; London: William Edward Painter, 1844), I, 375.

³Romaine's Works, VIII, 205.

⁴Thomas Haweis, The Life of William Romaine, M.A. (London: T. Chapman, 1797), pp. 105f. See another version of this incident in Henry Forster Burder, Memoir of the Rev. George Burder (London: Frederick Westley and A. H. Davis, 1833), pp. 82f.

⁵[Seymour] op. cit., I, 476, and William Romaine, Letters from the Rev. William Romaine, A.M., to a Friend, on the Most Important Subjects, ed. Thomas Wills (5th ed.; London: Smith and Elder, 1822), p. 107.

was also at Bath at the same time and preached several times in the chapel. The reason for this was that in August the Wesleys and Whitefield had come together and with Lady Huntingdon had agreed to form "a sort of quadruple alliance."¹ Charles Wesley wrote on August 21, 1766:

This morning I and my brother spent two blessed hours with George Whitefield. The threefold cord, we trust, will never more be broken. On Tuesday next, my brother is to preach in Lady Huntingdon's chapel at Bath. That and all her chapels are now put into the hands of us three.²

If Charles thought that the Countess would allow her chapels to get out of her control, he was greatly mistaken. She did, however, make an earnest effort to secure unity at this time, and the alliance continued with fluctuating success until the death of Whitefield in 1770. The best extant description of the Bath chapel and its services is found in a letter written on October 10, 1766, by Horace Walpole (1717-97) to John Chute:

My health advances faster than my amusement. However, I have been at one opera, Mr. Wesley's. They have boys and girls with charming voices, that sing hymns, in parts, to Scotch ballad tunes; but indeed so long, that one would think they were already in eternity, and knew how much time they had before them. The chapel is very neat, with true Gothic windows (yet I am not converted); but I was glad to see that luxury is creeping in upon them before persecution: they have very neat mahogany stands for branches, and brackets of the same in taste. At the upper end is a broad haut-pas of four steps, advancing in the middle: at each end of the broadest part are two of my eagles, with red cushions for the parson and clerk. Behind them rise three more steps, in the midst of which is a thirdeagle for a pulpit. Scarlet arm-chairs to all three. On either hand, a balcony for elect ladies. The rest of the congregations sit on forms. Behind the pit, in a dark niche, is a plain table within rails; so you see the throne is for the apostle. Wesley is a lean elderly man, fresh-coloured, his hair smoothly combed, but with a soupcou of curl at the ends. Wondrous clean, but as evidently an actor as Garrick. He spoke his sermon, but so fast and with so little accent, that I am sure he has often uttered it, for it was like a lesson. There were parts and eloquence in it; but towards the end he exalted his voice, and acted very ugly enthusiasm; decried learning, and told

¹Charles Wesley's words. [Seymour] op. cit., I, 475.

²Charles Wesley, The Journal of the Rev. Charles Wesley, M.A., ed. Thomas Jackson (2 vols.; London: Wesleyan Methodist Book-Room, n.d.), p. 247.

stories, like Latimer, of the fool of his college, who said, 'I thanks God for everything.' Except a few from curiosity, and some honourable women, the congregation was very mean.¹

Seymour says that certain seats were screened from the view of the congregation for the use of bishops--this was known as "Nicomachus's corner!"² In November, Romaine was joined at Bath by Whitefield, and they preached alternately to large congregations.³ Henry Venn visited in Bath at this time and reported to a friend that Romaine "was very well attended on the week-days; but on Sundays the chapel is crowded."⁴

Lady Glenorchy, Willielma Maxwell (1741-86), of Edinburgh and Great Sugnal, Staffordshire, heard Romaine and Madan frequently at about this time in Bath and London. The Staffordshire estate of the Glenorchys was not far from Hawkstone, the seat of Sir Rowland Hill, and her acquaintance with the younger members of the Hill family had created in her a desire for the spiritual assurance that they enjoyed.⁵ Jane Hill became her faithful friend and correspondent. Lady Glenorchy's conversion came about in July, 1765, according to her biographer, when a letter from her friend was "the means employed by the grace of God to set her feet on the Rock of Ages" ⁶ Seymour tells

¹Horace Walpole, The Letters of Horace Walpole Fourth Earl of Orford, ed. Mrs. Paget Toynbee (16 vols.; Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1904), VII, 49f.

²[Seymour] op. cit., I, 477.

³Evangelical Register, VII (1835), 346.

⁴John Venn, The Life and a Selection from the Letters of the Late Rev. Henry Venn, M.A., ed. Henry Venn (4th ed.; London: John Hatchard and Son, 1836), p. 121.

⁵T. S. Jones, The Life of the Right Honourable Willielma, Viscountess Glenorchy (2d ed.; Edinburgh: William Whyte and Co., 1824), p. 5.

⁶Ibid., p. 12.

of her growing interest in spiritual things.

1766
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 Age 52

The excellent advice and heart-searching conversation of the Countess, united with the preaching of Mr. Madan, Mr. Romaine, and other ministers, contributed to establish and confirm her in the faith and hope of the Gospel.¹

Lady Glenorchy established a number of chapels in Scotland and northern England, inspired, doubtless, by the example of Lady Huntingdon in the south.

How did Romaine feel about the "quadruple alliance" of the Wesleys, Whitefield, and Lady Huntingdon? He makes no direct statement about it, but upon his return from Bath to London he wrote to Mrs. Medhurst, on November 15, 1766:

A temper directly contrary to the Christian is spreading among professors: I see the delusion grow, and I am a witness to the baneful effects of it. How many have you and I heard of who want to be something in themselves, and, rather than not to be so, will be beholden to Christ to set them up with a stock of grace? They would gladly receive a talent from him, that by being faithful to grace given, and trading well with it, they may look with delight on their improvements, and thereby hope to get more grace and more glory. This is the Popish plan, the Arminian, the Baxterian, the Wesleyan--very flattering to nature, exceedingly pleasing to self-righteousness, very exalting, yea, it is crowning FREE WILL, and debasing King Jesus.²

It is in this letter that Romaine refers to his own spiritual awakening, already referred to in Chapter II;³ a subsequent letter to the same correspondent describes his struggles toward Perfection under the influence of the "Arminian Methodists."⁴ It seems evident that he felt that the differences between them in doctrine and practice would not allow them to work together, however amicable their personal relations might be.

There were encouragements as well as problems; to his sister Dorothy he wrote on February 21, 1767:

Here is good news of the increasing kingdom of Jesus. More min-

¹[Seymour] op. cit., I, 471.

²Romaine, Letters to a Friend, pp. 109f.

³Supra, pp. 35f. ⁴Supra, pp. 36f.

isters, especially, are raised up. We have more awakenings among us. More refreshing times. Things wear a very promising aspect. Thanks for these blessings! May they bring down more.¹

1767
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Age 52

Romaine was very much concerned about the increasing number of Evangelical clergy, especially the younger men. These he prayed for individually by name in his "clergy's litany,"² and he now felt led to reemphasize his weekly prayer hour. To that end he now sent a circular letter "to every serious clergyman, whom he knew, and whom he remembered at the throne of grace,"³ calling upon them to set apart an hour each week to pray for the spread of the gospel throughout the Established Church and to beseech God to raise up more labourers for the harvest. In the letter he described the history of the weekly hour of prayer from its inception in 1756⁴ and made two requests:

My dear brother, if God should incline your heart to this work and labour of love, there are two things earnestly recommended to you; the

First is to meet us at a set hour; that we may agree in our joint prayers, and may have the divine promise to depend upon for the blessing we ask. We have for some time met every Friday at noon, but it has been found inconvenient; and by consent it is now fixed from nine o'clock on Friday morning to ten. You will then meet a great deal of good company at our court--several dear ministers and fellow-labourers round the throne, besieging it with their prayers for each other, and for the increase of their number. . . . A

Second thing is desired of you, namely, that you would pray for the brethren by name. This is not a trifling matter. Indeed it is not. Make trial of it, and you will find more advantages in it than I have mentioned above. It has been exceeding profitable to my own soul for several years, and I doubt not but experience will make it so to yours.⁵

The letter was sent, doubtless, to much the same list of clergymen whom Wesley approached with his plan of union in April, 1764.⁶ Romaine, however, was not proposing a union but a prayer fellowship, and his proposals seem to have been well received.

¹Romaine's Works, VIII, 209. ²Supra, p. 96f.

³William Bromley Cadogan, The Life of the Rev. William Romaine, M.A. in Romaine's Works, VII, 53.

⁴Supra, pp. 95f. ⁵Cadogan, op. cit., VII, 65f.

⁶Supra, pp. 166f.

Lady Huntingdon's Brighton chapel soon proved too small to hold the congregations, and in 1767 it was enlarged and rebuilt. Whitefield and Madan were the principal speakers on the day of reopening, March 20.¹ Romaine was too busy at Blackfriars to attend, as he informed the Countess by letter on March 26:

I was, according to your Ladyship's request, at your meeting, and waited on you in spirit, with my prayers, which I have offered up, and shall offer up, for a blessing upon it. . . . this was the only way in which I could be present with you. My curate has left me. I am without an assistant, and cannot hear of one. The parochial duty tires me quite, and I would not go through it, but that I am perfectly satisfied it was the will of God I should have this church.²

Great crowds were thronging Blackfriars church, and Romaine was not exaggerating the heaviness of his duties to the Countess.

The London Chronicle reported that he "administered the sacrament to more than 500 persons on the Good Friday of that year [1767], and to 300 on the following Sunday."³

Romaine's sister Dorothy, of Hartlepool, was married on June 24, 1767, to John Heslup (d. 1822?), of Whorlton, Yorkshire, at Hartlepool.⁴ Dorothy Romaine may be identified with the Miss Romaine referred to by John Wesley in a letter of November 2, 1762, to Mrs. Emma Moon, of Potto, near Yarm, not far from Hartlepool:

I want much to know the particulars of Miss Romaine's experience. I wish she would write to me. "Do you find a growth in grace? in lowliness, meekness, patience?"⁵

The "experience" refers unquestionably to her conversion, for her brother's letters indicate that she received the assurance of sal-

¹[Seymour] op. cit., I, 378f. ²Ibid., 380.

³Quoted in James Peller Malcolm, Londinium Redivivum (4 vols.; London: F. & C. Rivington, 1803), II, 364.

⁴St. Hilda's Parish Register, Hartlepool.

⁵John Wesley, The Letters of the Rev. John Wesley, A.M., ed. John Telford (Standard ed.; 8 vols.; London: The Epworth Press, 1931), IV, 195f.

vation at about that time. On December 7, 1767, Wesley inquires of Mrs. Moon, "Have you lately conversed with Sister Heslop? Does she retain all the life she had?"¹ John Heslup, one of Wesley's lay preachers, had been at Athlone in 1765 and at Yarm in 1766 and 1767,² where he was the "second preacher."³ On September 26, 1768, Wesley wrote to George Merryweather:

I desire John Heslop may preach at Yarm no more.⁴ Quietly let him sink into nothing. And the less he preaches in other places the better till he comes again to his senses. Indeed, if anything of so notorious a kind occurs, I will thank any steward for preventing such a preacher from doing any more hurt till he has an answer from me.⁵

He wrote to Christopher Hopper on October 1, 1768, that he was at his wits' end about Heslup's behaviour:

I know not what can be done. Possibly you may instruct me. The poor man is an incorrigible coxcomb. His last exploit with Mr. Oastler's niece has pinned the casket. I cannot imagine what can be done with him or how he can be trusted anywhere. . . . wherever he has been . . . they are sick of him.⁶

Heslup's name now disappears from the Minutes of the Methodist Conferences. Could Dorothy have married Heslup to reform him? Their marriage seems to have been very hastily planned, for Romaine wrote to her on June 27, 1767, three days after the wedding:

Your letter this morning would not let me delay [writing] any longer. As to the contents, having received no hint from any quarter, I was indeed surprised at -----'s affair; and, as to your own connections, you are of age, and the best judge. Whatever you do, my prayers and best wishes shall attend you, married or unmarried.⁷

Romaine from this time always remembers Heslup in his letters to

¹Ibid., V, 69f.

²Minutes of the Methodist Conferences (London: Conference Office, 1812), I, 47, 54, 69.

³John Wesley, Letters, V, 107.

⁴Telford says that Heslup "had evidently been paying attention to a lady" at Yarm. Ibid., loc. cit.

⁵Ibid., loc. cit. ⁶Ibid., 108.

⁷Romaine's Works, VIII, 210.

Dorothy, but in such a way as to indicate that his brother-in-law was not as settled spiritually as he should have been. Heslop continued to preach and was minister of the Congregational Church in Horsely, Northumberland, from 1789 to 1822.¹

1767

Age 52

Wesley, although friendly to Romaine,² evidently felt that the gulf between them was gradually widening, for his letters of this period contain a number of adverse references to him. In a letter to the Rev. Joseph Townsend dated August 1-3, 1767, Wesley berated him for having sided with the Calvinists against the Arminians in his campaign in Edinburgh. He accused Townsend of having conversed in London "with Mr. Madan and others, most of whom owe the Methodists their own souls also." These words to Townsend reveal the writer's frame of mind: "I think even I, to speak as a fool, can judge a little of preaching the gospel, perhaps as well as either Mr. Madan or Romaine."³ Wesley cautioned Ann Foard against the danger of associating with the followers of Madan, Romaine, and Whitefield:

Among the hearers of Mr. Madan and Mr. Romaine (much more among those of Mr. Whitefield) there are many gracious souls, and some who have deep experience of the ways of God. Yet the hearing them would not profit you; it would be apt to lead you into unprofitable reasonings, which would probably end in your giving up all hope of a full salvation from sin in this life. Therefore I advise you, check all curiosity of this kind and keep quite out of the way of danger.⁴

Wesley even had a word of warning for Fletcher of Madeley, to whom he wrote on March 20, 1768:

Yesterday Mr. Easterbrook informed me that you are sick of

¹A History of Northumberland (15 vols.; Newcastle-upon-Tyne: Andrew Reid, Sons & Co., 1893-1940), XII, 78.

²John Wesley wrote to Charles on June 21, 1767: "How go you on in London? How is G. Whitefield, and my Lady, and Mr. Madan, and Romaine, and Berridge? Do you converse with those that are most alive, and sparingly and warily with them that are dead while they live?" John Wesley, Letters, V, 53.

³Ibid., 58. . ⁴Ibid., 60.

the conversation even of them who profess religion, 'that you find it quite unprofitable if not hurtful to converse with them three or four hours together, and are sometimes almost determined to shut yourself up as the less evil of the two.'

I do not wonder at it at all, especially considering with whom you have chiefly conversed for some time past--namely, the hearers of Mr. Madan and Mr. Romaine (perhaps I might add of Mr. Whitefield). The conversing with these I have rarely found to be profitable to my soul. Rather it has damped my desires, it has cooled my resolutions, and I have commonly left them with a dry, dissipated spirit.

And how can we expect it to be otherwise? For do we not naturally catch their spirit with whom we converse? And what spirit can we expect them to be of, considering the preaching they sit under? Some happy exceptions I allow; but, in general, do men gather grapes of thorns? Do they gather constant, universal self-denial, the patience of hope, the labour of love, inward and outward self-devotion, from the doctrine of Absolute Decrees, of Irresistible Grace, of Infallible Perseverance?¹

Since coming to Blackfriars, Romaine had not been able to find a suitable curate. The Rev. William Ley's name appears in the Parish Registers of St. Andrew-by-the-Wardrobe from May 16, 1766, to December 31, 1766. Ley became Curate of Lakenheath, Suffolk, in 1768, but his Evangelical preaching angered the Vicar.² One John Moore served Romaine for a time in the summer of 1767.³ Romaine was now to have a curate who would work by his side in the parish for seven and a half years--the Rev. Henry Foster (1745-1814), who later made a name for himself in London Evangelical circles. Foster was to have been ordained on Trinity Sunday, June 14,⁴ but for some reason he did not take orders until September 22.⁵ Cadogan has preserved a letter written to him by Romaine on August 4, 1767, part of which is quoted here:

¹Ibid., 82f. .

²Proceedings of the Wesley Historical Society, XVII (March, 1929), 5.

³St. Andrew-by-the-Wardrobe Parish Register, London.

⁴Cadogan, Life of Romaine in Romaine's Works, VII, 74.

⁵See detailed account of the ordination in John Nichols, Illustrations of the Literary History of the Eighteenth Century (8 vols.; London: Nichols, Son, and Bentley, 1817-58), V, 850ff.

In this whole affair I have desired simply to follow what was right, and to aim at the divine glory; and if I know my own heart, (which is not easily known) my eye is single in your coming to me. I desire your good, and not mine own; your being with me may be the means of much edification to your own soul, and may tend greatly to your future usefulness. I would have my church a nursery, where such as you may grow, till you are fit to be planted out, and when fit, I would not keep you a day, but rather use my interest to provide some preferment for you. This is my plan, my title, and my pulpit, and what I have in consequence of the Lord's sending me to Blackfriars. . . . I shall receive you on this footing when you come. May the Lord the Spirit unite your heart to me as mine is to you, and may we be taught of God to love one another.¹

Two years later Foster was ordained priest. Foster's advent gave Romaine opportunity for a much needed change; so he repaired to Bath, where he preached in Lady Huntingdon's chapel for a time, returning to London in the middle of October.²

The year 1767 found the Countess of Huntingdon embarking upon a project which was to bring her both sorrows and satisfactions--the founding of Trevecca College. Her chapels, which were increasing throughout England, Ireland, and Wales, had been supplied until this time by clergy of the Church of England, who served intermittently as did Romaine, but her multiplying preaching stations were rapidly outgrowing the ministerial supply. That Evangelical students for the ministry were not having an easy time of it at Oxford was soon to be demonstrated in the expulsion of six "Methodist" young men from St. Edmund Hall; at Cambridge the situation was somewhat better. Howell Harris owned "an ancient structure, part of an old castle, erected in the reign of Henry II,"³ Trevecca House, in the parish of Talgarth, not far from Brecon, in Brecknockshire, South Wales. Lady Huntingdon rented this building, and Harris, broken in health and unable to do much preaching, set about repairing and remodeling it.

¹Cadogan, op. cit., VII, 73. ²[Seymour] op. cit., II, 11.

³Tyerman, Life of Whitefield, II, 541.

There at Trevecca Lady Huntingdon proposed to open Trevecca College for the training of young ministers. Only "such as were truly converted to God, and resolved to dedicate themselves to his service,"¹ were to be admitted as students.

Plans of organization rapidly matured. Seymour says that the students

were at liberty to stay there three years, during which time they were to have their education gratis, with every necessary of life, and a suit of clothes once a year; afterwards, those who desired it might enter the ministry, either in the Established Church of England or among Protestants of any other denomination.²

John Fletcher of Madeley, about seventy-five miles from Trevecca, was appointed president, the position not necessitating his giving up his living or residing permanently at the college. Tytler says that he was responsible for "the appointment of masters, the admission and exclusion of students, the supervision of their studies and conduct, . . . aiding them in their pious efforts and . . . judging of their fitness for the Ministry."³ In November, 1767, a plan for the examination of candidates for admission to the college was drawn up, and, after it had been submitted for approval to Romaine, Venn, and John Wesley, among others, it was forwarded to all known Evangelical ministers with the request that they suggest suitable students.⁴

On March 11, 1768, six Evangelical or "Methodist" students were expelled from St. Edmund Hall, Oxford. The incident created a great stir, and tract was answered by tract, for and against the students. The eccentric Vice-Principal of the Hall, the Rev. John Higson, after labouring hard to rescue the six from "Methodist" views, took his complaint to the Principal, Dr.

¹[Seymour] op. cit., II, 79. ²Ibid., loc. cit.

³Sarah Tytler, The Countess of Huntingdon and Her Circle (London: Sir Isaac Pitman and Sons, 1907), p. 59.

⁴[Seymour] op. cit., II, 81.

George Dixon (1709?-87), who defended the men. Higson then took his case to the Vice-Chancellor, Dr. D. Durell (1728?-75), and swore out his charges--that some of the men had been bred to trades, that others were deficient in their knowledge of the ancient languages, that some of them had preached or prayed in illicit conventicles, and that others had behaved indecently toward him.¹ At the trial it developed that James Matthews (b. 1736?), bred a clothier, had studied with Fletcher of Madley before coming to Oxford; Thomas Jones, a former wig maker, had lived with John Newton at Olney; and Erasmus Middleton (1739-1805) had taught in one of John Wesley's schools. Ollard calls the trial "a strange performance."² Hunt, without citing authority, states that Romaine was said "to have instructed the young men previously,"³ but no trace of this accusation has been found in a perusal of most of the literature on the St. Edmund Hall expulsions. Richard Hill and Whitefield both wrote pamphlets in defense of the students. The latter was caustic in his remarks--for example: ". . . it is to be hoped, that as some have been expelled for extempore praying, we shall hear of some . . . being expelled for extempore swearing."⁴ Two of the students were later ordained in the Church of England and held livings, one of them, Middleton, serving as curate to Romaine from 1777 to 1785.⁵ Two of the men, James Matthews and Joseph Shipman,

¹Summarized from S. L. Ollard, The Six Students of St. Edmund Hall (London: A. R. Mowbray & Co., 1911), pp. 7f.

²Ibid., p. 15. .

³Alfred Leedes Hunt, David Simpson and the Evangelical Revival (London: Chas. J. Thynne & Jarvis, 1927), p. 133.

⁴George Whitefield, A Letter to the Reverend Dr. Durell (London: J. Millan, 1768), p. 12.

⁵Infra, pp. 249f

seem to have attended Trevecca College upon its opening.¹ The whole affair was widely publicized, and the Trevecca project gained an added impetus through it in Evangelical circles.

1768
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Age 53

A young man who profited greatly from Romaine's ministry at this time was John Russell (1745-1806), later a member of the Royal Academy and a famous portrait artist. He had been converted at the Lock Chapel under Madan's preaching on September 20, 1764, the very day on which Romaine had preached his candidate's sermon at Blackfriars. He heard Romaine preach regularly thereafter, and, as a result of his taking his friend, Miss Hannah Faden, to hear him, she too was converted; Romaine married them on February 5, 1770.² An excerpt from Russell's diary early in 1768 reveals that the atmosphere was not always placid when Romaine lectured at St. Dunstan's:

I was, with the whole church, much disturbed by a man's bawling out and insulting Mr. Romaine (this was at St. Dunstan's, London), as he was preaching, and making a ridicule of what he said and praising him ironically.³

Lady Margaret Ingham, wife of Benjamin Ingham, died on April 30, 1768. In her passing Romaine lost a friend and benefactress of many years, and he was deeply touched. He wrote to Mrs. Medhurst:

I got a good advancement by the death of Lady M[argare]t, and was led into a sweet path of meditation, in which I went on, meditating and contemplating, till my heart burnt within me. . . . She was freed from condemnation, and was passed from death unto life. He gave her to know it, to enjoy it. Many a time my spirit has been refreshed with hearing her relate simply and feelingly how Jesus was her life.⁴

Ingham was a broken man after his societies were decimated by the

¹Ollard, op. cit., pp. 36f.

²George C. Williamson, John Russell, R.A. (London: George Bell & Sons, 1894), p. 21.

³Ibid., p. 16.

⁴Romaine, Letters to a Friend, pp. 150f.

Sandemanian schism,¹ and he survived his wife only four years, dying in 1772.²

1768
—
Age 53

Romaine had hoped to leave London for the north on June 20, but a letter to his sister dated June 28 indicates that he had been delayed.

I purpose, through God's blessing, to be at Northallerton, Monday next, July 4, and desire my old fellow-traveller may meet me there with horses the same day, time enough for me to get to Yarum that night, if we cannot reach Hartlepool. I hope to be at Northallerton about noon, or soon after. Once more, the Lord in great mercy will bring us together, and will, I trust, accompany our meeting with his blessing. If it be agreeable, I will be either at Hartlepool or Strantum, on Sunday, July 10. Remember me, with my best prayers for my dear mother; my love to brother Heslup.³

Whether or not these plans were carried out is not known.

Lady Huntingdon's family and friends had been much alarmed at a serious illness she had suffered late in 1767. After several conferences on the management of the chapels, the Rev. William Talbot wrote to her about a proposed plan.

I have had a long conference (says Mr. Talbot) with my Lord Dartmouth, who is ready and willing to do any thing your Ladyship may direct. He feels his inability for a work so great, but humbly hopes the Lord will strengthen his hands, if you should think proper to repose the trust in him. He is delicate of writing, lest he should appear to dictate. Messrs. Madan, Stillingfleet, Romaine, and Downing are of the opinion that his Lordship is the fittest person for this great cause. How have we wrestled with God on your behalf!⁴

To the great relief of all, Lady Huntingdon rapidly recovered her strength, in answer to prayer, and it was unnecessary to fall back upon the proposed plan. She was able to carry forward her plans for a theological school at Trevecca--threatened during her illness.

Whitefield preached twice on the occasion of the opening

¹Supra, pp. 139f. ²Tyerman, Oxford Methodists, p. 154.

³Romaine's Works, VIII, 213f.

⁴[Seymour] op. cit., II, 12f.

of Trevecca College on August 24, 1768, Lady Huntingdon's birthday.¹ No published statement indicates who else was present. Undoubtedly Lady Huntingdon and Fletcher were there and other clergymen--possibly Romaine himself. Amazing as it seems, the only master at the college the first year was a twelve year old boy, a genius, John Henderson (1757-88), who taught Greek and Latin.² Seymour, without mentioning Henderson, credits Joseph Easterbrook (d. 1791) with being the headmaster,³ but a letter from Fletcher to Lady Huntingdon dated January 3, 1768, expresses the hope that Easterbrook would be "the captain of the school, and a great help to the master, as well as a spur to the students."⁴ Was John Wesley referring to this odd situation at Trevecca when he wrote to Charles on May 14, 1768?

I am glad Mr. Fletcher has been with you. But if the tutor fails, what will become of our college at Trevecca? Did you ever see anything more queer than their plan of institution? Pray who penned it, man or woman? I am afraid the visitor [Fletcher] too will fail.⁵

In 1769 Joseph Benson (1749-1821) left the position of classical master at Wesley's Kingswood school, near Bristol, to become headmaster at Trevecca.⁶

The Rev. James Murray (1719?-1786?), a Presbyterian minister of Newcastle-on-Tyne, in 1768 published anonymously a book with the odd title of Sermons to Asses. The title page carried a dedication to "The Very Excellent And Reverend Messrs. G.W. J.W. W.R. & M.M.," meaning, of course, George Whitefield, John Wes-

¹Ibid., 92.

²See Tyerman, Wesley's Designated Successor, pp. 144f.

³[Seymour] op. cit., II, 96.

⁴Tyerman, Wesley's Designated Successor, p. 132.

⁵John Wesley, Letters, V, 88.

⁶[Seymour] op. cit., II, 101.

ley, William Romaine, and Martin Madan, but these men are not the asses referred to in the title. The author's text was Genesis 49:14, "Issachar is a strong ass couching down between two burdens." In the tribe of Issachar he saw an "inactive, slothful, and sluggish people: they loved rest more than liberty, and chose to be slaves, rather than exert themselves, and assert their privileges."¹ The two burdens so patiently borne by the masses he took to be "civil and religious slavery." In Romaine he saw a defender of Establishment, and he asserted that it is

a burden upon such as do not or cannot in conscience join in the communion of the church of England, to be obliged to pay to support a worship they can see no warrant for from the New Testament. But, after imposing upon men's consciences, we need not think it strange that they impose upon our purses.²

He went on to urge the cringing "asses" to throw off their yoke.

The sermons were often republished with additions in the author's name.³

The early months of 1769 were marked by a series of services, reminiscent of those held ten years before,⁴ conducted in Lady Huntingdon's house in Portland Row, Cavendish Square, London. The occasion was the presence in London for the first three months of the year of George Whitefield, greatly weakened in body and comparatively inactive for a time.⁵ On Monday, January 9, John Wesley was also in London and wrote in his journal a brief account of a visit with his old friend:

I spent a comfortable and profitable hour with Mr. Whitefield in calling to mind the former times, and the manner wherein God pre-

¹James Murray, Sermons to Asses, to Doctors in Divinity, to Lords Spiritual, and to Ministers of State (London: William Hone, 1819), p. 3.

²Ibid., p. 19.

³On James Murray see Proceedings of the Wesley Historical Society, XXI (June, 1937), 44ff.

⁴Supra, pp. 117ff. ⁵Tyerman, Life of Whitefield, II, 557.

pared us for a work which it had not then entered into our hearts to conceive.¹

1769

Age 54

The next day Whitefield administered the Lord's Supper at the Countess's house and John Wesley preached on "Ye Are Saved By Faith."² A week later, on Tuesday, January 17, Romaine administered the sacrament and gave "a solemn address to the communicants: after which Mr. Whitefield explained that important declaration, 'If they hear not Moses and the Prophets, neither will they be persuaded though one rose from the dead.'"³ John Wesley left the following record of a visit with Whitefield on Monday, February 27:

I had one more agreeable conversation with my old friend and fellow labourer, George Whitefield. His soul appeared to be vigorous still, but his body was sinking apace; and, unless God interposes with His almighty hand, he must soon finish his labours.⁴

The following day Whitefield was at Lady Huntingdon's house but was physically unable to take any part in the service. A friend and helper of Whitefield's, the Rev. John Green, formerly Curate of Thurnscoe, Yorkshire, served at the communion table, assisted by the Rev. R. Elliott, and Romaine preached on "God forbid that I should glory, save in the cross of our Lord Jesus Christ."⁵

Henry Venn arrived in London from Huddersfield in early March, and he had many opportunities to preach in and around the city. He and Romaine administered the sacrament at Lady Huntingdon's on one occasion after Whitefield, now stronger again, had preached. On the same evening Venn preached to a large crowd. Just before the Countess closed her house that spring a final

¹John Wesley, The Journal of the Rev. John Wesley, A.M., ed. Nehemiah Curnock (Standard ed.; 8 vols.; London: The Epworth Press, 1938), V, 297.

²[Seymour] op. cit., II, 126. ³Ibid., loc. cit.

⁴John Wesley, Journal, V, 303.

⁵[Seymour] op. cit., II, 127.

service was held, in which Charles Wesley "exhorted all present to 'stand fast in one mind and in one judgment.'" Romaine and Venn officiated at the communion table, and, after a prayer by Whitefield, Venn pronounced the benediction. The Doxology "was sung with uncommon fervour and devotion, and all separated with a deeper sense of their mercies, and of their infinite obligations to the Lord Jesus Christ."

According to his diary, Howell Harris was in Brighton during the second half of April, 1769, where he spent some time preaching at Lady Huntingdon's chapels in company with Venn and Romaine.¹ No other evidence of Romaine's service at Brighton and Ote Hall at this time seems to have survived.

In a letter to Mrs. Medhurst dated May 2, 1769, Romaine expressed himself on the matter of inoculation against smallpox, a relatively new practice much debated at this time.

You ask my opinion of inoculation. People, who reason upon worldly motives, may do as they please. To others I would relate the case of a great Doctor in divinity, and a great Christian, who had an only son. His wife was for, the Doctor was against, inoculation. They had many disputes about it. The Doctor said he could not do it in faith--the wife said she could do it, because she believed it to be for the best. Neither side would yield: so they agreed to put it off till one or the other should give up their opinion, and both be of one mind. The child was thus left in God's hand--he got the small-pox in the natural way, and did well.²

His statement may be compared with that of John Wesley:

I have no manner of objection as to the inoculating grown persons.³ I have some scruples as to inoculating children, unless the physician could promise me the child shall not die of it.⁴

"God's hand" in the progress of medical research was but slowly recognized by many in the Eighteenth Century.

¹Proceedings of the Wesley Historical Society, XVI (June, 1928), 117.

²Romaine, Letters to a Friend, pp. 160f.

³See also John Wesley, Letters, VI, 131.

⁴Ibid., V, 30.

The Evangelical Revival had now for some time been making itself felt in America. The spirit of the Revival had been carried to the colonies by Whitefield and the co-workers of Wesley and had the effect of perpetuating the effects of the slightly earlier Great Awakening under Jonathan Edwards (1703-58). Tyerman notes that the minutes of conference report 316 Methodists in America in 1769, and that "even a thing so innocent as sending preachers to America was too important for the wicked to pass without a sneer." He then quotes the facetious report of ecclesiastical promotions that appeared in Lloyd's Evening Post on May 26, 1769:

Rev. G. Whitefield, Archbishop of Boston; Rev. W. Romaine, Bishop of New York; Rev. J. Wesley, Bishop of Pennsylvania; Rev. M. Madan, Bishop of the Carolinas; Rev. W. Shirley, Bishop of Virginia; and Rev. C. Wesley, Bishop of Nova Scotia.

Tyerman says "it was added, that as his majesty would soon have the livings of these gentlemen at his disposal, he intended to provide for Dr. Dodd,¹ and other court celebrities, anxious to fill important places."²

During the summer Romaine made his annual journey to Hartlepool and the north. He must have left London after July 18, for Toplady, of Broad Hembury, Devonshire, records a conversation in London with Romaine on that date.³ Toplady preached at Blackfriars on July 26,⁴ evidently while Romaine was away, for on August 5 the latter writes his mother from London the first let-

¹Infra, pp. 252ff.

²L. Tyerman, The Life and Times of the Rev. John Wesley, M.A. (3rd ed.; 3 vols.; London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1876), III, 48.

³Thomas Wright, Augustus M. Toplady and Contemporary Hymn Writers (London: Farnecombe & Son, 1911), p. 84.

⁴Augustus Toplady, The Works of Augustus Toplady, A.B. (6 vols., London: W. Row, 1794), IV, 335.

ter written "since I left Hartlepool."¹ In this letter he tells of having preached "to a vast congregation" at the assizes. Leaving the children in London, he and Mrs. Romaine left on August 15 for the west, expecting to be in Tiverton, Devonshire in about three weeks.² By September 9 they were at Berwick, near Shrewsbury, in Shropshire.³

1769
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Age 54

In Shrewsbury Romaine preached a sermon in St. Chad's Church which provoked a war of pamphlets. The minister, Dr. William Adams (1706-89), followed him into the vestry and said angrily, "Sir, my congregation is not used to such doctrine, and I hope will never hear such again." Romaine's only reply, although a number of people was present, was, "Sir, this surely is neither a proper time nor place for disputes."⁴ A fortnight later Dr. Adams replied to Romaine's sermon in St. Chad's. There the matter might have rested, but Adams was persuaded early in 1770 to publish his sermon, A Test of True and False Doctrines. In it he conceded Romaine to be "a person of known learning, and, as I am informed, a principal leader among those who are known as methodists."⁵ His text was from I John 4:1, "Beloved, believe not every spirit, but try the spirits whether they are of God: because many false prophets are gone out into the world," but he preferred not to state what he believed to be his opponent's doctrinal errors. "The particular tenets which gave this offence, and the rash, unguarded terms in which they were expressed,

¹Romaine's Works, VIII, 236. ²Ibid., VII, 332.

³Ibid., 333

⁴Edwin Sidney, The Life of Sir Richard Hill, Bart. (London: R. B. Seeley and W. Burnside, 1839), pp. 156f.

⁵William Adams, A Test of True and False Doctrines (London: B. White, 1770), p. 5.

I forbear to mention."¹ He did, however, speak of two minor points in which he disagreed with Romaine.

1769
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Age 54

Some of the least unexceptionable passages in the sermon . . . were the following: There are no little sins. To have little sins you must have a little God. God hath no mercy but through Christ the redeemer.²

Adams's entire work was on a humanistic plane, expressing objection to Romaine's Evangelical doctrine, which he said was delivered with "an air imperious and decisive, tending to blind the minds and surprize the credulity of the vulgar."³

Sir Richard Hill, who seems to have been instrumental in bringing Romaine to St. Chad's, responded with A Letter to the Rev. Dr. Adams of Shrewsbury: Occasioned by the Publication of His Sermon, Entitled A Test of True and False Doctrines. Hill sought to show that Romaine's doctrine was the doctrine of the Church of England. ". . . I doubt not," wrote Hill, "but it was chiefly owing to his [Romaine's] so strenuously defending the Divinity and Godhead of our blessed Saviour, that you were so much disgusted at it."⁴ He described a conversation between Dr. Adams and Romaine's friends after Romaine had preached the offending sermon. When Adams was reminded that the Articles, Homilies, and Liturgy of the Church all supported Romaine, his reply was, "the compilers of the articles and the liturgy were only fallible men, and that divinity was much better understood now than at the time of the reformation."⁵ The question of subscription was then raised. Romaine wrote a letter to Adams which was appended to Hill's pamphlet:

Rev. Sir,

¹Ibid., p. 5. ²Ibid., p. 16. ³Ibid., p. 7.

⁴[Richard Hill] A Letter to the Rev. Dr. Adams of Shrewsbury (London: E. and C. Dilly, 1770), p. 8.

⁵Ibid., p. 9.

As you have in the most public manner, both from the pulpit and the press, personally traduced me, as a setter forth of strange doctrines, tending at once to surprise the vulgar and to mislead the credulous; the most exceptionable of which doctrines you tell us you forbear to mention; you cannot think it unbecoming my office as a minister of Christ, to join the author of this letter, in calling upon you to explain your meaning; since it must be allowed to be a very hard case to be so severely condemned in general terms, without giving me an opportunity of vindicating--not myself, for I desire to be out of the question--but the doctrines delivered in my sermon,--doctrines which I am persuaded in my conscience, are not only contained in the word of God, but are the very basis of that apostolical Church, in which you and I have the honor to be ministers.

I am, Rev. Sir, Your most humble servant,

WILLIAM ROMAINE,
Rector of Blackfriars¹

Quite a number of pamphlets appeared as the discussion continued on the doctrine of the Church of England,² as it related to natural religion and Evangelical preaching.

On their way through Shropshire the Romaines stopped at Madeley to visit John Fletcher. The latter tells of Romaine's having been there in a letter to Walter Sellon dated October 7, 1769. The letter reflects a growing tension between the Calvinists and the Arminians. He thus refers to Trevecca College:

There are some disputes in Lady Huntingdon's College; but when the power of God comes, they drop them. The Calvinists are three to one. Your book³ I have sent them as a hard nut to crack.⁴

Romaine also preached at Lady Huntingdon's chapel in Bath⁵ before concluding his holiday preaching tour. His terse comment to his

¹This letter also appears in Sidney, Life of Sir Richard Hill, p. 159.

²See Richard Green, Anti-Methodist Publications Issued during the Eighteenth Century (London: C. H. Kelly, 1902), pp. 111f.

³Arguments against the Doctrine of General Redemption Considered, 1769.

⁴John Fletcher, The Works of the Rev. John Fletcher (8 vols.; London: John Mason, 1837), VIII, 205.

⁵Romaine, Letters to a Friend, p. 147.

sister Dorothy on November 7 was, "I have been trying to spread the fame of our precious Jesus in various parts of England-- a journey of near 800 miles."¹ When one remembers the discomfort and inconvenience of primitive travel over rough and often muddy roads, he is impressed with the remarkable itinerations of Romaine and his fellows.

The year 1770 began with a sermon at the Lock Chapel. In the congregation was Lady Huntingdon, who later in the evening wrote:

. . . . I am but just returned from the Lock, where I heard a profitable sermon from dear Mr. Romaine, on that awful passage-- "This year thou shalt die." If the Lord shall see fit to remove me hence during the year just commenced, may my worthless soul be numbered with the redeemed before the throne.²

During the month of January Romaine was at Brighton and Ote Hall, and early in March he and Lady Huntingdon spent a few days with Rev. and Mrs. William Talbot at Reading. They were in Bristol on the eleventh of March and Mr. Romaine preached twice. Two days later he preached in Bath, and on March 14 he conducted a service in a large room at Cheltenham. On Sunday the eighteenth he was in Reading, where he preached at St. Giles Church for Talbot.³

Toplady preached one of his most controversial sermons, A Caveat against Unsound Doctrines, at Blackfriars Church on Sunday, April 29, 1770. He inveighed unmercilessly against Arminianism, which he declared to be "the gangrene of the Protestant Churches, and the predominant evil of the day."⁴ In a postscript to the printed sermon he stated that Wesley

¹Romaine's Works, VIII, 218.

²[Seymour] Life and Times of the Countess of Huntingdon, I, 385.

³Summarized from ibid., 387f.

⁴Toplady's Works, III, 20.

is the only opponent I ever had whom I chastised with a studious disregard to ceremony. Nor do I in the least repent of the manner in which I treated him. To have refuted the forgeries and perversions of such an assailant tenderly, and with meekness falsely so called, would have been like shooting at a highwayman with a pop-gun, or like repelling the sword of an assassin with a straw.¹

The "forgeries and perversions" referred to were to be found in a twelve page tract published by Wesley in March, 1770, The Doctrine of Absolute Predestination Stated and Asserted, by the Rev. A.T., purporting to be an abridgment of Toplady's translation of Jerome Zanchius's (1516-90) work with the same title. Wesley's closing paragraph had been as follows:

The sum of all this: one in twenty (suppose) of mankind are elected; nineteen in twenty are reprobated. The elect shall be saved, do what they will; the reprobate shall be damned, do what they can. Reader, believe this, or be damned. Witness my hand,
A----- T-----.²

Toplady had answered this tract with A Letter to the Rev. Mr. John Wesley on March 26, 1770.

Nothing seems to be known of Romaine's activities during the year 1770 after his early spring preaching tour with Lady Huntingdon, except what may be learned from several letters to Mrs. Medhurst concerning his efforts to secure the living of the parish Church of St. Mary, Kippax, Yorkshire, for the Rev. Edward Buckley (b. 1743?), who had been curate there since 1767 to the Vicar, Henry Crooke (d. 1770).³ The parish seemed to be eager to retain Buckley, and Romaine was able to help secure his presentation on December 13.⁴

Three events, each with its own set of causes and effects, now combined to bring about the full blaze of Calvinist-Arminian

¹Ibid., 57. ²Ibid., V, 321.

³George E. Kirk, A Short History of the Parish Church of St. Mary, Kippax (1933), p. 20.

⁴Romaine, Letters to a Friend, pp. 206f.

controversy, which was to rage for a number of years among the Revival preachers. Romaine took no part in the battle of words—he deplored the conflict—but his name was used, often unjustly; hence some notice must be taken of the controversy. John Wesley had been troubled for some time about the spread of Calvinism and what he termed Antinomianism¹ in his societies, and at his Twenty-seventh Conference, held at London from August 7 to 10, 1770, he introduced what came to be known as the "Minutes of 1770," here quoted in full:

We said in 1744, "We have leaned too much toward Calvinism." Wherein?

1. With regard to man's faithfulness. Our Lord Himself taught us to use the expression. And we ought never to be ashamed of it. We ought steadily to assert, on His authority, that if a man is not "faithful in the unrighteous mammon," God will not give him the true riches.

2. With regard to working for life. This also our Lord has expressly commanded us. "Labour"—literally, "work"—"for the meat that endureth to everlasting life." And, in fact, every believer, till he comes to glory, works for as well as from life.

3. We have received it as a maxim that "a man is to do nothing in order to justification." Nothing can be more false. Whoever desires to find favour with God should "cease from evil, and learn to do well." Whoever repents should do "works meet for repentance." And if this is not in order to find favour, what does he do them for?

Review the whole affair.

1. Who of us is now accepted of God?
He that now believes in Christ, with a loving and obedient heart.

2. But who among those that never heard of Christ?
He that feareth God, and worketh righteousness, according to the light he has.

3. Is this the same with "he that is sincere?"
Nearly, if not quite.

4. Is not this "salvation by works"?
Not by the merit of works, but by works as a condition.

5. What have we, then, been disputing about for these thirty years?

I am afraid, about words.

6. As to merit itself, of which we have been so dreadfully afraid: we are rewarded "according to our works," yea, "because of our works." How does this differ from for the sake of our works? And how differs this from secundum merita operum? As our works deserve? Can you split this hair? I doubt I cannot.

7. The grand objection to one of the preceding propositions, is drawn from matter of fact. God does in fact justify those, who, by their confession, neither feared God nor wrought righteousness. Is this an exception to the general rule?

¹Infra, pp. 218, 226f.

It is a doubt, God makes any exception at all. But how are we sure that the person in question never did fear God and work righteousness? His own saying so is not proof: for we know, how all that are convinced of sin undervalue themselves in every respect.

8. Does not talking of a justified or a sanctified state, tend to mislead men? Almost naturally leading them to trust, in what was done in one moment? Whereas we are every hour and every moment, pleasing or displeasing to God, according to our works. According to the whole of our inward tempers, and our outward behaviour.¹

After the conference Wesley set out for Bristol, expecting to attend the second anniversary of the opening of Trevecca College, to which he had been invited by Lady Huntingdon the year before. The Countess, however, horrified at the implied doctrine of salvation by works in the recent doctrinal minutes, wrote him that she could not allow him in her pulpits as long as he continued to hold such views. Without replying Wesley proceeded to Cornwall, and, according to Seymour, "never after preached in the chapels of Lady Huntingdon."² Among those who attended the Trevecca anniversary were Shirley, Venn, Berridge, Fletcher, and the the Welsh preachers, William Williams (1717-91), Daniel Rowlands (1713-90), Peter Williams, and Howell Harris. The meeting was no sooner over than Lady Huntingdon decided that she could not have Trevecca contaminated with Wesley's Arminian heresy as expressed in the conference minutes and "declared that whoever did not wholly disavow them should quit her College."³ Her headmaster, Joseph Benson, defended Wesley's minutes and was dismissed early in January, 1771. Fletcher was unable to effect a settlement, and he soon resigned his position as president. He wrote to Benson on March 22, "Last Friday, I left them all in peace, the servant, but no more the president of the College."⁴ Thus was Armin-

¹Minutes of the Methodist Conferences, I, 96f.

²[Seymour] op. cit., II, 107. ³Ibid., 236.

⁴Tyerman, Wesley's Designated Successor, p. 180.

ianism purged from Trevecca College.

1770

Age 56

Meanwhile, Whitefield had died at Newburyport, Massachusetts, on September 30, 1770. His last year in America had been a triumphal procession, with his health somewhat improved. The day before he died he preached for two hours from a hogshead in the open air. Amidst great mourning Whitefield's remains were deposited in the vault of the Prebyterian Church of Newburyport, although it had been his desire to be buried with the Wesleys in Tottenham Court Chapel. The news of his death was received in England on November 5 through the Boston Gazette; the same ship that brought the paper carried several letters Whitefield had written during his last week upon earth.¹

John Wesley, in fulfillment of a long-standing request, preached the official funeral sermon for Whitefield in Tottenham Court Chapel on November 18. After observing some particulars of his friend's life, character, and death, Wesley exhorted his hearers to "improve this awful providence" by "keeping close to the grand doctrines which he delivered," the new birth and justification by faith.

These let us insist upon with all boldness, at all times, and in all places; in public (those of us who are called thereto), and at all opportunities in private. Keep close to these good, old, unfashionable doctrines, how many soever contradict and blaspheme. Go on, my brethren, in the 'name of the Lord, and in the power of His might.'²

The sermon was soon in print and widely read. The Calvinistic Gospel Magazine published a bitterly critical review of the sermon in January, 1771. Wesley was taken to task for enunciating Whitefield's doctrines as the new birth and justification by faith, while failing to mention election and the eternal cov-

¹Evangelical Register, VIII (August, 1836), 288.

²John Wesley, Wesley's Standard Sermons, ed. Edward H. Sugden (2 vols.; London: The Epworth Press, 1931), II, 523.

enant of redemption between the Father and the Son. The heart of the review is found in the following words:

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Says Mr. Wesley, p. 25, 'May not these grand, fundamental doctrines, which Mr. Whitefield every where insisted on, be summed up, as it were, in two words, the new birth, and justification by faith?' We answer, No: in no wise: no, not even as it were. No more than the articles of our creed can be summed up in these two words, the crucifixion of Christ, and the descent of the Spirit. For we know Mr. Whitefield every where insisted, both from the pulpit and press, on other fundamental doctrines than these. Yea doctrines, from the foundation of which the new birth and justification by faith, take their rise: with which they are inseparably connected; by which they are made absolutely effectual to the everlasting salvation of sinners: And without which Mr. Whitefield could not maintain this fundamental point, as Mr. Wesley well observes he did, p. 23. 'TO GIVE GOD ALL THE GLORY, AND IN THE BUSINESS OF SALVATION SET CHRIST, AS HIGH, AND MAN AS LOW AS POSSIBLE.' Now the fundamental doctrines are, God the Father's everlasting unchangeable love to sinners--his election of sinners by his grace to salvation--the everlasting covenant which was entered into by the holy blessed and glorious Trinity to save men. And in consequence of this everlasting love, election and covenant, that every believing member of Jesus shall certainly persevere in holiness to eternal life, as "being kept by the power of God, through faith, unto salvation." Now these may truly be called, the grand, the scriptural, the fundamental points, which Mr. Whitefield taught and maintained.¹

A passage from Whitefield is then quoted and commented upon:

Says he [Whitefield], 'If people were more studious of the covenant of redemption between the Father and the Son, we should not then have so much disputing against the doctrine of election, nor hear it condemned as a doctrine of devils. For my part, I cannot see how humbleness of mind can be obtained without the knowledge of election. And though I will not say that every one who denies election is a bad man, yet I will say, it is a BAD SIGN.' May we not then here remark, in Mr. Whitefield's words, that as the fundamental doctrine of election is left out of this sermon, that it is a BAD SIGN? How then does Mr. Wesley keep close to those grand scriptural doctrines which Mr. Whitefield every where delivered? Did he not know, that Mr. Whitefield, even to his death, constantly avowed, and ever preached them? He did full well.²

In regard to the spirit of love which Wesley maintained should characterize Evangelicals the Gospel Magazine queries:

But how can it be expected this should prevail, when the opprobrious name of Antinomian is so liberally branded upon those, who hold the doctrines of an election of grace, and the final perseverance of the saints, and cannot swallow that unscriptural doctrine of perfection? and hence people are warned, 'if you go to

¹Gospel Magazine, VI (January, 1771), 40f.

²Ibid., 41f.

hear such and such ministers, you are fallen from grace—you want to find an easier and smoother way to heaven than we teach—you will soon drink into the spirit of licentiousness.' Alas, alas! we may, after this rate, talk till we are blind about drinking into Mr. Whitefield's spirit, and yet never have one real drop of it.¹

1771
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Wesley on February 26 wrote a letter to the editor of Lloyd's Evening Post accusing Romaine of writing the review of his sermon on Whitefield's death as editor of the Gospel Magazine.

The letter begins:

Sir,—The editor of a monthly publication pompously called the Gospel Magazine, Mr. Romaine, has violently fallen upon one and another who did not knowingly give him any provocation. And whereas in other magazines the accused has liberty to answer for himself, it is not so here: this gentleman will publish only the charge, but not the defence. What can a person thus injuriously treated do? To publish pamphlets on every head would not answer the end; for the answer would not come into near so many hands as the objections. Is there, then, a better way than to appeal to candid men in one of the public papers? By which means the antidote will operate both as widely and as speedily as the poison. This method, therefore, I take at last, after delaying as long as I could with innocence.²

Romaine's name is used six times in the letter—the last time thus—"After asserting this, can Mr. Romaine ever take the name of catholic love into his mouth."³ Most students of Wesley follow him in asserting that Romaine was editor of the Gospel Magazine and the author of the review under question. Dr. Archibald Harrison, for example, in 1942 said that "Romaine, in the Gospel Magazine, was in full career after this hoary heretic"⁴ and "when the controversy over Wesley's Minutes broke out in 1771, he [Romaine] came into the field against him in the Gospel Magazine, of which he was then Editor."⁵

But Romaine was neither the editor of the Gospel Magazine nor the author of the complained of review. In June, 1771, that

¹Ibid., 45.

²John Wesley, Letters, V, 223f. ³Ibid., 225.

⁴Archibald W. Harrison, The Evangelical Revival and Christian Reunion (London: The Epworth Press, 1942), p. 83.

⁵Ibid., p. 118.

periodical noticed Wesley's accusations of Romaine:

Mr. Wesley in Lloyd's Evening Post of March first, charges the Gospel Magazine with 'publishing only the charge, but not the defence; and that the accused has not the liberty to answer for himself in it.' And has also accused Mr. R. of being the Editor of our Magazine, and the author of the review of Mr. Wesley's sermon published therein. Now for the sake of truth, we declare, 1. That Mr. R. was not the author of that review. He had not the least hand in writing it. 2. That he is not the Editor of our Magazine. And 3. That we never did receive any defence from Mr. Wesley, nor any writing of any kind; consequently never did refuse Mr. Wesley the liberty to answer for himself. Now, how Mr. Wesley can answer to God, to the world, and to his own conscience, (to use his own words) for 'so violently falling upon Mr. R. without provocation,' and so unjustly accusing us, must be left to himself. We assure him our Magazine is open to him; he has liberty to speak for himself in it. But we expect he will avoid all such personal accusations and illiberal reflections, which his letter in Lloyd's Evening Post abounds with.¹

Romaine himself denied the authorship of the review and, by inference, the editorship² of the Gospel Magazine. Richard Hill stated that "Mr. Romaine declared, that so far from being the author or inserter of the strictures, he did not so much as see them till after their publication."³ Romaine made no public reply to Wesley's charges, and, although "a more extreme Calvinist than most of the Evangelical leaders, he wisely kept himself quite aloof from the wretched Calvinistic controversy."⁴

Romaine, with such Evangelical clergymen as Berridge, Venn, and Madan, refused to fall in with Lady Huntingdon's plan to force the issue on Wesley's 1770 minutes at his Twenty-eighth Conference at Bristol in August, 1771. A circular letter signed

¹Gospel Magazine, VI (June, 1771), 271.

²Wright says that a Mr. Gurney was editor of the Gospel Magazine. Life of Toplady, p. 98. The periodical's title page reads, "Printed by M. Lewis, in Pater-noster-Row; for Joseph Gurney, in Holborn, opposite Hatton-Garden."

³[Richard Hill] A Review of All the Doctrines Taught by the Rev. Mr. John Wesley (2d ed.; London: E. and C. Dilly, 1772), p. 83.

⁴John Henry Overton, The Evangelical Revival in the Eighteenth Century (London: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1907), p. 67.

by her cousin, the Rev. Walter Shirley, proposed a meeting at
Bristol

1771

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of such principal persons both clergy and laity who disapprove of the underwritten minutes; and as the same are thought injurious to the very fundamental principles of christianity, it is further proposed, that they go in a body to the said conference, and insist upon a formal recantation of the said minutes; and in case of a refusal, that they sign and publish their protest against them.¹

At the conference on August 8 Shirley appeared with two of Lady Huntingdon's chapel preachers, two Trevecca students, and three laymen. Both sides claimed the victory. Wesley and fifty-three of his preachers signed a statement prepared by Shirley and changed in a few minor places by Wesley.

Whereas the doctrinal points in the minutes of a conference held in London, August 7th, 1770, have been understood to favour justification by works--Now, we, the Rev. John Wesley, and others assembled in conference, do declare that we had no such meaning, and that we abhor the doctrine of justification by works as a most perilous and abominable doctrine. And as the said minutes are not sufficiently guarded in the way they are expressed, we hereby solemnly declare in the sight of God, that we have no trust or confidence but in the alone merits of our Lord and Saviour, Jesus Christ, for justification or salvation, either in life, death, or the day of judgment. And though no one is a real Christian believer (and consequently cannot be saved), who doth not good works when there is time and opportunity, yet our works have no part in meriting or purchasing our² justification, from first to last, either in whole or in part.

Shirley, on the other hand, was pressed by Wesley's preachers to make a statement to counteract the assertion in his widely read circular letter that the minutes "are thought injurious to the very fundamental principles of christianity" and "dreadful heresy." After some hesitation Shirley sent Wesley the following declaration:

Mr. Shirley's Christian respects wait on Mr. Wesley. The declaration agreed to in Conference, August the 8th, 1771, has convinced Mr. Shirley he had mistaken the meaning of the doctrinal points in the Minutes of the Conference held in London, August

¹See entire letter in the Gospel Magazine, VI (August, 1771), 367.

²[Seymour] op. cit., II, 242f.

7th, 1770; and he hereby wishes to testify the full satisfaction he has had in the said declaration, and his hearty concurrence and agreement with the same.¹

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Bitterness on both sides should have ended here. Wesley, however, had begun to print Fletcher's Vindication of the Rev. Mr. Wesley's Last Minutes,² an answer to the charges in Shirley's circular letter. Fletcher felt differently about matters after the apparent settlement of differences at the Bristol conference, and he wrote to James Ireland (1724-1814), wealthy Bristol sugar refiner:

I feel for poor dear Mr. Shirley, whom I have (considering the present circumstances) treated too severely in my "Vindication of the Minutes." My dear Sir, what must be done? I am ready to defray, by selling to my last shirt, the expense of the printing of my Vindication, and suppress it. Direct me, dear Sir. Consult with Mr. Shirley and Mr. Wesley about the matter. Be persuaded I am ready to do everything that will be brotherly in this unhappy affair.³

Ireland did everything possible to try to suppress the book, which was being printed in Bristol. Wesley was determined to proceed with the publication of Fletcher's work⁴ and on August 14 wrote to the Countess of Huntingdon:

But till Mr. Fletcher's printed letters are answered, I must think everything spoke against those Minutes is totally destructive of His honour, and a palpable affront to Him both as our Prophet and Priest, but more especially as the King of His people.⁵

Fletcher's Vindication appeared late in August and the contest was on! Shirley answered Fletcher, and Rowland and Richard Hill,

¹Thomas Jackson, The Life of the Rev. Charles Wesley, M.A. (2 vols.; London: John Mason, 1841), II, 264.

²Later called First Check to Antinomianism.

³Tyerman, Wesley's Designated Successor, p. 192.

⁴Compare Harrison's statement that "Fletcher came to the conclusion that it would be better to discuss the subject fully." A. W. Harrison, Arminianism (London: Duckworth, 1937), p. 209.

⁵John Wesley, Letters, V, 275.

Toplady, Berridge, and others came into the fray. Fletcher kept adding to his Checks to Antinomianism until 1775, answering each publication of his opponents--in the best of temper, which cannot be said of the Calvinists. Romaine's name was mentioned from time to time on both sides of the controversy, but he himself--while obviously favourable to the Calvinists--took no part in the discussions. He wrote to Zachary Shrapnell on October 29, 1772:

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You mention the present dispute occasioned by Mr. Wesley's doctrine in his minutes. God be thanked! I have nothing to do with it. For more than twenty years my dear master has delivered me from a spirit of controversy; and I trust he will deliver me to the end. Let others dispute about salvation, I will leave them and seek to enjoy it. And I do--glory be to my God. I am getting in my harvest, while they are only sowing the seed.¹

To resume the thread of Romaine's life after considering his connection with the beginning of the Calvinistic Controversy, note must be taken of the death of his mother, Isabella Romaine, in Hartlepool on February 15, 1771, at the age of eighty-eight.² Romaine's letters indicate that his mother in later years had had difficulty in resting in the assurance of salvation. On June 27, 1767, he had written to Dorothy as follows:

I know she is safe as to her state, but is puzzled about the evidence of it; which robs her of her present peace, but cannot hurt her salvation. Of this I have no doubt. I have conversed with her for several years upon this point, and am perfectly acquainted with her state. All here join in praying for her, as long as we know her to be within the reach of prayer; and, if God permit, I will come and pray with her.³

Since Dorothy's marriage to John Heslup on June 24, 1767,⁴ she and her husband had made their home with her mother, caring for her in her old age. Upon learning of his mother's death, Romaine wrote at once to Dorothy:

We are not to mourn, as those who have no hope. Our dearest friend is with her Lord, with whom we expect to be soon. We have

¹Haweis, Life of Romaine, p. 98.

²Gentleman's Magazine, XLI (March, 1771), 142.

³Romaine's Works, VIII, 210. ⁴Supra, pp. 196f.

only parted a moment, that we may meet for ever. It looks to me, in my near view of death, only like my taking leave of my dear mother, to go yearly to London. I shall go to her--blessed, truly blessed prospect! and I do not wish her to come back to me . . .¹

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In spite of poor health, Romaine was occupied with "preaching and printing"² during the early months of 1771, and by the end of March the first volume of his Treatise on the Walk of Faith, a sequel to The Life of Faith,³ was off the press. About the middle of June Romaine went to Bath, where he preached for a fortnight with Townsend of Pewsey. Toward the end of the month Romaine and Townsend were accompanied by Lady Huntingdon on a preaching tour that took them to Frome, Pensford, Shepton Mallet, Warminster, and Bradford, among many other Somersetshire and Wiltshire towns. Seymour says that a number were "brought to God at that time by the ministry of Mr. Romaine and Mr. Townsend, who preached very frequently in all those places, sometimes in the churches, and sometimes in private houses, to very large auditories."⁴ On July 15 Lady Huntingdon and Romaine arrived at Brislington, about two and a half miles southeast of Bristol, where they were the guests of James Ireland. Charles Wesley was then in Bristol, and Seymour says that there were discussions⁵ between them on the controversy over the 1770 minutes.⁶

During the summer the second volume of Romaine's Walk of Faith appeared.⁷ This work he intended as a guide to those who

¹Romaine's Works, VIII, 220.

²Romaine, Letters to a Friend, p. 212.

³Supra, p. 162.

⁴[Seymour] op. cit., II, 52.

⁵See Jackson, Life of Charles Wesley, II, 255ff.

⁶[Seymour] op. cit., II, 52f.

⁷Romaine, Letters to a Friend, p. 214.

had learned to depend upon Christ in faith for spiritual life, as set forth in his Life of Faith.

My design is to bring the great and leading points of our religion into use and practice, and to show how necessary the doctrines of grace are for the well governing of the Christian walk. Every thing needful is promised, and by faith is received, which can make it even and regular, holy and happy.¹

The work calls the earnest Christian to life on a high plane of consecration. Denying the fallen nature within, in dependence upon Christ and his strength, the believer walks in the way of peace, love, obedience, and duty, thus in grace fulfilling the spirit of the law's demands. God himself imparts the motive for the walk of faith. He engages

to take away the stony heart, and to give an heart of flesh, upon which he will write the ten commandments; not in tables of stone, but in the fleshly tables of the heart. The Spirit of the living God will teach all his children to know their Father, he will manifest to them their adoption, he will reveal to them their Father's love in Jesus, and he will make their hearts happy in the enjoyment of it. Then the holy fruits of this love will appear towards man. It will work sweetly in benevolence, and effectually in beneficence. The love of God will open the contracted heart, enlarge the selfish, warm the cold, and bring liberality out of the covetous.²

The believer is exercised by the outward cross, that which opposes his will,³ God often delivering him from its burden. The inward cross, his fallen sinful nature,⁴ is a "continual grief and plague" until death. By faith the Christian yields himself to God and receives the power to triumph over the old nature.

Satan's assaults can be met by faith. Christ says

"in the world ye shall have tribulation; but be of good courage, I HAVE OVERCOME THE WORLD." The world is your enemy. It had you in bondage, and you could not free yourselves: therefore I came in your nature, God manifest in the flesh, to conquer it for you; and I have obtained a perfect conquest. When I have proclaimed it to your consciences, and pardoned your idolatrous attachment to the world--when IN me ye have found peace, yet still the world will be your enemy. Because I have chosen you out of it, there-

¹William Romaine, A Treatise upon the Walk of Faith in Romaine's Works, I, clxviif.

²Ibid., 294. ³Ibid., II, 7. ⁴Ibid., 84.

fore it will hate you. My peace will occasion and increase your tribulation in it. But fear not. Remember it is a vanquished foe. Attack it in my strength, as partakers of my victory. Fight against it, and treat it, as under my feet and made my footstool. Whenever it tempts you, depend absolutely upon my conquest, and you will find my grace almighty to crucify the world to you, and you to it.¹

This book embodying Romaine's teaching on sanctification is the answer to the charge of Antinomianism so often made against him by Wesley. The latter on July 13, 1771, urged upon Philothea Briggs his Predestination Calmly Considered as an antidote to Romaine's teaching.

You have no business to begin any dispute with your young acquaintance. If she begin with you, say but little, till you carry her Predestination Calmly Considered, and desire her to give it a calm and serious reading. That book is such an hotch-potch as I have seldom seen, and is brimful of Antinomianism (as are all Mr. Romaine's writings). I advise you to think and speak as little about it as possible. Here and there he blunders upon the truth, as in the sentence which she quoted.²

Calvinism, to Wesley, implied Antinomianism. Wesley wrote to Samuel Sparrow on December 28, 1773:

We agree, too, that preachers who 'relax our obligation to moral virtues, who decry holiness as filthy rags, who teach men that easy, palatable way to heaven, of faith without works,' cannot easily fail of having a multitude of hearers; and that therefore it is no wonder if vast numbers crowd Blackfriars church and the chapel at the Lock.³

Romaine never relaxed obligation to moral virtue, even though he recognized the inherently sinful nature as continuing in the believer throughout life. Newton's remark to William Wilberforce late in 1795 has been oft repeated; the latter wrote in his diary, "Dined with old Newton, . . . [who was] very calm and pleasing--owned that Romaine had made many Antinomians."⁴ But then Newton himself was not a doctrinaire. On April 3, 1780, he

¹Ibid., 140f. ²John Wesley, Letters, V, 266f.

³Ibid., VI, 60f.

⁴Robert Isaac and Samuel Wilberforce, The Life of William Wilberforce (5 vols.; London: John Murray, 1839), II, 236.

described his congregation at St. Mary Woolnoth in London to the Rev. Thomas Robinson of Leicester:

1771
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Age 56

We are, however, a sort of medley, as I am known to be rather of a peaceful turn, and not very dogmatical about less essential matters; some of all parties, Church and Dissenters, Whitefieldites, Wesleys, Moravian, sit very quietly together.¹

Some have pointed to Romaine's friendship with William Huntington, S.S. (1745-1813), as an evidence of his Antinomianism. J. M. Rigg's article on Huntington, an Independent preacher, in the Dictionary of National Biography² gives the portrait of a licentious libertine in the pulpit. This was doubtless the view of many of his contemporaries. Romaine helped him in his literary endeavours and observed that God "raises up such men as John Bunyan and William Huntington but once in a century."³ A carefully written modern biography of Huntington by Thomas Wright shows him to have been a sort of John Bunyan, who was never able to live down his unregenerate past. He freely recognized the pit from which he had been digged, the "S.S." which he always appended to his signature standing for "Sinner Saved." Martin Madan, one of Romaine's closest friends, shocked the nation with his advocacy of polygamy in 1780,⁴ thus exposing the Calvinists to more accusations. On the other hand, John Wesley had his Westley Halls, James Wheatleys, and George Bells. Romaine's "Antinomianism" may be judged impartially in his Twelve Discourses upon the Law and the Gospel and A Treatise on the Walk of Faith.

¹Evangelical Register, XI (April, 1839), 141.

²J. M. Rigg, "William Huntington, S.S. (1745-1813)," Dictionary of National Biography, X, 309ff.

³Thomas Wright, The Life of William Huntington, S.S. (London: Farncombe & Son, 1909), pp. 62, 293.

⁴Infra, pp. 264f.

A lengthy letter of Romaine's to his sister Dorothy from London dated October 27, 1771, tells of his summer journey to the north and other matters of current interest:

1771
—
Age 57

My dear Sister,

Often remembered, and interest made for you at our court. I have been upon the king's business, travelling from place to place, to exalt and honor him, for near three months. He has been pleased to bring me safe home for the winter, and I sit down the first opportunity to thank you for all your kindness to me at Hartlepool. I did not doubt of your love, but my visit this year confirmed me in it. Your whole behaviour convinced me, that I was a welcome guest, and has kept a warm desire upon my mind to see you again. Thankful am I, for what I met with of the same kind, both at Newcastle and Sunderland, especially at the latter, as I was never so highly honored before, as to be suffered to speak for my glorious Jesus. Although things were not so pleasing at Yarum, yet I forgive from my very heart Mr. O[ddie]'s treatment: for I believe G[eorge] M[erryweather] is a dear child of God, and was misled by his partner, who misrepresented me. People will quarrel; I would hinder them, if I could; but quarrel I will not: no, not with Mr. O[ddie]. Thanks to the prince of peace—he has taught me better things. I know him God-man: I believe in his work—it is the greatest work of God—a complete, an eternal salvation. O marvellous grace, I enjoy it. While others dispute about it, I am possessing it. They busy themselves about shadows, and I am rejoicing in the substance. Would to God Mr. O[ddie] had the same fellowship with Jesus. Poor man! he would not talk of himself before the Lord God, and plead his own doings—he would not urge this plea: "Lord, my works last July, were very meritorious, for I stood and tried to stop all I could from going to Yarum church, to hear that heretic Romaine, who was going to teach them, that they were to be saved wholly and solely for what you had done and suffered, and all glory, as well as all grace by the way, was to be had entirely out of your fulness." But enough of this: Mr. W[esley] forgives him; so do I: Christ forgive him.

My motto has long been, "Cease ye from man." All my experience leads me to trust man less, and God more. My Bible is my study, and the Holy Ghost my commentator. I have done with names—great authorities—and living popes—for we have an English pope. In opposition to whom, I am a protestant. I protest against the merit of works, and all its long, long train of errors; but I won't dispute with any pope. I will rather pray for him, as I do. God open his eyes, and turn him from darkness to light, from blind popery, into gospel-liberty.

My love to Mr. Heslup. I fear for him, lest these times should take him off from Christ, and get him into disputing. Desire him, from me, to read his Bible more, and not busy himself about opinions. What has he or I to do with Mr. Wesley? Let him go on in his way; and let us go on in our's. But let us be as diligent as him—our lives as exemplary—or good works as many. And let us beat him all to nothing in charity. If he revile, let us pray. If he be dogmatical, let us be meek and lowly. I cannot give any account for my writing about him; for I don't love to have any thing to do with him; but it came upon my mind—and I let it stand. I should rejoice to hear from you. We are all

well.

I am, Yours and Mr. Heslup's, very heartily,

W.R.¹

1771
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Age 57

The unpleasant incident at Yarm was no doubt caused by the Calvinistic controversy. Merryweather, a merchant at Yarm and one of the fathers of Wesleyan Methodism there,² had been having his own difficulties with the doctrine of Perfection;³ James Oddie (1730?-90), one of Wesley's lay preachers, "was long and honourably connected with Yarm and Keighly."⁴ The "English pope" was John Wesley, beyond question. References such as these in a few personal letters are the only reflections of Romaine's interest in the controversy.

Toward the close of 1771 Romaine was greatly concerned about the illness of his brother-in-law, Thomas Parker, of Sunderland.⁵ Parker died on December 3, 1771, at Bishopwearmouth. His widow, Miriam Romaine Parker, married John Young, a sailmaker, at Sunderland on January 30, 1773. She died in Lambton's Buildings, Sunderland, on January 24, 1797.⁶

Romaine had a custom of choosing a motto or short text for each year; the earliest mention of this is found in a letter written to Mrs. Medhurst in February, 1772:

You must know it has been a custom with me for many years to have a sermon on the New Year's Day, and to have the text a sort of watch-word, something very short and striking, and which may serve the believers to feast upon for a twelvemonth. I have found

¹Romaine's Works, VIII, 224ff.

²Proceedings of the Wesley Historical Society, XIII (December, 1921), 89.

³See John Wesley's letter to Merryweather in Letters, IV, 321.

⁴John Wesley, Journal, IV, 531.

⁵Romaine's Works, VIII, 227.

⁶James Corder MS, Sunderland Public Libraries.

this very useful to myself, and so have others. Our text for 1772 was, CHRIST IS ALL.¹

1772
—
Age 57

The remainder of the letter is an exposition of his text and an exhortation to the addressee and all the friends at Kippax to apply it in every department of their lives.

The Feathers' Tavern Petition was rejected in Parliament on February 6, 1772, by 217 votes to 71. A movement on the part of some of the clergy of the Church of England and Dissenters to gain relief from the obligation of subscription to the Articles of the Established Church had culminated on July 17, 1771, in the Feathers' Tavern in the Strand, London. There Archdeacon Francis Blackburne (1705-87) and his friends organized the Feathers' Tavern Association and signed a petition to Parliament for the abrogation of subscription. Abbey states that "a few laymen, lawyers, and physicians, signed the petition; but the subscribers were chiefly clergymen--beneficed clergy, Fellows of the University of Cambridge, and others."² The movement met with great opposition from various quarters, including the Government and the Evangelicals. Romaine, according to Overton and Relton, "vowed that he would never again enter a pulpit if the proposal were made effective."³ The true character of the anti-subscription effort became evident when, after defeat in three consecutive years, Dr. John Jebb (1736-86), the Rev. Theophilus Lindsey (1723-1808), the Rev. John Disney (1746-1816), and some others resigned their preferments and joined the Unitarians.

Romaine remained in London longer than usual that summer,

¹Romaine, Letters to a Friend, pp. 219f.

²Charles J. Abbey, The English Church and Its Bishops (2 vols.; London: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1887), II, 124.

³John H. Overton and Frederic Relton, The English Church from the Accession of George I. to the End of the Eighteenth Century (1714-1800) (London: Macmillan and Co., 1906), p. 210.

not leaving for his holiday tour until about the middle of August.¹ His letters do not disclose his itinerary, but he hints of possible plans to Mrs. Medhurst on May 6:

1772
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Age 57

Mr. I-----n presses me much to say that I will come into the north this summer; but I cannot answer him directly. If I do, it will not be without spending some time at your house.²

From this period comes an account of Romaine's ministry to a Mr. Baker, surgeon and apothecary in London, who was very ill. His wife had heard Romaine at Blackfriars occasionally and asked him to call at the home. Some idea of Romaine's unusual bedside approach may be gained from the record of this visit.

He took the sick man's hand and said:

You are, sir, a perfect stranger to me, and I to you. I ask not what may have been your former character, or your habits and course of life. I know all about it. I know that you, like myself, are a sinner against God; that you were born under His wrath and curse, and have gone astray like a lost sheep, having transgressed that law which is holy, just, and good, in thought, word, and deed; and that you have no power in and of yourself to effect your deliverance from this state of condemnation and misery. Nevertheless be not discouraged. I bring you good news, glad tidings of great joy. The God whom you have offended is full of mercy and compassion. He willeth not the death of the sinner, but rather that he should repent and live. He has provided for your escape by the gift, mission, meritorious obedience, and atoning sacrifice of His incarnate Son. The work which He undertook He has gloriously finished; and His righteousness, freely imputed to the penitent and believing sinner, will infallibly justify from all charges and liability to condemnation. He is able to save to the uttermost all that come unto God by Him; and him that cometh, you have His own word, He will not cast out. He is willing at this very moment to save you; only believe. Look unto Him and be saved.

Aveling says that

then, with much affection and earnestness, he still further addressed himself to the dying man, saying:—"Sir, this is my message; were I to remain with you till midnight, I have nothing more to tell you. Can you receive it? I again ask, Can you receive it? Look and Live." Having offered prayer, he took his departure, pronouncing a cordial farewell.³

¹Romaine's Works, VII, 342.

²Romaine, Letters to a Friend, p. 234.

³Thomas W. Aveling, Memorials of the Clayton Family (London: Jackson, Walford, and Hodder, 1867), pp. 11f.

Baker died soon afterward, and his widow attended Blackfriars regularly, with the result that she was soon converted. Shortly thereafter Mrs. Baker's younger brother, John Clayton (1754-1843), came to reside with her, and she took him along to Blackfriars to hear Romaine. He too was converted, on his very first visit to his sister's church. Aveling records Clayton's experience:

1773
—
Age 58

He described the work as almost instantaneous, and could compare it to nothing but a flash of lightning, which discovered to him, as in a moment of time, the only method of reconciliation, the only ground of hope for ruined man. He now perceived that there was no way of deliverance from the curse of a violated law, and the condemnation of hell, but in believing the record which God has given of His Son; and from that hour he became a new creature, casting away and trampling under his feet all self-righteous pretensions; while he made it his prayer, ere he left the church, and reiterated it ever afterwards, to the end of his protracted life, "that he might win Christ and be found in Him, not having his own righteousness, which is of the law, but the righteousness which is of God by faith."¹

Clayton became acquainted with Lady Huntingdon, attended Trevecca College, and after being refused episcopal ordination became an Independent minister. He was married by Romaine at Blackfriars in July, 1779, to Miss Mary Flower² and was minister of Weigh-house Chapel, Eastcheap, London, for nearly forty years.

Thomas Olivers (1725-99), one of Wesley's preachers and for many years his publication editor and book room superintendent at the Foundery, came to hear Toplady at Blackfriars out of curiosity in April, 1773. Olivers and Toplady, opponents in the Calvinistic controversy, had engaged in a long discussion at the Foundery a few days earlier when Toplady had stepped in to buy a copy of Wesley's latest printed journal.³ Near-sighted Toplady thought that he recognized Olivers in the congregation and added some remarks especially for him. Olivers was visibly agitated, and at the close of the sermon he turned to the man next to him,

¹Ibid., p. 13. ²Ibid., p. 72.

³Toplady's Works, VI, 177.

who happened to be Toplady's friend, George Flower,¹ and said, "Believe this, and be damned." "No sir," returned Flower, "believe this, and be saved." Another friend of Toplady's heard Olivers preach a few days later in one of Wesley's chapels and reported the opening remarks to him.

1773

Age 58

"I went," said he to his auditory, "last Wednesday morning, to a famous Antinomian church in the city, to hear one of the Antinomian clergymen. I expected to have seen but very few people there. But, alas! though it was on a week-day, and a rainy morning, and though the church is large, the church was quite full. What a shame is it, my brethren, that an Antinomian preacher should have so many people to hear him, when I, who preach the pure gospel, was forced, but now, to wait a considerable time for my congregation, and after waiting long, to begin to eighteen or twenty people!"²

Lady Huntingdon wrote to Romaine on July 29, 1773, about the death and funeral of Howell Harris at Trevecca. Even with allowance for exaggeration in numbers, a great crowd was present, for she speaks of 20,000 people who gathered on the day of his burial.

. . . . we had abundance of students in the College, and all the ministers and exhorters who collected from various parts to pay their last tribute to the remains of a great man. We had three stages erected, and nine sermons addressed to the vast multitudes, hundreds of whom were dissolved in tears. Fifteen clergymen were present, six of whom blew the Gospel trumpet with great power and freedom.

Romaine evidently continued his interest in Trevecca College, for in the same letter the Countess thanks him for his encouragements.

Accept my thanks for the hints you have given me relative to the students; they shall be attended to, and any suggestions which may further the cause, will be most gratefully received. I am happy you approve the plans I have adopted. The salvation of poor souls is my one object upon earth, and my greatest earthly happiness and joy.³

The Romaines spent some time early in August in the west of England at Tiverton, Devonshire, with Mrs. Romaine's sister

¹A deacon for many years of the Baptist meeting in White Row, Spitalfields, he was the father of John Clayton's bride. Aveling, Memorials of the Clayton Family, p. 70.

²Toplady's Works, VI, 187. ³[Seymour] op. cit., II, 292.

and family. From Tiverton Romaine wrote to Toplady at Broad Hembury, about ten miles distant, offering to preach for him on Sunday, September 19. His friend replied on September 11 that he would be glad to offer the Romaines the hospitality of his "bachelor's house"¹ for as many days as they could stay. While visiting in Broad Hembury, Romaine told of meeting Thomas Olivers in a Tiverton shop where he had stopped to ask change for a guinea. Toplady retells the incident in a letter to a friend dated January 9, 1774:

While Mr. Romaine waited for his change, the Cobler² addressed him in the following manner--"They say there's an act of grace coming out, for the release of imprisoned debtors; but I deny it to be an act of grace."--What then would you call it? answered Mr. Romaine.

Oliver--"I would call it an act of insolvency: for nothing can be an act of grace, but what is absolutely universal."

Mr. Romaine--"You are mistaken: for, was the king to release only one debtor out of a hundred, it would certainly be an act of grace to that one."

Oliver--"I do not think so."

"Then enjoy your opinion," answered Mr. Romaine; and, taking his change, went away.³

Romaine preached at Cullompton on Sunday morning, September 26, according to Toplady, on "The crown is fallen from our head,"⁴ and who should be present but Thomas Olivers! Toplady says that he was "prodigiously offended at the sermon; and, in the afternoon, endeavoured to un-say (at Wesley's meeting-house, where he held forth) all that Mr. Romaine had been advancing in the morning."⁵ Even Mrs. Romaine, it seems, managed to hold her own in theological discussions. Her husband told Toplady of a clergyman at Tiverton who was berating what he called "irresistable grace,"

¹Toplady's Works, IV, 164.

²Proceedings of the Wesley Historical Society, XV (December, 1925), 88.

³Gospel Magazine, II (May, 1797), 170.

⁴Lam. 5:16. ⁵Gospel Magazine, II (May, 1797), 171.

alleging that "such grace would be quite incompatible with free will."

1773
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Age 59

"Not at all so," answered Mrs. Romaine; "grace operates effectually, yet not coercively. The wills of God's people are drawn to him and divine things, just as your will would be drawn to a bishoprick, if you had the offer of it."¹

Thus the Romaines made their way, as placidly as possible, through the years of controversy. The air was blue with words, sermons, debates—the shops were filled with tracts, pamphlets, books—on both sides of the question, but, while there could be no doubt as to which side Romaine was on, he deplored the bitterness of the conflict. He would have agreed with Henry Venn when the latter wrote on January 29, 1772:

Now, whilst you read these lines, Mr. Wesley, Madan, Hill, Shirley, Fletcher, and more, are all engaged in fierce disputes; Lady Huntingdon opposing to the uttermost his preachers, and they returning with violence the opposition, so that the world cries out, "When will these saints agree which is the way to Heaven?"²

Dr. C. Sydney Carter has well said:

They were both contending with great vehemence for opposite sides of truth. The Arminians were insistent on the universality of God's grace and the necessity of Christian morality, while the Calvinists were equally tenacious for the doctrines of Divine sovereignty and the unmerited forgiveness of God, and thus they each failed to see the question from their opponents' point of view.³

Later years were to bring both parties to more moderate positions, but, as it has been pointed out, "the Calvinistic Controversy was perhaps more than anything else the cause which led to the parting of the ways between the Wesleyan Methodists and the Evangelicals proper"⁴ From this time on Wesley's societies rapidly began to develop into a separate denomination, and this work will

¹Toplady's Works, IV, 172.

²John Venn, Annals of a Clerical Family (London: Macmillan and Co., 1904), p. 95.

³C. Sydney Carter, The English Church in the Eighteenth Century (London: Church Book Room Press Ltd., 1948), p. 75.

⁴Overton and Relton, The English Church from the Accession of George I. to the End of the Eighteenth Century, p. 177.

not be concerned with the separate steps by which the Methodist separation from its nominal relationship to the Church of England was accomplished.

1774
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Age 59

Early in the year 1774 Romaine's ministry was blessed to young George Burder (1752-1832), at that time a student at the Royal Academy in London. Burder's own words follow:

1774.--It was in the beginning of this year that I was taken very ill. I had a fever for several days, and was bled in the arm and temples. I immediately considered this as a kind of dispensation in providence, to check my too eager pursuit of worldly things; and, I doubt not, it was beneficial, working among other things, for my spiritual good.

About this time I more frequently went to the Tabernacle, and also heard Mr. Romaine often at Blackfriars and St. Dunstan's. I found this kind of preaching really useful to me.¹

Burder became a regular preacher at Whitefield's London meetings, served Lady Huntingdon's chapels,² and on June 26, 1803, took a triple post-- pastor at Fetter Lane, Editor of the Evangelical Magazine, and Secretary of the London Missionary Society.³

The living of St. Mary's Church, Wallingford, Berkshire, became vacant at the beginning of 1774, and no clergyman seemed disposed to accept it, as it paid but twelve pounds a year.

A member of the Methodist society at Wallingford, feeling that an Evangelical incumbent was desirable, applied to Romaine for help in finding a minister, promising to promote a subscription for additional support.⁴ Romaine immediately thought of young Thomas Pentycross (1748-1808), born in London, trained at Cambridge, and in orders since 1771. He had come under the influence of the Revival through contacts with Rowland Hill, Charles De Coetlogon

¹Burder, Memoir of George Burder, p. 20.

²See [Seymour] op. cit., I, 364.

³Burder, Memoir of George Burder, p. 230.

⁴Anonymous, "Memoir of the Late Thomas Pentycross, A.M.," Evangelical Magazine, XVI (November, 1808), 455.

(1746?-1820), and David Simpson (1744-99). Whitefield and Ber-
ridge had a deep affection for "dear Penty,"¹ as they called him.
His first appointment in orders was to the curacy of Hawley, near
Ryegate, in Surrey, but now upon receiving word from Romaine, he
applied for the Rectory of Wallingford, received it, and was soon
on the field, where he remained until his death.²

Dr. William Talbot, incumbent of St. Giles' in Reading,
one of the stalwarts among the early Evangelical clergymen, died
on March 2, 1774, while on a visit to Lord Dartmouth.³ Romaine
had itinerated with him years earlier and mourned his loss. To
Amrose Serle (1742-1812) he wrote, "Poor R[reading]! It is the
worst day that town ever saw. . . . Mrs. T[albot] is amazingly
supported."⁴ Talbot had been assisted at Reading by his like-
minded curate, the Rev. John Hallward (1750?-1826), and the con-
gregation made every effort to have him presented to the living;
but the Lord Chancellor, Henry Bathurst (1714-94), gave the bene-
fice to William Bromley Cadogan (1751-97), still unordained, and
some time was to elapse before he was capable of holding it.⁵ In
the meantime, pending the induction of Cadogan,⁶ the churchwardens
continued Hallward in the curacy.

Old memories must have been stirred for Romaine on April
15, 1774, for on that date his son William (1756-1826) matriculat-
ed in Trinity College at Oxford University.⁷ The only thing that

¹[Seymour] op. cit., II, 59.

²Anonymous, "Memoir of the Late Thomas Pencycross, A.M.,"
Evangelical Magazine, XVI (November, 1808), 458.

³[Seymour] op. cit., II, 398.

⁴Romaine's Works, VII, 146.

⁵[Seymour] op. cit., loc. cit. ⁶Ibid., loc. cit.

⁷Joseph Foster, Alumni Oxonienses (2 series, 8 vols.;
Oxford: Parker and Co., n.d.), Later series, III, 1123.

is known of this lad's boyhood is that he had a try at trade when he was about fourteen years of age. The books of the Goldsmiths' Company record that William Romaine, son of the Rev. William Romaine of Blackfriars, was "apprenticed as glassman, 1770."¹

Early July found Romaine at Tunbridge Wells,² where he was probably preaching in the chapel which Lady Huntingdon had opened there on July 23, 1769. On July 24 he was in Brighton for the dedication of Lady Huntingdon's rebuilt and enlarged chapel.³ His morning text was "For the glory of the Lord had filled the house of the Lord,"⁴ and in the evening he preached on the text, "We beheld his glory, the glory as of the only begotten of the Father, full of grace and truth."⁵ This was doubtless the chapel opening Romaine referred to in a letter to a Mrs. T----- dated May 17, 1774. ". . . if I have timely notice of the opening of the chapel, I shall, God willing, come down and consecrate it." Toward the end of the letter he says, "I commend you and yours, our dear Society, and Oat-Hall hearers, to the Keeper of Israel."⁶ Efforts on the part of Romaine to assist Toplady in securing a vacant living in Northamptonshire during the summer were fruitless. A letter written to him on July 8 by Toplady reveals that Romaine had requested "Lord -----," probably Lord Dartmouth, who was indefatigable in assisting Evangelical clergymen in finding livings, to speak to the Lord Chancellor on the subject.⁷

Later in the summer Romaine traveled to Yorkshire. Early in September he was in Bierly, two or three miles south of Brad-

¹Proceedings of the Huguenot Society of London, XIV, 554.

²Romaine's Works, VII, 146. ³[Seymour] op. cit., I, 390.

⁴I Kings 8:11. ⁵John 1:14.

⁶Evangelical Magazine, XX (June, 1812), 208.

⁷Toplady's Works, VI, 232.

ford, visiting Richard Richardson (1708-81),¹ patron of the living of Cleckheaton, then vacant, about two miles away.² The perpetual curacy of Cleckheaton had been offered to David Simpson. This young clergyman had been a member of the Evangelical circle at Cambridge during the stormy days of 1768, when the six "Methodist" students had been expelled from Oxford. He had served short curacies in Essex and Buckinghamshire before becoming curate to the Rev. John Burscoe (1698?-1773), Rector of St. Michael's, Macclesfield, Cheshire, in June, 1772. In 1774 Simpson's licence had been withdrawn by the Bishop of Chester, William Markham (1719-1807), on a charge of promoting "Methodism" in Macclesfield. Simpson then accepted the invitation of Charles Roe (1715?-81), builder and owner of the first silk mill in the town, to preach in his drawing room.³ When Romaine was at Bierly Roe was considering building a church for Simpson in Macclesfield, the main problem being the matter of episcopal consecration. Hunt says that those who advised at this time were Lady Glenorchy, Lord Dartmouth, Berridge, Venn, and Romaine, among others.⁴ Offers of other livings, including that of Cleckheaton, were now being considered by Simpson. Romaine now wrote to Simpson from Bierly on September 5, 1774.

My good Brother,--I did not answer your letter, because I would have you to wait a little. You know I have been accustomed to such treatment as you have met with, and I have lived to see the goodness of God's dealings with me. It seems to me worth your while to wait a little upon the Lord. Don't hurry: you may take a hasty step, and repent it all your days. Wait, I say, upon the Lord: he may teach you why he silenced you. You may see it was for your good. He wanted to teach you submission, to break your own spirit, and curb your self-will; perhaps he intend-

¹See account of the Bierly Richardsons in Nichols, Illustrations of the Literary History of the Eighteenth Century, I, 225ff.

²Hunt, David Simpson and the Evangelical Revival, p. 227.

³Ibid., p. 219. ⁴Ibid., p. 222.

ed to humble you, and so to fit you for more usefulness; that having done his work at Macclesfield, you might rely more upon his grace in labouring for him elsewhere.

You ask me my opinion. I give it freely. If you follow Providence, it speaks plain. You are not shut out of the Lord's vineyard, but only called to labour in another part of it, where the door is open for you. Providence, in such cases, speaks as plain as Scripture. Pray to the Lord to make his will yours, and I doubt not in the least, but you will see your way here as plain as I do, and if you accept it, may our Divine Head bless you abundantly and give you a large Yorkshire harvest.¹

Simpson, in spite of Romaine's advice, remained in Macclesfield to preach in Roe's Christ Church, which was opened on Christmas Day, 1775. Although it remained unconsecrated until 1779, due to the opposition of the Bishop, Simpson's Evangelical preaching made Christ Church a popular meeting place. In 1778 Simpson was offered the living of St. Michael's, Macclesfield, and an episcopal storm was provoked by his acceptance. As a compromise, Christ Church was consecrated on the condition that Simpson withdraw his acceptance of the "Old Church."² Simpson continued to serve Christ Church until his death.

Romaine had now been at St. Andrew-by-the-Wardrobe and St. Anne, Blackfriars, for eight years. The large numbers of people who attended the services made it necessary in 1774 to increase the seating capacity of the building. This was accomplished by erecting a large gallery at the west end of the church. At the same time the building was generally renovated, and a "dead wall" surrounding the church was removed. Romaine's friends who attended the church contributed £500 toward the project. Cadogan quotes the inscription on a tablet placed over the west door to commemorate the renovation.³

¹Christian Observer, 1841, 720.

²Hunt, David Simpson and the Evangelical Revival, p. 231.

³Summarized from Cadogan, Life of Romaine in Romaine's Works, VII, 77f.

Henry Foster's name appears for the last time on the pages of the St. Andrew-by-the-Wardrobe Parish Registers on February 20, 1775. He became morning preacher at St. Peter's, Cornhill, after which for years he was minister with Richard Cecil (1748-1810) of Longacre Chapel; he closed his ministry in the living of St. James, Clerkenwell.¹ For many years Foster was a leader among the London Evangelicals. Romaine was now without a curate again. After a few months he secured the services of the Rev. Christopher Bassett, who remained at Blackfriars for about a year.²

Romaine's attention and interest were now drawn to Reading, where an unusual situation was developing. The Rev. William Bromley Cadogan had come to St. Giles' to take possession of the living to which he had been presented the year before. A Hutchinsonian in outlook, he was entirely out of sympathy with "Methodists," and one of his first acts was to dismiss John Hallward, the Evangelical curate who had been serving the church until this time. No charges were made against the curate; Cadogan simply "intended to do the duty of the parish himself, and had no further occasion for his services."³ The congregation petitioned the new Vicar to retain Hallward, but he returned the request unread to the churchwardens. The dismissed curate immediately applied to the Countess of Huntingdon for help, and she soon opened a chapel in Reading seating several hundred people.⁴ Mrs. Talbot, widow of the deceased Vicar, while on the best of terms with Lady

¹Evangelical Magazine, XXIII (February, 1815), 46f.

²Bassett's name appears from June 26, 1775, to June 9, 1776, in St. Andrew-by-the-Wardrobe Parish Register, London.

³Richard Cecil, Memoirs of John Bacon, Esq. R.A.: Also, of the Hon. and Rev. Wm. Bromley Cadogan, M.A. (New ed.; London: L. B. Seeley, 1822), p. 98.

⁴[Seymour] op. cit., II, 399ff.

Huntingdon, refused to desert St. Giles' and continued to attend Cadogan's services. Her house was thrown open for meetings, and, among others, Romaine, Shirley, Venn, and Newton preached there.¹ Mrs. Talbot was a thorn in Cadogan's flesh for some time but was a means of bringing him into touch with the doctrines of the Revival.² Seymour says that "he was not able to come out boldly and preach the gospel for more than two years after he knew it."³ By 1780 Cadogan had become a confessed Evangelical, and his friendship with Romaine dates from that year. They often preached in each other's pulpits and exchanged visits; a regular correspondence was maintained until Romaine's death. Cadogan now offered the curacy of St. Giles' to Hallward,⁴ who was unable to accept because he held the living of Assingdon, Suffolk. He often preached at St. Giles' however, once for a period of six months.

Joel Abraham Knight (1754-1808) as a young man came to what he later called "one of the most important turns of my life"⁵ at the Lock Chapel on the Tuesday before Easter, April 13, 1775. By accident, at Hyde Park Corner, he overheard part of a conversation between two people who were walking at a brisk pace. I heard one of them say to the other, "I hope Mr. Romaine will not have taken his text before we get there."—"What," said I to myself, "is Mr. Romaine going to preach hereabouts this morning! then I will go and hear him too."—I followed them to the Lock Chapel⁶

Knight was ordained at Lady Huntingdon's first ordination service on March 9, 1783,⁷ and served in her Connexion and at Whitefield's Tabernacle in London until his death.

Romaine's much discussed Essay on Psalmody was published

¹Ibid., II, 402. ²Cecil, op. cit., p. 109.

³[Seymour] op. cit., loc. cit. ⁴Cecil, op. cit., p. 122.

⁵Evangelical Magazine, XVI (August, 1808), 324.

⁶Ibid., loc. cit. ⁷Infra, pp. 270f.

in 1775 in connection with A Collection Out of the Book of Psalms.

1775

The Psalms, with introductions and comments, were arranged for the Sundays of the church year. The Essay itself was a defence of the exclusive use of the Psalms—in the Sternhold and Hopkins version¹--in the services of the Church. After commenting upon many Old and New Testament references to the use of Psalms, he devotes a chapter to "Rules laid down in scripture for singing them aright." Since the singing of Psalms is a divine ordinance, they must be sung in the Spirit—"the right singing the praises of God comes from the Spirit, and it also increases the fruits of the Spirit."² Singing must come from the heart, for "the heart makes the best music."³ Christians should sing when they are merry, as James commands, but also in time of trouble, as did Paul and Silas. The last chapter, comprising more than half of the work, discusses abuses in Psalm singing and their remedies. The general ignorance of the Psalms he hoped to correct in the introductions in his Collection. He complains that many people either fail to join in the singing or do so in a raucous manner.

Age 60

There are many in our congregations, who seem to think they sing best, when they sing loudest. You may see them often strain themselves with shouting, till their faces are as red as scarlet. The worst singers commonly offend this way. A bad coarse voice quite out of tune is to be heard above all, and will take the lead in the congregation: and whenever a number of such meet together in their shouting humour, they put all to confusion. They disorder those, who would sing with feeling and affection. They drown the musical voices of good singers. They offend the outward people. And they do no good to themselves: so they entirely defeat the end of singing.⁴

¹The Sternhold and Hopkins Metrical Psalms was published in 1551, the work of Thomas Sternhold (d. 1549) and John Hopkins (d. 1557).

²W[illiam] R[omaine] An Essay on Psalmody in Romaine's Works, VIII, 429.

³Ibid., 434.

⁴Ibid., 461f. Romaine seems to evidence more musical sensibility here than is credited to him by Haweis, himself an ac-

A fourth abuse, the choice of improper portions, he aimed at correcting in the selections in his Collection.

1775
—
Age 60

The last and most serious fault that Romaine found with Church singing was the neglect of the Psalms and the substitution in their place of hymns—"human compositions," as he called them.

Man's poetry is exalted above the poetry of the Holy Ghost. Is this right? The hymns which he revealed for the use of the church, that we might have words suitable to the praises of Immanuel, are quite set aside: by which means the word of man has got a preference in the church above the word of God; yea, so far as to exclude it entirely from public worship.¹

"I know this is a sore place," he says, "and I would touch it gently, as gently as I can with any hope of doing good."²

He claimed to "have no quarrel with Dr. [Isaac] Watts [1674-1748], or any living or dead versifier," nor would he wish to see all their poems burned. As a matter of fact, Romaine often quoted hymns in his sermons. The Rev. Thomas Wills (1740-1802), in his funeral sermon for Romaine, remarks:

How have I seen his cheeks glow, and his eyes sparkle, when I have heard him repeat in the midst of a sermon from his pulpit those sweet words of one of our hymns,³ which was, as well it might be, a great favourite with him:

"Jesus, thy blood and righteousness,
My beauty are, my glorious dress;
'Midst flaming worlds in these array'd,
With joy shall I lift up my head.
When from the dust of earth I rise,
To claim my mansion in the skies,
E'en then shall this be all my plea,

complished musician and composer: "Mr. R. was not favoured I believe with a musical ear, and therefore appeared contented with the scream of charity boys, led by a parish clerk, whose inharmonious notes have often grated on my ears. . . . The Pulpit there [at Blackfriars] sung a thousand times sweeter than the Choir." Haweis, Life of Romaine, p. 179.

¹R[omaine] An Essay on Psalmody in Romaine's Works, VIII, 464.

²Ibid., 465.

³Translated from Nicolaus Zinzendorf (1700-60) by John Wesley.

Jesus hath liv'd, and dy'd for me."¹

1775

Age 60

Wills also speaks of Romaine's high regard for John Cennick's hymns.

Often with inexpressible exultation he could not refrain addressing Christ after sermon, in the words that began one of his favourite hymns

Thou dear Redeemer, dying Lamb!
We love to hear of thee;
No music, like thy lovely name,
Does sound so sweet to me.
O may we ever hear thy voice
In mercy to us speak!
And in our priest will we rejoice,
Thou great Melchizedeck!²

He quotes William Cowper's (1731-1800) hymn, "There is a Fountain Filled with Blood," in his Triumph of Faith.³ Romaine considered these as poems--not hymns. To him the great error lay in "preferring men's poems to the good word of God, and preferring them to it in the church."⁴

Romaine went on to state that "experience demonstrates, that God does bless the singing of psalms in the church, and does not bless the singing of men's hymns."⁵ He even said that where the Psalms were dispensed with in favour of men's hymns "the holy Spirit has been grieved, and has withdrawn his powerful presence."⁶ Since God's divine collection of inspired hymns in the Psalter is perfect,

why in such a case would any man in the world take it into his head to sit down to write hymns for the use of the church? It is just the same as if he was to write a new bible, not only better

¹Thomas Wills, The Dying Believer (London: J. Murgatroyd, 1795), p. 31.

²Ibid., p. 32.

³William Romaine, The Triumph of Faith in Romaine's Works, II, 249.

⁴R[omaine] An Essay on Psalmody in Romaine's Works, VIII, 466.

⁵Ibid., 478. ⁶Ibid., 479.

than the old, but so much better, that the old may be thrown aside. What a blasphemous attempt! And yet our hymn-mongers, inadvertantly I hope, have come very near to this blasphemy: for they shut out the psalms, introduce their own verses into the church, sing them with great delight, and as they fancy with great profit; although the whole practice be in direct opposition to the command of God, and therefore cannot possibly be accompanied with the blessing of God.¹

He defended the solid old Sternhold and Hopkins version of the Psalms.

You may find fault with the manner of ekeing out a verse for the sake of rhyme; but what of that? Here is every thing great, and noble, and divine, although not in Dr. Watts's way or stile. It is not, like his, fine sound and florid verse; as good old Mr. Hall used to call it, Watts's jingle. I do not match those psalms with what is now admired in poetry; although time was, when no less a man than the Rev. T[homas] Bradbury [1673-1759], in his sober judgment, thought so meanly of Watts's hymns as commonly to term them Watts's whyms. And indeed, compared to the scriptures, they are like a little taper to the sun: as for his psalms, they are so far from the mind of the Spirit, that I am sure if Dayid was to read them, he would not know any one of them to be his.²

The Essay was not well received; there were many objections to the harsh expressions used and to the disparagement of the revered Watts. The Evangelical Revival had brought with it a revitalized hymnody, and Romaine seemed to be struggling against the current. Hunt says that "Newton voiced the opinions of his best friends when he wrote, 'I think many must wish that this book had not appeared.'"³ According to Seymour, Lady Huntingdon and others expostulated with Romaine in an effort to get him to alter it.⁴ They were successful, and Toplady, in a letter to the Countess dated September 22, 1775, tells of the new edition:

Has your ladyship seen the corrected copy of dear Mr. R[omaine]'s Treatise on Psalmody? If you have, you must have perceived that the very exceptional passages, which laid that great

¹Ibid., 484f. ²Ibid., 493f.

³Alfred Leedes Hunt, Evangelical By-Paths (London: Chas. J. Thynne & Jarvis, 1927), p. 41.

⁴[Seymour] op. cit., II, 66.

and good man open to such just reprehension, are happily expunged. I asked him for a copy, soon after my arrival in London [at the end of August¹]. He answered that, in its present state, he did not acknowledge it for his: but, I should have one as soon as published. He was as good as his word, and shortly after gave me his book. I examined it very carefully; and find that the faulty pages have been cancelled. We now no longer read of Watts's Hymns being Watts's whims, nor of the Holy Spirit's being always present where psalms are sung, and never present where hymns are sung. I am glad that my valuable friend was under a necessity of striking out these and such like violent and unguarded positions. I never met with so much as one spiritual person who did not censure them most severely; but as he has been so humble and just to truth as to displace them in his Essay, I hope he will meet with no farther slight and mortification on their account.²

Romaine did not change his position on the use of Psalms in the revised edition of his book, but he did eliminate the offending language. Interestingly, the original edition survives in Romaine's collected works. The work was never popular, even in its revised form, except in those denominations which made exclusive use of the Psalms in congregational singing.

Romaine seems to have been at Bath in October, 1775, for on the tenth of that month he dated a recommendatory preface to an edition of Elisha Coles's (1608?-88) Practical Discourse of God's Sovereignty in that place. This strongly Calvinistic work by a Steward of Magdalene College, Oxford, continues to be reprinted today by Calvinist societies. Romaine said that the book treated of the doctrines of grace, which "until I received them, I could not enjoy the Blessings and Comforts of the precious Gospel."³

During the autumn of 1775 Romaine passed his sixty-first birthday, and shortly afterward he gave the first indication of a diminution of his physical powers. In a letter to Mrs. Medhurst written on October 28 he remarked, "I grow old, and find

¹Wright, Life of Toplady, p. 169.

²Toplady's Works, VI, 275f.

³Elisha Coles, A Practical Discourse of God's Sovereignty (Bath: W. Gye, 1776), p. v.

marks of the tabernacle's wearing out fast; but I know in whom I have believed."¹ His health was unusually good throughout life, perhaps due in part to his regular habits of life.² Cadogan has left this testimony: "It is remarkable, and I have often heard him speak of it with thankfulness, that, during the course of so long a ministry, he never was interrupted in the exercise of it, by any illness but the last"³ Occasional minor illnesses were not allowed to interfere with his duties. Haweis observes:

I have known him attacked by a feverish and aguish complaint, which hung on him some time, but he persevered in his labours, and pursued his usual avocations. He always appeared to feel it a refreshment rather than a weariness to be employed in his blessed master's service, nor ever courted assistance.⁴

In the spring of 1776 the newspapers announced that the celebrated actor, David Garrick (1717-79), would make his final appearance on the stage in London in June of that year. His admirers from all over Britain journeyed to the capital for the great event. Among them was Mrs. William Smyth (b. 1742), daughter of Samuel Grattan,⁵ a wealthy goldsmith, of Dublin. She was accompanied to London by her brother-in-law, Colonel Smyth, her husband finding it impossible to leave Ireland at that time. In the midst of London's whirl of social events Mrs. Smyth heard of the crowds that were attending Romaine's services at Blackfriars and determined to hear this man while in the city. Her friends did their best to try to dissuade her from her expressed purpose. "In vain it was urged that he was a Methodist--an enthusiast--one whom it was improper for her to hear--and that to procure

¹Romaine, Letters to a Friend, p. 248. ²Supra, p. 100.

³W. B. Cadogan, A Funeral Sermon, Occasioned by the Death of the Rev. W. Romaine, M.A. (London: G. Thompson, 1795), p. 7.

⁴Haweis, Life of Romaine, p. 107.

⁵R. Lee Cole, A History of Methodism in Dublin (Dublin: Printed for the author, 1932), p. 52.

admittance to a place so crowded was utterly impracticable."¹ She attended Blackfriars Church and heard Romaine preach on Psalm 90:11, "Who knoweth the power of thine anger? even according to thy fear, so is thy wrath." To the consternation of her friends she was converted. Her husband, advised of what had taken place, hurried to London to try to discourage her from what he considered a foolish step. Upon hearing his wife's testimony, Smyth agreed to accompany her to hear Romaine—and he too "was constrained, as a poor sinner, to take refuge at the foot of the cross."² Returning to Dublin, they immediately threw in their lot with Wesley's societies there, became friendly with Wesley himself, and often entertained him in their home.³ Through the influence of William Smith, his brother, the Rev. Edward Smyth,⁴ came over to the Methodists and for a number of years assisted Wesley and the Countess of Huntingdon. In 1786 the William Smyths at their own expense built Bethesda Chapel, which became a center of Evangelical influence in Dublin.⁵ Thus did Romaine's influence reach to Ireland for blessing both in the Church of England and Nonconformity.

Romaine seems to have had no curate between the summer of 1776, when Christopher Basset left, and January, 1777,⁶ when the Rev. Erasmus Middleton came to assist in the work at Blackfriars.

¹[Seymour] op. cit., II, 191.

²Summarized from ibid., II, 190ff.

³John Wesley, Journal, VII, 258.

⁴See [Seymour] op. cit., II, 189.

⁵See "The Bethesda Chapel," Proceedings of the Wesley Historical Society, XXIII (December, 1941), 74ff.

⁶Middleton's name appears from February 1, 1777, to December 12, 1785, in St. Andrew-by-the-Wardrobe Parish Register, London.

Middleton, one of the six students expelled from St. Edmund Hall, Oxford, in 1768,¹ had been a student at Cambridge for a time, after which he was ordained in Ireland by the Bishop of Down. He came to Blackfriars from Dalkeith, Scotland, where he had been Minister of the Episcopal Church. While working with Romaine he wrote most of his four volume Biographia Evangelica and the theological and philosophical parts of The New Complete Dictionary of Arts and Sciences. He served as Editor of the Gospel Magazine for a time about 1777, succeeding Toplady in that office.²

The student of Romaine's life must be impressed with the fact that he did not feel himself called upon to make public statements or suggestions in connection with the American War of Independence, which had broken out in June, 1775. John Wesley, on the other hand, took an active part in public discussion of the issues involved. At first he took the part of the Americans. In June, 1775, he wrote practically identical letters to Lord Dartmouth, then Secretary of State for the Colonies and Lord Privy Seal, and to Lord Frederick North (1732-92), First Lord of the Treasury. He gave his reasons for not pressing the war with the Americans while maintaining that he had no intention of entering upon "the question whether the Americans are in the right or in the wrong." Said he, "I cannot avoid thinking, if I think at all, these, an oppressed people, asked for nothing more than their legal rights, and that in the most modest and inoffensive manner that the nature of the thing would allow." Again, "Is it common sense to use force towards the Americans?"³ Later, under

¹Supra, pp. 201f.

²Summarized from Ollard, The Six Students of St. Edmund Hall, pp. 42f.

³John Wesley, Letters, VI, 161.

the influence of Dr. Samuel Johnson's (1709-84) Taxation No Tyranny, Wesley turned to the side of the Government and published his Calm Address to Our American Colonies, whereupon a heated public discussion ensued.¹ Whatever Romaine may have had to say in private or in the pulpit about the war with the Americans, he published nothing controversial on the subject. His letters show clearly that he believed the Americans to be in the wrong, spiritually as well as politically. The first of these extant references is found in a letter to Ambrose Serle,² then in America with the British forces, written on May 5, 1777:

Judgment is gone forth, and if there be no turning from sin, judgment will continue: yea, if there be hardness in sin under judgment, it is not only the forerunner of greater misery, but is also a part of the sentence executed. O what a prospect does this give me of American misery! What can be worse, than they be, left as they are to themselves? God seems to let them alone. He has done with them. Hence they are given up to blindness and hardness. They see not, they fear not their certain doom. There is not a word in all the book, so fearful in my view, as what I see now fulfilling--Ephraim is joined to idols, let him alone.³

The same letter draws a brighter picture--of the progress of the Revival at home.

Many young ministers come out, more are coming. A great awakening still all over our land. Some successful attempts towards a general reformation. Much prayer and supplication for our turning as a people to the Lord. Signs of the good will of God to his church and people, and earnest, I hope, of better things provided for us.⁴

As in time of national stress in the past,⁵ Romaine made his contribution by calling the people to prayer and supplication.

¹See John S. Simon, John Wesley the Last Phase (London: The Epworth Press, 1934), pp. 70ff., 98ff.

²Romaine became acquainted with Serle (1742-1812), a keen Evangelical layman, in 1764. He was a naval officer, rising to the rank of Captain in 1795. He was undersecretary to Lord Dartmouth when the latter was Secretary of State for the Colonies. He accompanied the British Army in America from 1776 to 1778, and during part of that time had control of the press in New York. Dictionary of National Biography, LI, 254.

³Romaine's Works, VII, 49. ⁴Ibid., 49f.

⁵Supra, pp. 95f.

The case of "the unhappy Dr. Dodd," as he came to be called, was the talk of the country from February to July of 1777. William Dodd (1729-77), son of a Lincolnshire vicar, is best remembered as Chaplain of the Magdalen Hospital, London, a charitable institution for outcast girls and women. As at the Lock Hospital Chapel, the congregation at Magdalen Chapel included, in addition to patients and inmates, many visitors from the middle and upper classes. Dodd's interest in the Hebrew Old Testament led him, according to Cadogan, to cultivate an acquaintance with Romaine,¹ who assisted him with his Hebrew studies.² For a time he seemed to come under the influence of the Revival and was friendly with the Wesleys, Lady Huntingdon, and others.³ Dodd had an eye to preferments, however, and by various devices he secured a number of them, rising even to a royal chaplaincy. At Cambridge he took the degree of Doctor of Laws. His fondness of London and continental society life earned him the nickname of "the Macaroni Parson,"⁴ and he dropped his old friends. He told Romaine that "he should be glad to see him at his house, but hoped not to be acknowledged by him, if they should happen to meet in public company."⁵ Dodd scandalized London in 1774 by attempting to secure the rich living of St. George's, Hanover Square, by a bribe of £3,000. His name was stricken from the list of Royal Chaplains, and he went to the continent. There he was befriended by Lord Chesterfield and later returned to London, where in 1776, faced with heavy debts, he forged his benefactor's

¹Cadogan, Life of Romaine in Romaine's Works, VII, 94.

²Percy Fitzgerald, A Famous Forgery Being the Story of "the Unfortunate" Doctor Dodd (London: Chapman and Hall, 1865), p. 139.

³Supra, p. 77. ⁴Fitzgerald, op. cit., p. 29.

⁵Cadogan, Life of Romaine in Romaine's Works, VII, 94.

name to a £4,200 bond. The trial in February of the following year established his guilt, and, in spite of the great efforts of old friends on his behalf, he was sentenced to be hanged. The indignity of a public hanging with its festival air was almost worse than death itself, and Dodd's crime certainly did not merit the death sentence, dishonest as he was--but eighteenth century conceptions of justice and humanitarianism were vastly different from those of today.

Dodd was well treated in Newgate Prison while awaiting execution. His friends found money to provide him with a private room, a fire, books, and every comfort.¹ He was visited by many, old friends as well as new, including the Wesleys and Romaine. John Wesley wrote in his journal on May 24, 1777, "He appears, so far as man can judge, to be a true evangelical penitent."² Cadogan says that Romaine "was sorry to hear that Dr. Dodd in prison was visited by light and trifling company,"³ but was glad to learn that he had been misinformed. At Dodd's request Romaine went to see him at Newgate. Coming out of the prison he was asked whether he believed the condemned man to be a sincere penitent, and he replied, "I hope he may be a real penitent, but there is a great difference between saying and feeling, 'God be merciful to me a sinner.'"⁴ All efforts to save Dodd failed--petitions, interviews with high members of the Government--and he was hanged at Tyburn on Friday, June 27, 1777. John Wesley wrote of his death, "I make no doubt, but in that moment the Angels were ready to carry him into Abraham's bosom."⁵ Romaine wrote to Mrs. Med-

¹Fitzgerald, op. cit., p. 126.

²John Wesley, Journal, VI, 150; see also p. 157.

³Cadogan, Life of Romaine in Romaine's Works, VII, 94.

⁴Ibid., 95. ⁵Arminian Magazine, (July) 1783, 360.

hurst on June 24:

I have seen poor D[odd]: he is a very great penitent. The Lord has brought him through the fire; a miracle of mercy. Before this reach you,¹ it's likely he will be adorning the love of a triune God.²

Thus was Romaine finally convinced that his old friend had truly experienced the contrition he had expressed with his lips.

Lady Huntingdon, now within a month or two of being seventy years of age, continued to play a large part in the Revival awakening, her activities tending, however, to become more and more irregular. Late in 1776 she became interested in a large auditorium, the Pantheon, in Spafields, London, built for theatrical purposes but then vacant. She proposed to open it as a chapel, but, discouraged by Toplady and Shirley, she gave up the project.³ Toplady wrote Lady Huntingdon on June 11, 1777, about the opening of the Pantheon as a chapel under other Evangelical auspices:

The Pantheon, now named Northampton Chapel (I know not why, except it be because Lord Northampton is paramount proprietor of the soil on which it stands), is to be opened next Sunday for divine service. Mr Romain preaches (for that day only) in the morning, and Mr. Foster in the evening. Mr. William Taylor, and Mr. Herbert Jones are to be the stated ministers; and, I trust it will prove a good net for the Sunday wanderers. However, the situation and all things else considered, I am most heartily glad that your dear Ladyship has neither part nor lot in a burden, which, I verily believe, would have sat very heavily on your shoulders.⁴

Whether or not Romaine preached in Northampton Chapel on Sunday, is not known. No record survives of his preaching in any of the

¹Did Romaine deliberately plan to leave London for the north the day before the execution in order to be away from the city on that dreadful day? He wrote to Mrs. Medhurst on Tuesday, June 24, "Our journey is settled for Thursday morning next." Romaine, Letters to a Friend, p. 249.

²Ibid., loc. cit. ³[Seymour] op. cit., II, 304f.

⁴Evangelical Register, IX (January, 1837), 3.

irregular London chapels. The actual opening of Northampton Chapel, according to Seymour, was on Saturday, July 5, when the Rev. John Ryland, Sr. (1723-92), preached.¹

1777
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Age 62

Romaine had expected to preach for the Rev. Edward Buckley at the Kippax Parish Church in Yorkshire on Sunday, June 29.² Nothing is known of his northern itinerary, but late in July, probably on his return to London, he stopped at Olney to visit the John Newtons. Mrs. Newton's father, George Catlett, lay dying, and Romaine's ministry meant much to him. Newton describes the visit in a letter to a near relative:

Mr. Romaine came hither on Sunday [July 27]. My father was much rejoiced to see him, and expressed himself to him very comfortably. Mr. Romaine conversed and prayed with him two or three times, and was one of the last persons to whom he spoke on Friday evening [August 1]. I thought it providential that the only gospel minister whom he knew, and had formerly heard, should be sent, as it were, on purpose to close his eyes, and receive his dying testimony.³

Romaine undoubtedly preached for Newton, as he always did for his ministerial friends while on his holiday tours.

A part of the summer seems to have been spent by the Romaines in London, where William, Jr., was tutoring with his father during his holidays from Oxford.⁴ October found Mr. and Mrs. Romaine in the west of England at Bristol, Bradford, and other places. Romaine was disturbed by illness on this trip, but relaxation under sunny skies on the beach at Weymouth was, to use his own words, "greatly useful to restoring health, spirits, and thankfulness."⁵ To a friend he wrote on Monday, October 20: "Our excursions are over for this year; and we purpose to dine

¹[Seymour] op. cit., II, 306.

²Romaine, Letters to a Friend, p. 249.

³Josiah Bull, John Newton of Olney and St. Mary Woolnoth (London: The Religious Tract Society, n.d.), p. 224.

⁴Romaine's Works, VII, 400. ⁵Ibid., 350.

with Mrs. Talbot next Tuesday."¹ Here at Reading there would be preaching in Mrs. Talbot's house. Old friends would consult together about the situation at St. Giles' and Cadogan's attitude toward Evangelical preaching. The Romaines would be glad to be back home in London for the beginning of the "winter campaign," as they called it. Summer traveling was kept up until the year before Romaine died, but now for the first time he complains that "travelling is a burden."² Thus closes the record for 1777.

The year 1778 must have brought satisfaction to Mr. and Mrs. Romaine. Both their sons were beginning to show definite signs of achievement in their own particular callings. William, planning on taking orders in the Church of England, in this year took his Bachelor of Arts degree at Oxford.³ The younger son, without question the Adam Romaine of the War Office publications, had joined the army some time previously and on June 1, 1778, was commissioned as lieutenant in the Eleventh Regiment of Foot in Ireland.⁴

One of Romaine's habits through a long ministry was giving Bibles to his friends and parishioners, and he invariably wrote a commendation of the Book on the first fly leaf. Haweis quotes this commendation as found in a Bible presented to a Mrs. Gordon during 1778:

Madam,

I herewith send you the bible of which I was speaking to you, a book of inestimable value, containing the great character of grace, by which the Lord God has granted you under his hand and seal, a full discharge from sin and misery, and a full title to

¹Romaine's Works, VII, 150.

²Romaine, Letters to a Friend, p. 257.

³Foster, Alumni Oxonienses, Later series, III, 1123.

⁴A List of All the Officers of the Army (War Office, 1779), p. 75.

life eternal. This blessing he has given to you in his Son, and therefore the record of God concerning his Son is the chief subject of the book,--what he is in his Person as God-Man--what he has done--what he has suffered--his complete righteousness--his prevalent intercession are largely treated of, and because we cannot understand these things, nor believe them, nor make use of them of ourselves, therefore the Spirit who inspired the book, still accompanies the hearing of it and reading it: the means of knowing Jesus, of believing in him, and of enjoying the Father's love in him. When you grow in this knowledge, in this faith, in this love, how is this ordinance of God prized. His almighty power is still in the word: hear, read, meditate, pray over it, and you will find it able to make you wise unto salvation, and that is as wise as you need to be; see II. of Timothy 3, 6, 14, 15, 16, 17 verses. It is my privilege to be any ways useful to you in this most noble design, and what ever prayer can do (and what cannot the prayer of faith do) I shall not cease to use for you, imploring the teaching of the Spirit upon all your hearing, reading, the word of God; may you find it profitable, every day more profitable for those gracious purposes for which it was revealed. Yet a little while and it shall be perfectly fulfilled, and more than you can now conceive, fulfilled in your everlasting glory.

In the bonds of christian love, I am Your's heartily,

W. ROMAINE¹

About the middle of 1779 Romaine reprinted his call to prayer, An Earnest Invitation to the Friends of the Established Church, first published at the beginning of the Seven Years War in 1757.² He sent this tract broadcast throughout the nation.

To Mrs. Medhurst he wrote on August 2:

I send you enclosed a little token of respect. You had it in the last war, and it is now again expedient, yea, necessary. I hope for your helping hand in this good work. Some must fight, and others must pray. One is as much wanted as the other. If Moses does not pray, Joshua does not conquer. . . . May God give you the Spirit of prayer, that you may join the goodly company throughout the land, who will be on their knees next Sunday at eight o'clock! It is your duty. May you esteem it your privilege. . . . We have already many hands lifted up to engage the Lord of Hosts on our side.³

France had come into the war on the side of the Americans on February 6, 1778, and Spain and Portugal were expected to join her.

In the dark days that closed the year 1779 Romaine sent to Ambrose Serle, now back in England from America, some notes from

¹Haweis, Life of Romaine, pp. 157ff. ²Supra, pp. 100ff.

³Romaine, Letters to a Friend, p. 252.

his memorandum book on the year just closing. These are divided between "Answers to prayer in the year 1779" and "Encouragements to pray on in the year 1780." He enumerated the providences that appeared to favour England, providences against France, providences against Spain, and providences against America. His letter closed with this N.B.:

1779
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Age 65

I have a brighter view still to give of God's answer to prayer in spirituals, but my paper fails. Surely God is on our side. He has done great things for us, without our fleets and armies. To him be all the glory. Prayer and praise must go together the next year. Much prayer will afford matter for much praise. Remember in both

W.R.¹

The notes sent to Serle were expanded into an eight page article, "Encouragements to Continue Praying for Church and State," in the February, 1780, issue of the Gospel Magazine. He began by recalling the way in which the united prayer effort had been rewarded during the Seven Years War and then summoned the people to prayer for the present emergency.

O for another army of such suppliants! What cannot they do! calling for, and trusting to, the help of the Almighty? This is our spiritual armor, and more useful than the arm of flesh; may as many use the one, as use the other! And now the host is gone forth against the enemy, may we at home follow them and aid them with our prayers! never ceasing, until God restore peace to the earth, and good-will between us and all our enemies.²

In January, 1780, the Evangelical cause in London was greatly strengthened when John Newton left Olney to accept, on the presentation of John Thornton, the living of St. Mary Woolnoth, in the heart of London. Romaine had been preaching in London for over thirty years--at Blackfriars for nearly fourteen years--and St. Mary Woolnoth was now only the second church of the Establishment in the city with a beneficed Evangelical cler-

¹Romaine's Works, VII, 155.

²W. Romaine, "Encouragements to Continue Praying for Church and State," Gospel Magazine, VII (February, 1780), 76.

gyman. Shortly after coming to London Newton described the "Methodist" meeting places there in a letter to the Rev. William Barlass (d. 1817), a minister of the Secession Church in Scotland:

1780
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Age 65

As to the state of religion in this city. There are in the establishment (to begin with that) but two Gospel ministers who have churches of their own--Mr. Romaine and myself. I believe you need not my information concerning his abilities and success. He is an eminent preacher, and has crowded auditories. But we have about ten clergymen, who, either as morning preachers or lecturers, preach either on the Lord's day, or at different times of the week, in perhaps fifteen or sixteen churches. The Tabernacle and Tottenham Court Chapel are very large; they are in the hands of Mr. Whitfield's trustees, and the Gospel is dispensed in them to many thousands of people, by a diversity of ministers, clergy, dissenters, or lay-preachers, who are, in general, lively, faithful, and acceptable men. There is likewise the Lock, and another chapel in Westminster; the former served chiefly by Mr. De Coetlogon, the latter by Mr. [Henry] Peckwell [1747-87]--both well attended; as is likewise Lady Huntingdon's Chapel, which will hold about two thousand, and is supplied by able ministers. There is also another, not so large, in the same connexion. Mr. Wesley has one large chapel, and several smaller; and though they are Arminians, as we say, there are many excellent Christians, and some good preachers, among them. There are likewise several preachers whom I may call Independent Methodists, of the Methodist stock, and something in the dissenting form, but who stand singly, not being connected with any of the dissenting boards. I should suppose that the churches, chapels, &c., which are open on the Lord's day, for those whom the world calls Methodists, as distinct from Dissenters, will contain thirty thousand people, and in general they are all crowded.¹

Romaine welcomed Newton and the two were friendly, preaching in each other's pulpits occasionally.²

The spring of 1780 brought to Romaine the strangest experience of a life of strange experiences when in June he found himself unexpectedly in the very center of the infamous Gordon Riots, which disgraced and almost destroyed London early in that month.

¹A Memoir of the Rev. John Newton, Formerly Rector of St. Mary Woolnoth, London, with Selections from His Correspondence, ed. Robert Bickersteth (London: Seeley, Jackson, and Halliday, 1865), p. 134.

²See John Newton, The Works of the Rev. John Newton, ed. Richard Cecil (3rd ed.; 6 vols.; London: Hamilton, Adam, and Co., 1824), VI, 340.

CHAPTER VII

THE GORDON RIOTS TO DEATH, 1780-95

"An old man"

The year 1780 will always be remembered in London for the Gordon Riots which racked the city for about ten days in June. The Royal assent had been given on June 3, 1778, to an Act of Parliament relieving Roman Catholics in England "from certain Penalties and Disabilities" imposed on them during the reign of William III by "An Act for the further preventing the Growth of Popery." Overton and Relton thus summarize the effect of the act:

1780
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Age 65

It provided for the repeal of the punishment of priests who officiated in the services of their Church; of the power of the son of a Roman Catholic father to take possession of his father's estate, and of the disability of Roman Catholics from acquiring property by other means than descent. The Act provided that, in order to obtain the benefit of its operation, Roman Catholics should take a special oath abjuring the Pretender, the temporal jurisdiction of the Pope, and the power of deposition, as well as the doctrine that faith should not be kept with heretics, and that heretics, as such, may lawfully be put to death.¹

As in the case of the Jewish Naturalization Act of 1753, these concessions to English Roman Catholics, viewed in the light of today, seem to have been very moderate indeed. The Act was passed without a negative vote and was well received by the English people, in spite of Roman Catholic fear of an opposite effect.

Charles Butler, a Catholic himself, wrote:

No Catholic who recollects the passing of the Bill will ever forget the general anxiety of the body, while it was in its progress through Parliament; or the smile and friendly greeting with which his Protestant neighbour met him the day after it had passed into

¹John H. Overton and Frederic Relton, The English Church from the Accession of George I. to the End of the Eighteenth Century (1714-1800) (London: Macmillan and Co., 1906), p. 214.

Trouble began the following year when there was talk of extending the benefits of the Act to Scotland. Riots in Edinburgh and Glasgow resulted in a proclamation stating that the proposal would be dropped. Lord George Gordon (1751-93), an eccentric, fanatical Scotsman, soon became the leading spirit in a movement in England to have the relief Act repealed by Parliament. The House of Commons, of which Gordon was a member, did not take him seriously, but he found many sympathizers outside. His movement soon was organized as the Protestant Association—with Gordon as president. The Association passed resolutions petitioning Parliament to abrogate the offending Act, and Gordon claimed to have 120,000 signatures. On the day that the petition was to be presented to Parliament, Friday, June 2, 1780, Gordon mobilized some 60,000² members of the Association in St. George's Fields to accompany him. Wearing blue cockades, the badge of the Association, and carrying "No Popery" banners they marched to Parliament at noon. Gordon presented the petition, and the House of Commons postponed consideration of it for several days.

Finding it impossible to accomplish the object of their petition, the members of the Association fell back upon violence. Members of Parliament were forced to cry, "No Popery" and wear

¹Quoted in J. Paul de Castro, The Gordon Riots (London: Humphrey Milford, 1926), p. 10.

²He had asked for but 20,000. "As Gordon's demand to be accompanied by 20,000 petitioners was alleged to be an overt act at his impeachment for High Treason, it is here stated in his behalf . . . that the Rev. Erasmus Middleton in evidence told the Court that Gordon's action was based upon the fact 'that it had been hinted that it was a very easy matter for a person to sit down and write four or five hundred names to a petition, and therefore it would be necessary that they should appear to their subscriptions, and convince the world that the names were not fictitious.'" Ibid., p. 26.

blue cockades. Parliament, in an uproar for several hours, was finally rescued by troopers, but members of both Houses suffered indignities as they left. The crowd then withdrew from the neighbourhood of Parliament and began to loot and burn the Catholic chapels of "Popish" embassies. After comparative quietness on Saturday and Sunday, Monday was a day of outrages, the lower element of the populace taking the place of the more respectable members of the Protestant Association. Roman Catholic chapels, homes, and shops were not the only objects of pillage and fire; the houses and churches of those who had fostered the Act, opposed the Association, refused to sign the petition, or given evidence against the rioters--all were endangered. Newgate Prison was burned down after the prisoners had been released, and the Old Bailey Sessions house was plundered. The skies were red with fires in all sections of the city. No one was safe as the days of rioting succeeded each other, and the authorities seemed powerless to restore order. An eye-witness describes the scene:

Men, women, and children were running up and down with beds, glasses, bundles, or whatever they wished most to preserve. In streets where there were no fires, numbers were moving their goods and effects at midnight. The tremendous roar of the insatiate and innumerable fiends who were the authors of these horrible scenes, was heard at one instant, and at the next the dreadful report of soldiers muskets, as if firing in platoons, and at various places; in short, every thing which could impress the mind with ideas of universal anarchy, and approaching desolation seemed to be accumulating. Sleep and rest were things not thought of; the streets were swarming with people, and uproar, confusion, and terror reigned in every part.¹

Wednesday brought the climax of the disorder, after which the military associations and regular troops acting under Royal order began to meet the situation, and the excitement only gradually died away. Many lives were lost and great property damage was sustain-

¹William Vincent, A Plain and Succinct Narrative of the Late Riots and Disturbances in the Cities of London and Westminster, and Borough of Southwark (3rd ed.; London: Fielding and Walker, 1783), p. 33.

ed. Mills says that "London wore the air of a city which a conquering army has partially sacked."¹

1780
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Age 65

Romaine's only reference to the riots is found in a letter written to Ambrose Serle on June 19:

O how uncertain are human hopes. I was to have been in -----, at the time I am writing this; but I could not attain my wish. The effects of the late troubles begin to be felt: Mrs. P. died of the mob last Saturday. I am obliged at her request, to stay to preach her funeral sermon. Perhaps somebody may soon preach mine; my house and life are both threatened: but my Lord ruleth over all. I desire to live and die by the faith of the Son of God.--How he pleases to dismiss me, when, and where; not my will Lord, but thine be done! if I am permitted to see you in the flesh, I can tell you of persons and things, at which both your ears will tingle.²

His curate, Erasmus Middleton, was a member of the committee of the Protestant Association and gave evidence for Gordon at his trial at King's Bench.³ Romaine, however, seems to have incurred the enmity of the mob by not only refusing to sign the petition but burning it. This comes out in a long poem, "The Protestant Association," written by Charles Wesley during the riots. The diversity of Protestant feeling about the Association is seen in some stanzas, now quoted:

The chapels were a good beginning,
A hint to signify our meaning;
But Protestants, or Papists, all
Shall now without distinction fall:
Whether of high or low condition,
Whoever sign'd not the petition;
The foreigners by labour fed,
Who rob the people of their bread,
Bishops, and lords and gentlemen,
Who proudly o'er the people reign,
And all the men on gain intent,
And all the tools of Government,
The Government o'erturn'd shall see,
And mourn its sad catastrophe.

¹Alexius J. F. Mills, The History of Riots in London in the Year 1780, Commonly Called the Gordon Riots (London: Lane & Son, 1883), p. 106.

²William Romaine, Works of the Late Reverend William Romaine, A.M. (8 vols.; London: T. Chapman, 1796), VII, 159.

³See Middleton's testimony in The Trial of Lord George Gordon (Edinburgh: J. Mennons and Co., n.d.), pp. 87ff.

"But O! what death doth he require,
 Who cast our names into the fire,
 Repulsed, and treated us with scorn?
 He, and his house, and church shall burn.
 That rogue Romaine we soon shall have him;
 Nor Mence's¹ tuneful voice shall save him."
 (Who would not the Associates join,
 Or list beneath a madman's sign.)
 "Old Wesley too, to Papists kind,
 Who wrote against them for a blind,
 Himself a Papist still in heart,
 He and his followers shall smart.
 Not one of his fraternity
 We here beneath our standard see,
 To which whole regiments resort
 Both from the Lock and Tottenham-court."
 [Who rave, like patriots disappointed,
 And roar and curse the Lord's anointed.]²

No record seems to have survived of the details of Romaine's experience, but he and his wife, his house, and Blackfriars Church were preserved through all the threatened dangers.

Martin Madan, long a close friend of Romaine's, came under a cloud in the year 1780 from which he never emerged. The many years he had devoted to the Lock Hospital and the pitiable young women there finally led him to write a book in two volumes,³ Thelypthora, in which he argued plausibly for polygamy in the Christian dispensation. His argument was based on Old Testament passages, and his thesis was that outcast girls, such as those at the Lock, might have happy lives if they were allowed to become the wives of their seducers, even though the latter were already married men. Mrs. Elizabeth Carter's letter of May 8 to her friend Mrs. Montagu tells how Lady Huntingdon tried to prevent the book's publication:

¹The Rev. Benjamin Mence, a Minor Canon at St. Paul's, was "the finest countertenor in England." John and Charles Wesley, The Poetical Works of John and Charles Wesley, ed. G. Osborn (13 vols.; London: Wesleyan-Methodist Conference Office, 1868-72), VIII, 457.

²Ibid., 457f. Brackets are Wesley's.

³The first two volumes were published in 1780, and a third was added in 1781.

Mr. Madan is just going to publish his book on Polygamy. Lady Huntingdon wrote to him, to beg he would suppress it, and added that she could send him a paper signed by over three thousand names, with the same request. He replied that if there were six thousand names, they should not prevent the publication of his book. A young friend of mine, to whom Mr. Madan gave an account of his extraordinary system, told me that it is founded on the principle that every man shall be obliged to marry any woman whom he has seduced. But the book will soon speak for itself, and to that I refer you.¹

The book was an embarrassment to the Revival cause. Wesley called it "that pernicious book of poor Mr. Madan."² Venn was "glad to find that Mr. Madan's book is held in abhorrence."³ Newton wrote to Cowper that the book was "well calculated to convince those who have hitherto felt a conflict between their passions and their consciences."⁴ A number of pamphlets appeared against the book. The revulsion of the Evangelicals was so great that Madan resigned his chaplaincy at the Lock Hospital and retired to Epsom, where he occupied himself with translating Juvenal and Persius until his death in 1790.⁵

William Romaine, the son, took his Master of Arts degree at Trinity College, Oxford, in 1780,⁶ and Adam Romaine was promoted from lieutenant to captain in the 98th Regiment of Foot on

¹ Elizabeth Carter, Letters from Mrs. Elizabeth Carter to Mrs. Montagu (3 vols.; London: F. C. and J. Rivington, 1817), III, 130.

² John Wesley, The Letters of the Rev. John Wesley, A.M. ed. John Telford (Standard ed.; 8 vols.; London: The Epworth Press, 1931), VII, 61.

³ John Venn, Annals of a Clerical Family (London: Macmillan and Co., 1904), p. 107.

⁴ Josiah Bull, John Newton of Olney and St. Mary Woolnoth (London: The Religious Tract Society, n.d.), p. 249.

⁵ Falconer Madan, "Martin Madan (1726-1790)," Dictionary of National Biography, XXV, 289.

⁶ Joseph Foster, Alumni Oxonienses (2 series, 8 vols.; Oxford: Parker and Co., n.d.), Later series, III, 1123.

December 28, 1780.¹ Romaine himself was honoured on May 1, 1781, when he was elected a Dean of Sion College.² The following report was published under that date in the Annual Register:

1780
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Age 66

Was holden, at Sion College, the anniversary meeting of the London clergy, when a Latin sermon was preached in St. Alphage Church, by their president, the Rev. James Walker, D.D. After which the following gentlemen were elected officers for the year ensuing: the Rev. John Douglas, D.D., president; Peter Whalley, LL.B and William Romaine, M.A. deans; Thomas Weales, D.D. Samuel Carr, M.A., George Stinton, D.D. and Henry Whitfield, D.D. assistants.³

Only a few fragments of information as to Romaine's summer travels in 1781 have survived. He wrote to Serle on June 2 complaining, "London is my prison; for I cannot do what I would" ⁴ He promised to visit Serle at his home in Heckfield, near Baysingstoke in Hampshire, soon after July 1 when his lectures at St. Dunstan's were due to end. Sometime during the summer he evidently was spending some time with James Ireland of Brislington, near Bristol, for Fletcher sent greetings to him in a letter to Ireland:

If Mr. Romaine be still with you, please to remember me in much love to him. I went yesterday to Salop, saw Mr. De Courcy, and invited Mr. Rowland Hill to preach here to cement love.⁵

The Calvinistic controversy had quieted down by this time, as is shown by Fletcher's friendliness with Hill, one of his bitterest opponents.

¹A List of All the Officers of the Army (War Office, 1781), p. 175.

²Thomas White left £3,000 in his will for the purchase of premises "fit to make a college for a corporation of all the ministers, parsons, vicars, lecturers, and curates within London and suburbs thereof." Sion College became a sort of guild for the London clergy and continues to the present. H. R. Tedder, "Thomas White (1550?-1624)," Dictionary of National Biography, LXI, 79.

³Annual Register, XXIV (1781), 176f.

⁴Romaine's Works, VII, 166.

⁵L. Tyerman, Wesley's Designated Successor (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1882), p. 472.

Late in the summer the Romaines spent six days at Portswood Green, Southampton, as the guests of Walter Taylor (1734?-1803), a well-to-do blockmaker to the Royal Navy.¹ Romaine's earliest extant letter to Taylor was written upon the return to London on October 10, 1781,² and indicates that this visit marked the beginning of their friendship, annual visits to Southampton, and a correspondence that lasted until Romaine's death.³ The Taylors were members of the Independent Church in Southampton of which the Rev. William Kingsbury (1744-1818) was the pastor.

Haweis tells of Romaine's preaching for Taylor:

From what cause he had been refused every church pulpit at Southampton, it is not difficult to conjecture; and as his stay at Portswood Green was of some continuance, he could not be without employ in his ministry, and therefore spoke frequently in Mr. Taylor's laundry to as many as could find admission. With his worthy host, on the Lord's day, and on the lecture evenings he attended the ministry of Mr. Kingsbury⁴

Few of Romaine's letters to Taylor conclude without messages and greetings to Kingsbury, and a number of his letters to Kingsbury⁵ himself are published in his collected works.⁶

¹B. B. Woodward, Theodore C. Wilks, and Charles Lockhart, A General History of Hampshire (3 vols.; London: Virtue & Co., 1863), II, 127.

²Romaine's Works, VIII, 5ff.

³Romaine's last published letter was written to Mr. and Mrs. Taylor on March 6, 1795. Ibid., VIII, 104ff.

⁴Thomas Haweis, The Life of William Romaine, M.A. (London: T. Chapman, 1797), pp. 132f.

⁵See however William Jay's bitter arraignment: "Romaine would never enter the meeting at Southampton with the family, nor speak in their unconsecrated premises to the poor, and ignorant, and perishing, who would have hung upon his lips. But high-church had no scruples to accept the accommodations about the house, and table, and carriages, and horses, for these were not schismatics, though their owner was. A Puseyite would have been more consistent. He would not have gone in with the uncircumcised and the unclean, nor had fellowship with him--'No, not to eat.' William Jay, The Autobiography and Reminiscences of the Rev. William Jay (London: Hamilton, Adams, & Co., 1854), p. 278.

⁶Romaine's Works, VII, 755ff.

At this point it will be necessary to turn back a few years to trace the fortunes of the Pantheon, which had been opened, as has been noted,¹ on July 5, 1777, as Northampton Chapel. Great crowds of people thronged to the services, but opposition was encountered from the very beginning in the person of the Rev. William Sellon (1730?-90),² incumbent of St. James, Clerkenwell, the parish in which the chapel was located. Sellon wanted the proprietors of the chapel to sign an agreement which would have given him absolute control over the chapel. The agreement would have given Sellon the right to appoint the chapel ministers, to preach and administer the sacraments in the chapel whenever he wished, and to collect forty pounds per annum for himself from the proprietors.³ Unable to secure compliance with these demands Sellon took the matter up with the Consistorial Court of the Bishop of London. Jones and Taylor were forbidden to preach in the chapel, whereupon the proprietors promptly closed it.

Noting the dispersion of the large chapel congregation, Lady Huntingdon returned to her original plan, and, encouraged by Lord Dartmouth and John Thornton, she reopened the Pantheon as Spafields Chapel on March 28, 1779.⁴ Sellon now disputed the Countess's right to open chapels to the public for the preaching of her chaplains wherever she chose to do so. Spafields Chapel was in his parish and he stood on his legal rights. One by one he attacked her chapel preachers. Dr. Thomas Haweis and the Rev.

¹Supra, pp. 254f.

²William J. Pinks, The History of Clerkenwell, ed. Edward J. Wood (2d ed.; London: Charles Herbert, 1881), p. 62.

³See the entire agreement in [Aaron Crossley Hobart Seymour] The Life and Times of Selina Countess of Huntingdon (2 vols.; London: William Edward Painter, 1844), II, 307f.

⁴Ibid., 309.

Cradock Glascott (1743?-1831), both clergymen of the Church of England, were forbidden to preach in the chapel by the Ecclesiastical Courts. The Rev. Thomas Wills (1733?-1814), who had resigned the curacy of St. Agnes, near Truro, Cornwall, to preach for the Countess, was to have been cited to the same courts, but he left the city before the citation was served. The Rev. William Taylor took Wills's place, but he did not serve long, due to his having been forbidden to preach there in 1777.¹ Lady Huntingdon now discovered that there was a vast difference between inviting the public to hear her chaplains preach in chapels attached to her residences and in conducting a detached chapel entirely for the public. The highest legal authority available, Mr. John Glynn (1722-79), Sergeant at Law, informed her that

ecclesiastical law, such as it now stands, is against you in some points--points which would not be insurmountable, were our Bishops differently minded; but I regret to say, the spirit and temper of too many of our ecclesiastical rulers is very unfavourable to any liberal or tolerant system; so that nothing can be expected from a set of men in whom the desire for gain is so deeply rooted, and who seem so determined on all occasions to crush the spirit of inquiry, free opinion, and liberty of conscience. I anxiously look for reformation in some matters connected with the Established Church, to which I am conscientiously attached; and though I may not live to see any great change, yet I am persuaded the time is not far distant when Bishops will deeply lament the obstinate, headstrong tyranny, which has driven so many from the Church, and that persecuting spirit so prominent in their characters, in too many instances more in accordance with the dark, intolerant spirit of the Romish Church, than with the enlightened principles of the Protestant faith.²

After two years of constant harassing from Sellon, the Countess wrote on December 23, 1781, to the Rev. William Piercy (1745?-1819), one of her chaplains:

Should further citations come, I am not able to support the dispute, however unjustly determined by a court that has no legal authority. This I must patiently endure while power conquers right. In this case, I am reduced to turn the finest congregation, not only in England, but in any part of the world, into a DISSENTING MEETING, unless by the medium of secession. . . .

The next term, when the other citations must come, and with

¹Ibid., 311. ²Ibid., 310f.

them the great weight of artillery against me, I must beg your earliest notice. I suppose this to be about the 10th of next month.¹

1781
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Age 67

Shortly after writing these words a momentous decision was reached by the Countess, now seventy-four years of age, and those most closely associated with her in Spafields Chapel--to take refuge under the Toleration Act. Wills and Taylor seceded from the Church of England and took the oaths of allegiance as Dissenting ministers. Wills was appointed Minister of Spafields Chapel.² Said the Countess, "I am to be cast out of the Church now, only for what I have been doing these forty years--SPEAKING AND LIVING FOR JESUS CHRIST!"³

Lady Huntingdon and her Connexion were now Dissenters, for all of her chapels and meetings had come under the Toleration Act. It was John Berridge who had prophesied the departure from the Established Church of Lady Huntingdon's Connexion and Wesley's societies. He had written to the Countess on April 26, 1777:

. . . . what will become of your students at your removal? They are virtual dissenters now, and will be settled dissenters then. And the same will happen to many, perhaps most, of Mr. Wesley's preachers at his death. He rules like a real Alexander, and is now stepping forth with a flaming torch; but we do not read in history of two Alexanders succeeding each other.⁴

In the case of Lady Huntingdon, the fulfillment of the prophecy anticipated her death. The chaplains and other ministers who had been preaching for the Countess now fell into three groups, as pointed out by Figgis:

Some, like Romaine, retaining all friendliness, relinquished the habit of preaching in her chapels. Some, like Haws, retaining their livings, yet continued, in some places at least, "the irregularity" of so preaching. And some, like Mr. Wills and Mr. Taylor, went the full length and seceded also. These latter dur-

¹Ibid., 311f. ²Ibid., 312f. ³Ibid., 315.

⁴John Berridge, The Whole Works of the Rev. John Berridge, A.M. (2d ed.; London: Ebenezer Palmer, 1864), p. 516.

ing her lifetime began to ordain men from the ranks of the students, and these in turn to ordain others who should minister in the chapels, so that when men ordained by Bishops failed, as they soon did, men ordained by presbyters took their place.¹

Seymour says that Romaine "continued in the most cordial intimacy with her and those who continued to serve her chapels."² Glascott, whom she had hoped to retain in her service, took a living in Devonshire, and she wrote him on Christmas Day, 1781, from Trevecca:

Feel justly for me but one moment, and you will best understand my grief, not of self or for it, but pangs for the sinking glory of this reformation, and for you so chosen an instrument thus buried in that poor customary province where the hypocrite and all those without are who slumber in perpetual death. These alarms were not my own giving. You must remember the many who have left me--Romaine, Townsend, Jesse, De Courcy, &c. &c. Why not alike anxious?³

Romaine no doubt also experienced sorrow at breaking an association of so many years standing. He had known the Countess for over thirty years, and since his ejection from St. George's, Hanover Square, twenty-six years before⁴ had spent much of his time in her service. To her he was indebted, above all others, humanly speaking, for the living of Blackfriars and the stability of his position in London. Romaine's life and service might have been quite different without her encouragement.

Romaine lived out his days before the organization of the great Bible and missionary societies. That he would have supported them is certain from his interest in their forerunners. A letter to Cadogan on June 15, 1782, contains the first of a number of references in later letters to his activity on behalf of an organization which he calls "the Bible Society."⁵ This was the

¹J. B. Figgis, The Countess of Huntingdon and Her Connection (London: S. W. Partridge & Co., [1891]), p. 47.

²[Seymour] op. cit., II, 314. ³Ibid., 459f.

⁴Supra, p. 90. ⁵Romaine's Works, VII, 120.

Naval and Military Bible Society, founded in 1780.¹ Thirty thousand copies of the Bible were distributed to members of the armed forces within twenty years of the society's organization. From this time Romaine frequently presented this cause in the churches of his friends and took offerings for its work.

In September the Romaines were in Southampton. On the twenty-ninth he wrote to Serle, "I am here for my health, and have only bathed twice: after about five or six times more, I must hurry to London"² In far away Ceylon, unknown to the Romaines, their younger son, Captain Adam Romaine, had died while on duty with the 98th Regiment of Foot. His Commanding Officer immediately dispatched the following letter to William Romaine:

Sir,

It gives me great concern to be under the disagreeable necessity of communicating to you a melancholy event, in which you are nearly interested. Captain Romaine was seized about a fortnight ago with a disorder in his bowels, which terminated in a flux. I am sorry to add that the consequences have been fatal to him. Every attention has been paid to his memory which our situation permitted. I will not add to the distress which this misfortune must occasion, by describing how much he was beloved, and how much was expected from him by every person in the regiment.

I have the honour to be, Sir, Your most obedient and very
Faithful servant, &c.

Trincomaley, June 4, 1782

-----³

This notification was not received until late in the year, and it came as a great blow to the parents of the young captain, only twenty-four years of age at the time of his death. Romaine wrote to Walter Taylor on December 13:

¹John Henry Overton, The Evangelical Revival in the Eighteenth Century (London: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1907), p. 135.

²Romaine's Works, VII, 169.

³William Bromley Cadogan, The Life of the Rev. William Romaine, M.A. in Romaine's Works, VII, 88f.

I am under the rod, and it is a very sharp one. . . . I feel as a parent; I am not a stone: but grace has got the better of nature. God supports. God comforts. I have a will of mine own; and by it I would have gladly kept my son; for he was a sweet youth. But I can, from my heart, say, "Not my will Lord, but thine be done," whereby I have the advantage of finding that my faith being put into the furnace is true gold.¹

1782
--
Age 68

In the same letter he writes of his wife's grief over the loss of "a child who never offended her in his life." The only previous mention of this son in the published letters of Romaine² is found in a letter to Mrs. Medhurst dated May 16, 1782, shortly before the young man's death.

I hear you have a present exercise; viz. your young and beloved Isaac to be parted from you. There is grace sufficient even for this. You do not love your son more than I did mine. It cannot cross your will than it did mine: but my son went into the army, and I do not repent; it was his choice. He has been kept, as far as I know, from army-sins; and the same good God may also keep your son.³

Adam Romaine's name disappears from the War Office publications after 1783. The surviving son, William, meantime had married on April 2, 1782, Miss Martha Roberts of St. Sepulchre Church,⁴ described as "the only daughter of Mr. Thomas Roberts, an eminent stock-broker."⁵ The couple took up residence in Reading, where the young minister had a curacy.

Romaine's Blackfriars motto for 1783 was "Jehovah Shalom," Jehovah is our peace. To James Ireland he commented on February 1, "It was something remarkable, that it should so soon have a literal accomplishment."⁶ War with the Americans had ceased, although the definitive treaty of peace was not to be drawn up un-

¹Romaine's Works, VIII, 110. ²On his birth see ibid., 162.

³William Romaine, Letters from the Late Rev. William Romaine, A.M., to a Friend, on the Most Important Subjects, ed. Thomas Wills (5th ed.; London: Smith and Elder, 1822), p. 265.

⁴St. Andrew-by-the-Wardrobe Parish Register, London.

⁵Gentleman's Magazine, LXV (August, 1795), 701.

⁶Romaine's Works, VII, 232.

til later in the year. Henry Venn was a visitor in London for seven weeks in early 1783, and there he enjoyed fellowship with many friends, young and old. He describes some of these in a letter dated April 26 to the Rev. James Stillingfleet:

1783
—
Age 68

With the evangelists and pastors I was also much pleased;--with the wisdom and knowledge, and truly amiable temper, of the Rector of St. Mary Woolnoth--with the simplicity and watchfulness, and unblameable life and labours, of Mr. Foster--with the admirable talents and eloquent evangelical preaching of Dr. Peckwell--with the apostolical spirit, and abilities, and great grace of Mr. Cecil--with my old friend and fellow-labourer, and a wonder of a man, who seems now drawing toward the end of his highly-honoured labours, Mr. Romaine--with the ingenious and very useful Mr. De Coetlogon, and Mr. Herbert Jones.

It gave me great satisfaction to think, that when we, who are aged (I mean not to apply this epithet to yourself), Messrs. Romaine, Berridge, Newton, and myself, are called home, there are raised up so many messengers and preachers of the same glorious Gospel of the Blessed God.¹

His summer journeyings are easily traced in Romaine's letters during these closing years. He usually traveled west to visit the Irelands near Bristol, the Serles near Baysingstoke, the Taylors at Southampton, his wife's sister at Tiverton, and the Cadogans and his son William in Reading. Occasionally the Romaines went north to Yorkshire and Durham to visit with his sisters and their families. Haweis says that wherever he went his numerous friends welcomed him with delight. Not only was his conversation highly edifying, but as their houses were generally open to all their neighbours during his stay, his domestic congregations were usually crowded²

During the summer of 1783 the Romaines spent a month at Brislington with the Irelands while he supplied the church there. They stopped at Wallingford, Bath, Bradford, Frome, and Westgate before they returned to London.³

For many years Romaine had a custom of reading rapidly

¹ John Venn, The Life and a Selection from the Letters of the Late Rev. Henry Venn, M.A., ed. Henry Venn (4th ed.; London: John Hatchard and Son, 1836), pp. 36lf.

² Haweis, Life of Romaine, p. 96.

³ Romaine's Works, VIII, 112ff.

through the entire Bible during the summer. He speaks of this in a letter to Serle of October 14, 1783:

1783
--
Age 69

You know it is my constant custom, as soon as St. Dunstan's lectures are over, to begin the bible, and without stopping or interruption, to go on from Genesis to the end of Revelation; this exercise is always begun with prayer, and carried on with a settled dependence on the spirit of prayer; and I am always willing to ascribe all the profit (and it has been very, very great) to the praise of the glory of his grace.¹

At this time of year his letters were always full of the blessings received in this annual practice.

Toward the end of the year Romaine interested himself in the building of a gallery in Cadogan's church, St. Giles's, in Reading, where the church would not hold the people.² "Do me the honour to put me down for one of your subscribers and collectors;" wrote Romaine, "and, when the gallery is finished, send for me, and I will consecrate it for you."³

The summer of 1784 took the Romaines to the north of England where they enjoyed reunions with the families of the three Romaine sisters, the Callinders, the Youngs, and the Heslups.⁴ Returning from the north, they spent some time visiting their friends in the west, but between these journeys Romaine's seventieth birthday was observed in London with a harvest home feast.⁵ On the same day he wrote a short paper, preserved in Cadogan's biography, entitled "An Old Man," in which he testified to God's goodness to him throughout the years.

When I look back, I would be all adoration. As a creature, I worship the Creator. Once I was nothing, and he brought me into being. O, what distinguishing favour to make me a rational creature! And as I was a ruined man, a sinner guilty, helpless, miserable! O, what sovereign grace to make me a new man! Who can

¹Ibid., VII, 174.

²Richard Cecil, Memoirs of John Bacon, Esq. R.A.: Also of the Hon. and Rev. Wm. Bromley Cadogan, M.A. (New ed.; London: L. B. Seeley, 1822), pp. 129f.

³Romaine's Works, VII, 123. ⁴Ibid., 129. ⁵Ibid., 244.

tell (I cannot) how great the love was which provided a Saviour for such a rebel!¹

1784
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Age 70

Through the infirmities of age he looked ahead to ultimate triumph:

My time is almost run out, and what is short is now also but labour and sorrow. So says the Oracle. And I feel it. The infirmities of age, the decay of the faculties of the mind as well as body, consequently usefulness in one's place and station dying daily, these are always giving warning that the house made with hands must soon be taken down. It begins to be very troublesome to keep it up. One prop falls after another, and repeats the lesson--You must soon be turned out. Look after the house not made with hands, eternal in the heavens. Blessed be God for giving us the earnest of his Spirit, to enable us to look forward with a pleasing hope, when mortality shall be swallowed up of life.²

His contemporaries confirm the fact that Romaine's physical health continued to be very good, even in his last years. The description of Romaine in his old age by Haweis is here quoted:

Towards the end of his life, I thought his voice somewhat lower, but he was exceedingly well heard to the last--preserved his teeth--spoke distinctly as ever--his intellect and memory appeared not the least impaired,--and except the wrinkles of his face his body bore no mark of infirmity; he walked faster and more vigorously than I could, and the last time I saw him ascend the pulpit stairs, though very steep, he did it with the same agility as ever.

I remember being struck, when preaching for him at Blackfriars, one morning, as I cast a glance into the Hebrew bible while he was reading, and observed, that his eye, like Moses, had not waxed dim, nor his bodily strength abated. The character was small, and so much younger a man as I was, I could scarce read it with spectacles.³

Increasing age did not deter Romaine from enjoying his summer holidays, for he continued to travel, visit, and preach every year until his death. Reading now held an added attraction--grandchildren! On October 27, 1784, Romaine wrote to Walter Taylor from Reading, "We found our children and their children well" ⁴

¹Cadogan, Life of Romaine in Romaine's Works, VII, 97.

²Ibid., 98f. ³Haweis, Life of Romaine, pp. 159f.

⁴Romaine's Works, VIII, 27.

A letter to Cadogan written on December 13, 1784, is almost entirely devoted to an account of Sunday Schools Romaine had received from Yorkshire.

1784
—
Age 70

They have been chiefly useful in the trading parts, where there are great numbers of the manufacturers' children employed, as soon as they can do any thing, all the week, but let loose to mischief and wickedness all the Lord's day. It was with a view to prevent this, and also to instruct them in the way of salvation, for their own sakes, and for their parents', and for the public, that several persons, laity as well as clergy, tried to get them together, and teach them to read, write, and learn the catechism. The Lord God has marvellously favoured the plan. He has inclined vast numbers of children to come; the parents in general are thankful; and the schoolmasters and mistresses have given great satisfaction. I know not of any thing more promising for the rising generation, especially as it is made an indispensable part of their Sunday's employment, that they attend the church regularly with their masters and mistresses. Mr. T. informs me of one good effect, that it has been the happy occasion of many conversions, by bringing poor people to see their children at church, who never before came to any place of worship.¹

This type of Sunday instruction for poor children had been pioneered about the middle of the century. Robert Raikes (1735-1811) of Gloucester, though not the first to introduce such schools, began similar work in 1781, and to him belongs the credit for publicizing and popularizing the movement.² Romaine, probably feeling himself too old for such work, recommended it to Cadogan and doubtless to other younger ministers.

During the summer of 1785 Birmingham and the region thereabouts welcomed the Romaines. Letters of this period show that Romaine was impressed by the many deaths among his old friends--the Rev. Abraham Maddock (1713-85) of Creaton, Richard Wilson of Frome, Sampson of Truro.³ An epidemic seemed to be sweeping the south of England at the time.

¹Ibid., VII, 130f.

²Charles J. Abbey and John H. Overton, The English Church in the Eighteenth Century (New ed.; London: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1887), p. 299.

³Romaine's Works, VII, 249f.

It was about this time that John Ford, M.D. (1740-1806) came to Romaine for instruction in Hebrew. He was a devout man, and even at the peak of his career as a physician, when his practice yielded £3,000 a year, he seldom missed Sunday services, the Wednesday evening meeting at the Tabernacle, Romaine's Tuesday morning lectures at Blackfriars, and the Thursday evening lectures at St. Dunstan's. He retired from his practice quite early, was ordained in the Countess of Huntingdon's Connexion, preached in her chapels for many years, and was finally chosen a manager of the Connexion.¹

A younger man, William Wilberforce (1759-1831), destined to become one of the most active and influential laymen of the Evangelical Party and the Clapham Sect, heard Romaine preach in 1785, probably often. He wrote in his diary on Tuesday, December 20, 1785:

More enlarged and sincere in prayer--went to hear Romaine--dined at the Adelphi: both before and afterwards much affected by seriousness. Went to hear Forster, who very good; enabled to join in the prayers with my whole heart, and never so happy in my life as this whole evening--enlarged in prayer, and have a good hope towards God.²

Wilberforce, elected to Parliament from Yorkshire at the age of twenty-one, had only a short time before reached the spiritual turning-point in his life. To use the words of Sir James Stephen, he was to reach "a social and political eminence never before attained by any man unaided by place, by party, or by the sword."³ Unfortunately, little is known of Romaine's friendship with the

¹Summarized from Anonymous, "Memoir of the Late Rev. John Ford, M.D.," Evangelical Magazine, XIV (December, 1806), 529ff.

²Robert Isaac and Samuel Wilberforce, The Life of William Wilberforce (5 vols.; London: John Murray, 1839), I, 101.

³James Stephen, Essays in Ecclesiastical Biography (2d ed.; 2 vols.; London: Longman, Brown, Green, and Longmans, 1850), II, 203.

man who became so influential in the abolition of the slave trade.¹

1786
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Age 71

Erasmus Middleton left Romaine early in 1786 to become Curate of St. Luke's, Chelsea, then on the edge of London. The living of St. Luke's belonged to William B. Cadogan, but since St. Giles', Reading, claimed most of his attention, St. Luke's would be almost entirely Middleton's responsibility. "My curate is leaving me--and I am not yet provided; so that the parochial duty lies heavy on me."² Thus wrote Romaine to Walter Taylor on January 9. In March he met the Rev. William Goode (1762-1816), who had earlier been under the influence of David Simpson at Buckingham. He had recently given up a curacy in Hertfordshire and did not seem inclined to accept Romaine's offer of the curacy of Blackfriars. "Well," said Romaine, "do not say you will not come; but say you will consider it."³ Goode accepted the offer and remained with Romaine until his death, after which he became the Rector,⁴ holding the living until his death. Goode with John Venn, son of Henry Venn, and Henry Thornton, son of John Thornton, was largely instrumental in forming the Church Missionary Society in 1799.

Romaine has occasionally been accused of dispensing with all books save the Bible in his later life. David Simpson, to cite one instance, said that Romaine "studied nothing but the Bible for the last thirty or forty years of his life."⁵ It is true that he often made statements in his letters, which, taken by

¹Infra, p. 288. ²Romaine's Works, VIII, 127.

³William Goode, A Memoir of the Late Rev. William Goode, M.A. (2d ed.; London: R. B. Seeley and W. Burnside, 1828), p. 26.

⁴Evangelical Magazine, I (September, 1795), 375.

⁵David Simpson, A Plea for Religion and the Sacred Writings (12th ed.; London: Thomas Tegg, 1832), p. 354.

themselves, could be so interpreted. To a Mr. M. (possibly Erasmus Middleton), who expected shortly to be ordained, he wrote on December 3, 1767:

1786
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Age 72

O, Sir, what are you doing, that other books are so much read, and the Bible so neglected? Will you learn from a poor penitent? Indeed I repent, and God forgive my mis-spent time in sciences and classics. I saw my folly two and twenty years ago, and have since studied nothing¹ but the Bible, and I assure you, Sir, I am got but a little way.¹

To his sister, Dorothy Heslup, he wrote on September 6, 1771:

I beg of Mr. Heslup to be much at his Bible: he reads other books too much. I am sure, God the Holy Ghost is the best writer; and I find him the best expositor upon his own writings. Tell Mr. Heslup so. I repent of years wasted in fruitless study, and am, just as my studies are over, got to be right in them. I wish he may improve by my mistakes, and now in earnest resolve to be a Bible-student, and a Bible-christian.²

Romaine often used the expression, "I am a man of one book."³ All of this phraseology however was a manner of speaking with him. Romaine cherished the Bible--it was the supreme book to him--and he could not understand Christians who neglected its study for other books. Relatively, all other books were worthless. He was a voracious reader, however, and was constantly recommending good books to his friends. The letter to Mr. M. quoted above was enclosed with a parcel of several of his own books, the study of which he urged upon the recipient. He wrote to Walter Taylor on November 17, 1786:

I . . . embraced the opportunity of writing a note to inform you of the publication of Mr. [Thomas] Adam's volumes, which I mentioned to you, and for which you said you would subscribe. The price is half a guinea. I owe more to this man (saving the honor of grace) than to all the world. May you read, as I did, to my first comfort, his lectures on the church catechism. These books I have not yet perused; but I know the man well; and I expect for myself, and I pray for you, Mrs. [Taylor], and brother [Kingsbury?], that every page may warm your hearts, and keep us thankful to the God of our salvation. I subscribed for twenty-five sets; so that if you know of any persons who would prize such a treasure, I should be glad to dispose of some of mine to

¹Romaine's Works, VII, 292f. ²Ibid., VIII, 223.

³Ibid., VII.

them."¹

In this passage may be seen Romaine's high regard for literary aid in the Christian's spiritual development. He had little time for reading that did^{not} contribute to Biblical knowledge or the Christ centered life.

Ambrose Serle's devotional writings were a delight to Romaine, who encouraged him in his efforts. Serle must have been a very modest man, for some of his best work was published anonymously without the knowledge of his best friends. He received a letter from Romaine dated May 11, 1787, which opened thus:

My dear Friend,

Miss P. dined with us yesterday, and made me quite ashamed of myself. A book, called "The Christian Remembrancer" was lying on the table. Upon her taking it up, she said she believed it was yours, of which I had no hint before. What! thought I, does Mr. S. write books faster than I can read them. I have not read Horae Solitariae yet, and I did not intend to write till I had gone through it, and could thank you for the Second Edition as heartily, or more than I did the first.²

In spite of his age, Romaine was busy "preaching four times every week, and often five, visiting the sick from Hyde-park Corner to Mile-end."³ Regularly he walked to St. Dunstan's --a ten minute walk through the lanes of Doctors Commons, along Ludgate Hill, and through Fleet Street--and back to his rectory.

When I am quite jaded after a hard day--"It's time to spare yourself," say my friends, "What! still four times a week, and often five. O it's not required of you!" No, it is not. But His love constrains me: it is as a thousand arguments, inspiring me with courage not to stop in shewing forth his praises before men, which I hope soon to take up before saints and angels.⁴

Mr. and Mrs. Romaine probably went north in July, 1787, for on July 5 he wrote to James Ireland, "My sisters have pressed me sore to pay them another visit; to which we have complied, and we purpose, God willing, to set out next Tuesday, July 10."⁵

¹Romaine's Works, VIII, 32. ²Ibid., VII, 201f.

³Ibid., VIII, 36. ⁴Ibid., VII, 202. ⁵Ibid., 256.

A postscript advises, "Buy the Christian Remembrancer at my recommendation; you will thank me when we meet." After the northern trip Romaine spent some time at Southampton with the Taylor family where he enjoyed the quiet atmosphere London could not afford him. Here he began to consider the publication of his Triumph of Faith, an object that was not accomplished until the year of his death. He wrote back to Taylor on November 12:

1787
--
Age 72

This visit was greatly blessed, and produced one thing, which, as providence favors, I am now carrying into execution; it is my last testimony for Jesus. What he is--how he feels--what he has attained--who has been long an experienced believer--And in his own views is near death, and quite prepared to meet his God. I have kept it back for several years, that I might see and try, whether any thing new could be suggested on the subject from scripture, or from my own life. But I am satisfied with what I had written, and I am now revising my papers. I beg you would help me with your prayers, that I may keep the ark steady, and hold forth nothing but what will tend to establish believers in their most holy faith.¹

The Blackfriars motto for 1788 was "Looking to Jesus,"² and it is found in several letters during that year. During the spring Romaine seemed concerned lest his friend Walter Taylor become taken up with John Wesley. To him he wrote on March 5:

"Wesley's at Southampton"--don't trouble yourself about them. I was a great horseman, when young; and when riding through a village, it was not worth while to stop, though I had a long lash whip, to stay and beat every curr, that came out. My dear brother [Kingsbury], I hope will let them alone--and preach Jesus.³

Romaine might have chosen a happier analogy! John Wesley had been in Southampton the previous summer; he wrote in his journal on August 10, 1787:

In the afternoon I went with a gentleman (Mr. Taylor) to hear the famous musician⁴ that plays upon the glasses. By my appearing there (as I had foreseen), a heap of gentry attended in the even-

¹Romaine's Works, VIII, 41f. ²Ibid., VII, 204.

³Ibid., VIII, 46.

⁴Curnock says "probably Marianne Davies." See note in John Wesley, The Journal of the Rev. John Wesley, A.M., ed. Nehemiah Curnock (Standard ed.; 8 vols.; London: The Epworth Press, 1938), VII, 310.

ing; and I believe several of them, as well as Mr. T[aylor] himself, did not come in vain.¹

1788

Age 73

Wesley's Mr. Taylor may or may not be identified with Walter Taylor or one of his brothers. Wesley did not visit Southampton again until August 3, 1788.²

Mrs. Taylor received a letter from Romaine written on May 12 in which he tells of a children's service.

Tuesday, one o'clock—just come from church. This is my day for preaching to young people: we had a congregation of at least two thousand children; and what made me wish, I had seen all your dears before me, was, that my Lord might have laid his hands upon them, and blessed them; for he was with us of a truth. He repeated Mark x. 13. Our text was Psalms cxix. 9.³

There were other special preaching occasions. He wrote to a friend on January 26, 1775:

Next Monday is the 30th of January: I always preach in the afternoon before the Leather Sellers' company⁴

How often he did this does not appear. Cadogan mentions his preaching for the Royal Humane Society at Blackfriars.⁵ In a letter of condolence to the Taylors on the death of a child in June, 1788, Romaine refers, it would seem, to the death of his own daughter.

A child—a pleasant child—of fair hopes—I have lost such an one; and I well remember it gave me occasion to exercise all the grace I could get. I found an infinite fullness, and there is the same for you to go to.⁶

The following letter with a gift of ten pounds to a fellow-minister illustrates Romaine's generosity and modesty. The recipient sent a copy of the letter to the Gospel Magazine with a warm testimonial to Romaine's friendship.

DEAR BROTHER,

Accept a small token of great love.--I choose to send it in

¹Ibid., loc. cit. Brackets are Curnock's. ²Ibid., 424.

³Romaine's Works, VIII, 152. ⁴Ibid., VII, 343.

⁵Cadogan, Life of Romaine in Romaine's Works, VII, 84.

⁶Romaine's Works, VIII, 50

my life time, rather than by legacy. I have only to desire, that you would mention it to nobody, except God,--and to myself, when you see me at ----- which I hope you will. Then I will give my reasons for your not taking notice of it, and I am sure, they will satisfy you: the God of heaven and earth bless you in your person--in your ministry--in your family--that you may be long--long--a blessing to ----- and all his -----.

Pray for

W. ROMAINÉ

1789

Age 74

I had a frank from Mr. ----- to T.C. but he knows nothing of the contents: nor does any one living.--To God, the giver, be all the glory.--

February 21, 1789.¹

An unpublished letter of the same date in the Lamplough Collection identifies both "T.C." and the recipient of the above letter:

Mr Thomas Cook

I have been long in your debt, & wish to acknowledge it--two turkies of your own feeding--but I could not do it, without putting you to some additional expence, till yesterday morning, I called on Mr Thornton, & he was so kind as to send to his son for a frank. He spoke with great respect of you & Mrs Cook, which gave me great pleasure. Indeed, Sir, you have set out well, & have run well--The prize is just before you--even Christ himself with all his glory--O that nothing may stop you--the goods or bads of life, till you see him in his beauty. It cannot be long. May you live every moment, as if it was the last. The last will come--sooner, or later, may it find You in Jesus. They are blessed in God's word over & over--Who live in the faith, & die in the faith of y^e Son of God. May this be yours--Mrs Cooks--your childrens portion. My old friend Mr De Courcy is ever on my heart in prayer for success to him with Aulkmans[.] Mrs R joins me in love to Mrs De Courcy, & to y^e sweet children. If you have opportunity present my true love to the Rev^d Mr Leighton. I had a commission for you to execute for me at Shrewsbury, but it is otherwise disposed of. You can very essentially serve me by constantly in your prayers remembering your real friend & servant in the Lord Christ.

Feby. 21. 1789

W:ROMAINÉ

I have no news--but what will be always new--Motto for 1789

The Lord reigneth

Please to convey the enclosed to our common friend--R De Courcy with my love to Him, to Mrs D.y &c.²

Richard De Courcy was then Vicar of St. Alkmund's, Shrewsbury.

Among the places visited by Romaine in the summer of 1789

¹Gospel Magazine, IV (August, 1799), 304.

²MS letter, Lamplough Collection, The Epworth Press, London.

was Plymouth, where he preached on August 6 in the Church of King Charles the Martyr. He discoursed on "the depth of human depravity and the sovereignty of divine grace,"¹ according to Williams, and the Vicar, Robert Hawker (1753-1827), who had been John Wesley's host at tea on March 2, 1787,² the same afternoon "made some attempts to controvert or qualify the bold assertions or unguarded expressions which the morning preacher had advanced."

Hawker's biographer gives Romaine's visit large credit for turning the Plymouth clergyman to the Calvinist position. Hawker's Zion's Pilgrim describes a traveler who cleared up certain "imperfect conceptions" for him when he ventured to mention them. Williams assumes the traveler to have been Romaine, a hypothesis which explains Hawker's emotion upon preaching in Romaine's pulpit for the first time in 1803. His words are:

"I found my mind," saith he, "impressed with a more than ordinary solemnity, when I recollected the venerable character of that faithful servant of God, who had so often occupied it; when I called to mind the labours of so great a man in this place; and when I considered this very pulpit, in which I now stand, is the highly honoured spot, on which dear Mr. Romaine stood, who is now with Jesus; a certain undescribable emotion passed over me, and induced sensations I had never before experienced."³

By September 8 Romaine and his wife planned to be at Brislington, near Bristol, to visit the Irelands.⁴ While they were there John Wesley dropped in for a visit. He wrote in his journal on September 14, 1789: "I spent an agreeable hour with Mr. Ireland and Mr. Romaine, at Brislington. I could willingly spend some time here; but I have none to spare."⁵ Romaine was now within a week or two of being seventy-five years of age; Wesley was

¹John Williams, Memoirs of the Life and Writings of Rev. Robert Hawker, D.D. (London: Ebenezer Palmer, 1831), p. 24.

²John Wesley, Journal, VII, 245.

³Williams, op. cit., p. 25. ⁴Romaine's Works, VII, 267f.

⁵John Wesley, Journal, VIII, 11.

eighty-six.¹ So far as is known, this was the last meeting on earth between these two apostolical characters--and a satisfying one it must have been, in spite of the tensions of differing opinions.

1789
—
Age 74

October found the Romaines back in London and ready for the winter's work. In a letter to James Ireland on October 19 Romaine commented upon approaching crisis in France:

You say nothing of France See the fruit of Voltaire's [1694-1778] principles--now they are operating. Shew me an egg, and I will tell you what it will hatch. My God keep old England from their baleful influence. He only can do it: even among us they prevail too much. May he stop the spreading of the cause, and the effect also.²

The 1790 motto at Blackfriars was "Trust in him at all times,"³ and the new year began there with Romaine's sermon on the last phrase of Psalm 2:12. He often spoke from this time on of being in Habakkuk's watch tower of prayer,⁴ and he called upon his friends to join him there in waiting upon God.

A third effort to repeal the Corporation and Test Acts in Parliament failed on March 2, 1790. Dissenters could not hold civil office, take commissions in the army or navy, or take part in the management of the Bank of England, the Indian, Russian, Turkish, or South Sea Companies, regardless of how many shares they owned, without qualifying by taking communion periodically in the Church of England. To ignore these Laws meant to incur heavy penalties--for the rest of one's life he could not become a guardian to a ward, or bring an action at law, or receive a legacy.⁵ When

¹Charles Wesley had died on March 29, 1788, in his eightieth year.

²Romaine's Works, VII, 269. ³Ibid., VIII, 73.

⁴Ibid., 214.

⁵Summarized from Alfred Plummer, The Church of England in Eighteenth Century (London: Methuen & Co., 1910), p. 190.

the London clergy held a General Court at Sion College to consider the intended application of the Dissenters to Parliament for the repeal of these Acts, Romaine joined with the others in passing resolutions against the effort.¹

Their summer travels were not over long when the Romaines received the news of John Thornton's death. He had suffered an accident in May, 1790, and died in Bath in November.² Few of the Evangelical clergy had not enjoyed his assistance in one way or another. Romaine would not have forgotten that Thornton had helped to canvas the Blackfriars parishioners prior to his election to the living.³ They had been closely associated for many years.⁴ Romaine wrote to Walter Taylor on November 10, "Mr. John Thornton gone to heaven! O what a loss to earth . . ."⁵ Henry Venn, in a memorial sermon for Thornton, said that "doing good was the great business of his life, and may more properly be said to have been his occupation, than even his mercantile engagements, which were uniformly considered as subservient to that nobler design."⁶

When Thomas Haweis made his abortive attempt to begin missionary work in the South Sea Islands, Romaine did all that he could to help him. Dr. John Coakley Lettson says that Lady Huntingdon on her deathbed "conversed a little on the subject of sending missionaries to Otaheite [Tahiti], in the South Seas, in the pious hope of introducing Christianity among that mild but unin-

¹E. H. Pearce, Sion College and Library (Cambridge: University Press, 1913), p. 217.

²John Telford, A Sect that Moved the World (London: Charles H. Kelly, n.d.), pp. 68f.

³Supra, p. 171.

⁴See letter of apology written by Romaine to Thornton in Christian Observer, 1830, 223.

⁵Romaine's Works, VIII, 86. ⁶Telford, op. cit., p. 68.

formed race of people"¹ That was on June 18, 1791. Romaine went to the Bishop of London in an effort to secure the ordination of Haweis's two missionaries, but without success. Two unpublished letters from Romaine to Haweis tell of his efforts.

On May 20, 1791, he wrote:

Dear Sir

You mention your being in town June 1. I believe every thing will be ready by that time for the voyage of your missionaries. Their passage is obtained. What I was doubtful of is now certain, & what I was certain of is now doubtful. The Bishop of London has refused to ordain them. But M^r Wilberforce will try him again. I have had a great deal of fatigue in attending on great men, but I repent not. When you come, there will be enough left for you to do, in order to equip them for such a long voyage: And to release me from every other concern about it, except prayer: Which I am daily offering up for his blessing upon the work, according to y^e full meaning of y^e prophecy in y^e 113 psalm. M^{rs} & my love to M^{rs} Haweis--Pray for W.ROMAINE²

He wrote again on May 25:

Dear Sir

We are to see you so soon, I would not have troubled you with this note, but M^r Grant has been here--And I find, there is a private ship going to y^e South Seas, but not yet ready; a person concerned in her promised me a passage for missionaries, which M^r Grant says, will be infinitely preferable to a Kings ship. On this account you need not hurry your friends, but leave them in M^r Spencers hands, committing them to the care & teaching of our almighty head. You will see y^e Bishops answer: He absolutely refuses me: M^r Wilberforce has engaged to talk with him on y^e subject. Our love to Mrs H. Hoping to see you Monday next I remain your Friend and [Bro]ther in the Lord.

W. ROMAINE³

Haweis states that "through the kind assistance of Mr. Wilberforce, every obstacle was removed, and the Lords of the Admiralty had ordered Capt. Bligh to take them with him, and set them down at Otaheite."⁴ At the last moment the missionary candidates backed out, and the project was not revived until some years later.

¹[Seymour] Life and Times of the Countess of Huntingdon, II, 504.

²MS letter, Mitchell Library, Sydney, New South Wales.

³MS letter, Mitchell Library, Sydney, New South Wales.

⁴Haweis, Life of Romaine, p. 211.

The Countess of Huntingdon died on June 17, 1791, in her house next door to Spaffields Chapel. The control of the property of her Connexion passed to a self-perpetuating board of trustees, composed of Dr. and Mrs. Thomas Haweis, Lady Anne Erskine, and John Lloyd.¹ Haweis, since 1768 Rector of All Saints', Aldwinkle, Northamptonshire, perplexed as to whether to accept the responsibility of being a trustee for the now Dissenting Countess of Huntingdon's Connexion, consulted "his aged and experienced brother at Blackfriars" on the question. In Haweis's own words, Romaine said viewing the matter in all its bearings, which he as clearly perceived as his friend had fully stated, he thought he ought; and were he in his friend's situation, should assuredly do it himself.²

Haweis says that upon asking Romaine whether he might quote this advice he received an affirmative reply.

In July Romaine made his last journey north to visit his sisters. On August 1 Romaine wrote to Walter Taylor from Sunderland, where his oldest sister, Mrs. Miriam Young, lived:

I was favored with an opportunity of recommending my dearest Jesus in the oldest church in England, called Monk Weremouth, which belonged to the venerable Bede, a very favorite pulpit of mine, and from which his precious name has been often, like ointment, poured forth.³

John Wesley often preached in this ancient church,⁴ where the Evangelical Thomas Goodday (d. 1768) was the Perpetual Curate from 1742 to 1768. His successor, the Rev. Jonathan Ivison, was friendly to the Revival cause.⁵ In September and October visits were made to Bristol, Bradford, Salisbury, Southampton, Reading,

¹[Seymour] op. cit., II, 490. ²Haweis, op. cit., p. 172.

³Romaine's Works, VIII, 130.

⁴Proceedings of the Wesley Historical Society, XV (June, 1925), 29ff.

⁵Proceedings of the Wesley Historical Society, XXIV (September, 1944), 118.

and Heckfield. During the year 1791 the younger William Romaine took the degrees of Bachelor and Doctor of Divinity at Oxford,¹ and from this time his father referred in his letters to "Dr. Romaine."²

1791
—
Age 77

Romaine's New Year's Day sermon in 1792 was based on the motto for the year, "Grow in grace,"³ the text being I Peter 3:18. Later in the month Romaine wrote a letter of sympathy to Ambrose Serle on the occasion of the death of his twelve year old daughter, Jane, to whom Mrs. Romaine was godmother.⁴ On February 8 he wrote to James Ireland that he had declined an invitation to preach in Paris.

I heard of you at Paris--a friend saw you at Mr. Maronne's⁵ Church, and was pleased to see you so much affected by his discourse; truly, so was I; my heart rejoices, that the gospel is known, felt, and in its real blessings enjoyed in your heart. I had an offer to go and preach at Mr. Maronne's, and my expences paid, but it is too late in life; yet I am trying to get some lively gospel minister to go to Paris.⁶

There is no certainty that Romaine ever visited the country of his ancestors, or, indeed, whether he was ever out of England.

On April 23. 1792, Romaine drew up his will, which was witnessed by Edward Cruse and Thomas Adderly.⁷ He bequeathed to his son William £200 "South Sea Stock" and his "Library of Books." All the rest of his real and personal property was left to his wife, Mary Romaine, who was appointed sole executrix. The will was proved in London on August 11, 1795.

¹Foster, Alumni Oxonienses, Later series, III, 1123.

²See Romaine's Works, VII, 296.

³Ibid., VIII, 133. ⁴Ibid., VII, 222f.

⁵Paul Henri Maronne (1754-1832) was Pastor of the Reformed Church in Paris. Eug. and Em. Haag, La France Protestante ou Vies Protestants Francais (8 vols.; Paris, Joël Cherbuliez, 1858), VII, 283.

⁶Romaine's Works, VII, 275.

⁷Wm. Romaine Will. Principal Probate Registry, London.

While on his customary western visits to the homes of his friends, Romaine recalled his ordination as deacon fifty years before. From Brislington he wrote to Walter Taylor on September 13:

More than half a century ago I was ordained to be a witness for Christ, in this month of September.¹ Looking backward, every thing I can remember, covers me with shame. Doing so little for such a Jesus--grudging to be laid out and spent for him--and, when he did vouchsafe to make use of me, so ready to take his glory to myself. I verily stand amazed, at his infinite patience and kindness in all his dealings with me.²

The old preacher's influence continued to flow out, even in his closing years, through his ministry to the young. The Rev. Daniel Wilson (1778-1858), Bishop of Calcutta, traced his early religious impressions to this period, when as a boy he attended Blackfriars Church, first with his parents and then with his uncle, with whom he lived at the age of fourteen.³

"Melchisedec, King of Peace," was the Blackfriars motto for 1793,⁴ but the year was to be one of trouble. A disastrous fire destroyed a number of dwellings in Blackfriars during the year, and Romaine in his old age not only solicited gifts for the sufferers from his pulpits but went from house to house⁵ in their interest. The sum collected, including a £50 gift from the Duke of York, amounted to over £300, enabling Mr. Romaine to distribute from ten to eighteen pounds each to the homeless families.⁶

¹The ordination actually took place on Oct. 17, 1736. Supra, pp. 23f.

²Romaine's Works, VIII, 137.

³Josiah Bateman, The Life of the Right Rev. Daniel Wilson, D.D. (2 vols.; London: John Murray, 1860), I, 5.

⁴Romaine's Works, VIII, 138.

⁵Anonymous, A Charitable Morsel of Unleavened Bread, for the Author of a Letter to the Rev. William Romaine; Entitled, Gideon's Cake of Barley Meal (London: J Mathews, 1793), p. 14.

⁶Cadogan, Life of Romaine in Romaine's Works, VII, 83.

During the year Romaine took several offerings¹ for the distressed French weavers of Spitalfields, London, whose ranks had been greatly swelled by refugees from the French Revolution, many of them Roman Catholic. He was strongly criticized for this in a pamphlet by Michael Nash, Gideon's Cake of Barley Meal. A Letter to the Rev. William Romaine, on His Preaching for the Emigrant Popish Clergy, published in the summer of 1793. Nash, a Dissenting minister, carried a grudge against Romaine because of the cool reception the latter had given him when he called on him in regard to the work of the French Bible Society in November, 1792. His story of the interview follows:

A servant opened the door; and on informing her master a gentleman wanted to speak with him, out he came from an adjacent room, and taking the street door in his hand, with no very pleasant countenance demanded my business; which he permitted me to open so far as to say, "I have taken the liberty to wait upon you, Sir, in behalf of the French Bible Society;" and then sternly replied, "I am not a friend to it--I am not a friend to it." This abrupt answer, before I had properly explained my errand, induced me to depart a little chagrined: and on shutting the door, in a milder tone (as if conscience rebuked him) he added with emphasis, "But I wish it may succeed with all my heart."²

On January 4, 1793, Nash wrote a letter to Romaine, certainly not very conciliatory in tone, asking him to reconsider his refusal to help the French Bible Society. He received no reply, so he proceeded to publish his pamphlet, the burden of which was to charge Romaine with inconsistency in refusing to support his society while "voluntarily making a public collection for those implacable enemies of Christ, the Romish priests and Papists . . ."³

¹Ibid., 83. As late as Nov. 12, 1793, Romaine preached a sermon for the French needy and collected £124. Evangelical Magazine, II (January, 1794), 5f.

²[Michael] N[ash], Gideon's Cake of Barley Meal. A Letter to the Rev. William Romaine, on His Preaching for the Emigrant Popish Clergy (2d ed.; London: J. S. Jordan, 1793), pp. 89f.

³Ibid., p. 2.

David Parker, of the King's Mews, condemned the pamphlet,¹ and W. H. Wright, Clerkenwell, a churchman, left a letter with Nash's publisher defending Romaine.² The Evangelical Magazine, then in its first year of publication, stated that

this poor Cake is so strongly fermented with the leaven of malice, and so highly seasoned with calumny, that we apprehend it will be relished by none but persons of a foul mouth, and a depraved stomache.³

An anonymous writer soon brought out A Charitable Morsel of Unleavened Bread, for the Author of a Letter to the Rev. William Romaine; Entitled Gideon's Cake of Barley Meal, in which he sought to ^{correct} the misrepresentations of Nash's Gideon's Barley Cake. The Evangelical Magazine felt that the defense of Romaine was uncalled for.

The reply is written in a good style and a good spirit; but we are sorry that a gentleman who tells us that he has been honoured with Mr. Romaine's friendship for thirty years, should think it worth his while to take any notice of such a contemptible performance.³

Romaine's side of the French Bible Society incident is practically unknown. The author of the Charitable Morsel offers a hint that the full facts might reveal an entirely different picture than that drawn by Nash.

That Mr. Romaine did really approve of, and wish success to, the printing of the French Bible, cannot be doubted; when it is known, that he lent the Bible, by which the sheets that were printed off, were corrected; and for that very purpose.⁴

The Barley Cake Defended from the Foxes, an anonymous pamphlet, was published the same year in defense of Nash's work.

Dorothy Romaine Heslup died in the summer of 1793, and on July 26 Romaine addressed a letter of sympathy to his brother-in-law at Horsley, Northumberland, where he was ministering to the

¹Ibid., p. 40. ²Ibid., p. 71.

³Evangelical Magazine, I (November, 1793), 218.

⁴Anonymous, Charitable Morsel of Unleavened Bread, p. 33.

Independent congregation.

She was the Lord's: she lived to him and on him--and she is with him--where I hope you and I shall soon be with him, and like him forevermore. Till that happy day--you are called upon to be a public witness for him. May you preach him--in his glorious fullness--and may the Holy Ghost come down from heaven upon your preaching, that Northumberland sinners may hear and live.¹

It would seem from Heslup's ministry of over thirty years in Horsley that he was able to overcome the faults that John Wesley found in him during his early ministry.² Wesley had died on March 2, 1791, at the age of eighty-eight after a record of Christian service unparalleled in modern times.

The only outstanding incident recorded of the summer trip to the west in 1793 occurred at Bristol, where in September Romaine preached in the Church of St. Mary-le-Port. The Rev. William Tandey was the curate there. An anonymous writer in the Gospel Magazine reports the following "from personal knowledge:"

A Baptist minister who had heard him with pleasure, met him that day in Cumberland Street, opposite the house of the Rev. Mr. Tommas.³ He had never spoken to him in his life before; but as soon as he addressed him, Mr. Romaine said, "Is your name Tommas?" "No," (answered the other) "But Mr. Tommas lives there, don't he?" said Mr. R. "Yes." (answered the other) "Then, said Mr. R. let's go over the way, and have some talk." He went, and sat there an hour, conversing in so sweet and spiritual a strain, as to draw tears from the company; and he parted with these words, "I have seen the time that I would not have talked to such as you; but the Lord has brought me down; and I bless him that I can now esteem the servants of my Master, be they who they may."⁴

Romaine's feeling toward Nonconformity was not always understood by Nonconformist ministers. He was a clergyman of the Church of England by conviction and in his earlier ministry seems to have had little fellowship with Dissenting ministers. The same writer quoted above says that "in the latter part of his life" Romaine

¹Romaine's Works, VIII, 239. ²Supra, pp. 197f.

³Bailey's Bristol and Bath Directory, 1787, gives the entry, "Thomas, John, Baptist Minister, Cumberland Street." This data is reported in a letter from James Ross, City Librarian, City and County of Bristol Public Libraries, dated Mar. 17, 1949.

⁴Gospel Magazine, I (October, 1796), 408.

"was accesable, affable, and conversible."¹

1793

Age 78

Toward the end of the year Romaine changed his plan for revising his manuscript of "The Triumph of Faith." He wrote to Walter Taylor on December 5:

I have sat down in earnest to finish the Triumph of Faith: and am now transcribing it for the press. It had grown so voluminous, having been in hand ever since 1771, that I have resolved to throw aside all my papers, and write only what I myself am at present, an old believer. I am in haste to get it finished, before I finish my course, which is very near run out. Soon I shall enter on my 80th year, and soon be no more here.²

The Evangelical Magazine preserves an extract from the diary of an anonymous minister who attended Romaine's New Year's Day service at Blackfriars in 1794.

January 1st, 1794, Heard Mr. Romaine, who, I believe, is in the eightieth year of his age, preach his annual sermon at Blackfriars, from Rom. XV.13—"The God of Hope."

The sermon was short and good, but without much order or method. The people were very attentive, and to all appearance much affected and comforted. I observed that he did not attempt to prove anything, but took all his doctrines for granted. Like the venerable prophets of old he came with, "Thus saith the Lord." And without endeavoring to convince his hearers that what he advanced was the true and proper sense of the passages he quoted, as though the grand truths of the Gospel were doubtful, he pointed out the suitableness of his doctrine to the people of God, and the utility of believing it upon the testimony of God alone, who not only authorized but commanded their assent and reliance. He adduced several portions of scripture, in which the word hope was contained, and paraphrased them with great earnestness and judgment. This is an easy way of preaching--perhaps the best.³

England was at war again, and the old fear of invasion by the French had seized the English people.⁴ Romaine preached on the public fast day, February 28. He wrote, "We joined in thanks for past, for present mercies, so often bestowed upon this favored .

¹Ibid., loc. cit. ²Romaine's Works, VIII, 140f.

³Evangelical Magazine, VIII (January, 1800), 18.

⁴Henry Venn wrote to his son John at Clapham on Feb. 16, 1794, "I received your second letter, informing me of the certain advice Government has received of the intended invasion of the French with 50,000 troops. I shall certainly with all pleasure receive your wife and dear branches." John Venn, Annals of a Clerical Family, p. 108.

land: and from his loving kindness in Jesus, and for the glory of his own great name, we begged for the continuance of them."¹

1794
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Age 79

The summer of 1794 was fully occupied with traveling--the last of Romaine's many summers of itineration. In June a visit was made to his son's home in Reading,² and a fortnight was spent in Buckinghamshire in July.³ August and September were spent at Tiverton, Devonshire,⁴ and at Bristol with the James Irelands.⁵ October found the elderly couple at Portswood Green, Southampton, with the Walter Taylors. Romaine seemed to feel that he would not again be visiting in the homes of his distant friends, for he wrote to Ireland from Southampton on October 9:

Our stay here will be short. We paid you the longest visit we have made this summer. It is continually sounding in mine ears--"They sorrowed most of all, because they should see his face no more, &c." It is certain at my time of life, we cannot promise ourselves on any good ground a yearly visit to our friends. Our meetings must be before God--in the prayer of faith for them--which is the communion of saints--and praise to him for brotherly love with its heavenly fruits. I hope to visit you with my last and dying testimony of faith. I go to town sooner than usual, that I may put my Triumph of Faith to the press.⁶

The Blackfriars motto for 1795, the last in a long series, was "God with us."⁷ Both Romaine and his wife⁸ were in relatively poor health through the winter. He wrote on January 8, "In a long life--fifty-nine years of preaching--I was never laid by so much as this winter, with a severe cough, which is better, but I cannot expect it to be cured while this severe weather continues, if then."⁹ Very early in the year the publication of The Triumph of Faith completed the famous series of works, later published as The Life, Walk, and Triumph of Faith, which Overton terms "per-

¹Romaine's Works, VIII, 102f. ²Ibid., VII, 296.

³Ibid., VII, 297. ⁴Ibid., loc. cit. ⁵Ibid., VII, 299.

⁶Ibid., VII, 301. ⁷Ibid., VIII, 104. ⁸Ibid., VII, 304.

⁹Ibid., VIII, 103.

haps; on the whole, the strongest book, as its author was certainly the strongest man who appeared among the Evangelicals."¹ The Triumph of Faith, written in a conversational tone, deals with the mature believer's triumph over the dominion of indwelling sin, his troubles, the infirmities of old age, and death, leading to his eternal triumph in Christ's very presence. Romaine's Calvinism characterizes the work.

Trust in him, and be not afraid. Since he has overcome death, why shouldst thou fear that it will overcome thee? Is not his victory thine? Whatever thou feelest in thyself; if nature shrink, and thou hast many uneasy thoughts about thy dissolution: remember that all thy salvation is in, and from him, and he has made thee a free gift of salvation, and of all the things which accompany salvation--He undertook it all--He has finished it all--He has put away sin by the sacrifice of himself--He has conquered death. It is now a vanquished foe. In his hand it is the royal way to the kingdom, the only way. Trust him, he will not suffer it to hurt thee. Trust him, and thou wilt find there is nothing in it, that ought to frighten thee. Breath may be failing thee, but Jesus will not fail thee.²

Thus Romaine passed on to others the faith which supported him in his last years. Faith was his chief subject during the last years. The Rev. Thomas Robinson (1749-1813), of St. Mary's, Leicester, used to say that although Romaine's subject varied but little, he always spoke

as though it were quite new; as though he had just found and dug it out of the mine. "Have you changed your subject yet, Mr. Romaine?" No--brother--my subject is still the same--waiting faith."³

In his old age his sermons were full of heaven. When asked how he did, he was more than likely to reply, "As well as I can be out of heaven."⁴

¹Overton, Evangelical Revival, pp. 102f.

²William Romaine, The Triumph of Faith in Romaine's Works, II, 307.

³Edward Thomas Vaughan, Some Account of the Reverend Thomas Robinson, M.A. (London: Sherwood, Neely, and Jones, 1816), pp. 248f.

⁴Cadogan, Life of Romaine in Romaine's Works, VII, 101.

Soon after the appearance of The Triumph of Faith Romaine reprinted An Earnest Invitation, first published in 1757¹ and reprinted in 1779.² Copies of this tract were widely distributed by the author and his friends among both clergy and laity of the Established Church. Sir Richard Hill received some of the tracts with a letter, part of which is now quoted:

1795
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Age 80

In some former wars this treatise met with your approbation, and it pleased God to own it, and to bless it; at the desire of my friends I have reprinted it, in hopes it may, through the divine favour, bring his people again upon their knees. You know well, that prayer has dispersed blacker clouds than the present. And if we are humbled under his mighty hand, God is never at a loss for ways and means to grant us our requests. Please to communicate this to my brother B. and tell him, that I believe he will meet some of the best company in the kingdom, at eight o'clock, on Sunday evening.³

Romaine now had many Evangelical clergymen upon his prayer list; conditions had greatly changed since the early days in London when he began to pray for the raising up of Gospel ministers. Cadogan in his funeral sermon for Romaine tells of the increase of labourers during his friend's ministry:

He lamented, no doubt, that there were so few of her [the Church of England's] ministers who felt the obligations laid upon them at their ordination to preach Christ unto the people; but if the labourers were few, he was taught to pray for more; and what he had been taught he did in faith. When he first began, the number of those who preached the Gospel, and churches open to them, were few indeed; it might consist of units, it increased afterwards to tens, and then to hundreds, and before he died he had a list of above five hundred brethren at once, for whom he could pray as fellow labourers with himself in word and in doctrine.⁴

Romaine's last Sunday in the pulpit was on Trinity Sunday, May 31, 1795.⁵ His morning sermon at Blackfriars Church was on

¹Supra, pp. 100f.

²In 1787 Romaine said that he had sold 50,000 copies of An Earnest Invitation. Romaine's Works, VIII, 42.

³Ibid., VII, 144f.

⁴W. Bromley Cadogan, The Continuance and Constancy of the Friendship of God (London: Rivingtons, 1795), p. 28.

⁵The date is mistakenly given as June 1 in the Gospel Magazine, IV (April, 1799), 127.

I John 1:7. His evening text at St. Dunstan-in-the-West was II Corinthians 13:14, "The grace of the Lord Jesus Christ, be with you all. Amen."¹ The following Tuesday morning he preached at Blackfriars on Psalm 103:13, and his last public ministry was on Thursday evening, June 4, at St. Dunstan's, when he gave an exposition of the eighteenth chapter of the Gospel of John.² Tired after preaching, he returned to the home of his friend Mr. Whitridge,³ where he had been visiting.

At the Whitridge house, at "Balaam-hill, beyond Clapham," Romaine's last illness began on Saturday, June 6. He returned to London the same day, expecting to fulfill his Sunday duties but found himself unable to do so. Cadogan and Haweis, like most eighteenth century biographers, dwell at great length upon the closing scenes in their subject's life. The simple facts are these. Romaine was under medical attention for three weeks at the Blackfriars rectory. On June 26 he went to Tottenham to spend a fortnight with a friend. There he seemed much improved and returned on July 13 to Whitridge's house at Balham. From this time on he declined rapidly. Cadogan says that "he had frequent spasms at his heart, and shortness of breath, attended with degrees of pain and convulsions." His last days were peaceful, however, and he provided the best possible illustration of the "Triumph of Faith." His last words were a prayer, "Holy, Holy, Holy! Holy blessed Jesus, to thee be endless praise!"⁴ Thus died William Romaine in the early hours of Sunday, July 26, 1795, full of faith in the Saviour whose name he had faithfully

¹Ibid., loc. cit.

²Cadogan, Life of Romaine in Romaine's Works, VII, 103.

³Ibid., loc. cit.

⁴Summarized from Cadogan, Life of Romaine in Romaine's Works, VII, 104ff.

preached for almost sixty years. As has been observed, "he was a diamond, rough often, but very pointed, and the more he was broken by years, the more he appeared to shine."¹

1795
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Age 80

Romaine's body was interred in the vault of Blackfriars Church on Monday, August 3, after a long and solemn procession from Balham. The Gentleman's Magazine published the following account of the funeral:

About half past 12 o'clock on Monday, Aug. 3, the funeral procession of the late Rev. William Romaine came from Clapham, and passed over Blackfriars-bridge in the following order: Six marshalls; the children of Blackfriars-school, the boys with crape round their hats, and the girls with black ribbons round their heads and across their stomachs; two city-marshalls on horseback; the two beadles of the parish; four men on horseback; the plume of feathers carried by two men; the hearse and six, two mourning-coaches and four, and 38 private carriages. When arrived at St. Anne's church, Blackfriars, they were met by the Rev. Mr. Goode, who read the funeral service, during which a psalm was sung by the congregation, and the corpse was deposited in the vault of the church.²

Funeral sermons for Romaine were preached and published by the Rev. Messrs. William Goode,³ William B. Cadogan, Charles Edward De Coetlogon,⁴ and Thomas Wills.⁵ The Rev. William Bull preached funeral sermons for Romaine from Jeremiah 31 and John 5:35.⁶

John Newton's memorial sermon for his old friend was from the text in John 5:35, "He was a bright and shining light." Said he:

Mr. Romaine was fifty-eight years in the ministry, an honourable and useful man, inflexible as an iron pillar in publishing the truth, and unmoved either by the smiles or the frowns of the

¹Ibid., 101.

²Gentleman's Magazine, LXV (August, 1795), 701.

³W. Goode, Faith Triumphant in Death (London: Rivingtons, 1795).

⁴C. E. De Coetlogon, The Life of the Just, Exemplified (London: Rivingtons, 1795).

⁵Thomas Wills, The Dying Believer (London: J. Murgatroyd, 1795).

⁶Josiah Bull, Memorials of the Rev. William Bull (London: James Nisbet and Co., 1864), p. 233.

world. He was the most popular man of the Evangelical party,¹ since Mr. Whitefield, and few remaining will be more missed.¹

1795

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Age 80

This tribute provides a fitting close to the story of the leading pioneer Evangelical clergyman of the Church of England.

¹Bull, John Newton, p. 328.

CHAPTER VIII

SUMMARY:

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF WILLIAM ROMAINE FOR THE EVANGELICAL REVIVAL

As a man Romaine was conservative and plain. In early life he was careless and slovenly in dress; later he was known for his plainness of appearance. He lived modestly--did not keep a carriage, even as Rector of St. Andrew-by-the-Wardrobe and St. Anne, Blackfriars. He would be known today as an introvert. Except among close personal friends, he did not mingle well with people. His natural reserve, in contrast with the genial warmth of men like George Whitefield and John Wesley, repelled the advances of those who were not persistent in seeking friendship with him. His wide influence in spite of this personality drawback is remarkable indeed.

Even before his spiritual awakening Romaine had profound convictions as to the full inspiration and authority of the Scriptures. His allignment with the Hutchinsonians at Oxford introduced him to men who, however they were maligned in other respects, had a deep respect for the Bible as the Word of God. From the same association he came by his early High Church principles, which he never completely lost. His conversion came as the result--or, better perhaps, at the end--of a long struggle with self. His sins were pride and self-sufficiency, and when he was finally brought face to face with the fact that only God's free gift of grace in Christ could meet his need, the Evangelical doctrines of the sinful nature of man and justification by faith be-

came basic convictions with him.

The primary motive which governed Romaine throughout his long life was a desire to do God's will. Growing out of this master passion were the secondary or executive motives: to preach the Gospel to the unsaved, to build up believers in the Christian life, and to seek in every possible way the spiritual reformation of the Church of England. Preferment and financial gain in themselves meant nothing to him. He refused munificent offers of preferment in order to remain at his humble post of Lecturer of St. Dunstan-in-the-West, in the full belief that God had a definite work for him to do in London. He thus stood in great contrast to the preferment-hunting, ease-loving, and pleasure-seeking clergy of his day.

As a minister Romaine was an outspoken Calvinist, in the eighteenth century sense of the term. He saw clearly and preached forcefully that inherently sinful nature of man and his need of redemption through Christ. He saw that the believer has within him two natures, the sinful nature, which cannot be improved by all of man's efforts, and the new nature of the regenerated child of God. Sanctification he took to be the lifelong struggle of the new nature against the old, with the believer looking to God for moment-by-moment victory over the foes of spiritual life--the world, the flesh, and the Devil. The Christian life thus became a life of faith. These were Romaine's great doctrines and themes.

Romaine was an effective preacher. He was known for his ability to speak so that the common people understood him and were impressed by the truth of his message. There never was a question as to his applications. He aimed at convincing the lost of their true state. To the amazement of the laity and the consternation of the clergy, he did not take it for granted that all

who had been baptized in the Church of England were regenerated people. No outward forms, however appropriate in their rightful places, could bring the soul into a right relationship to God. Like Wesley and Whitefield he expected that the preaching of the Word of God, accompanied by the convicting and regenerating power of the Holy Spirit, would result in the conversion of both young and old. Romaine's evangelistic ministry was eminently successful. Many of his converts became Evangelical clergymen, Dissenting preachers, and lay leaders in the Revival. Such Evangelical periodicals as the Gospel Magazine, the Evangelical Magazine, and the Christian Observer contain large numbers of obituaries which testify that their subjects--ordinary people who did not rise to prominence--were converted under Romaine's preaching. Only once did Romaine venture into the political arena, to assail the Jewish Naturalization Bill, and then for what he deemed to be sufficient religious reasons, but the experience left him with a determination to avoid public controversy in the future.

His published sermons and books were an important part of Romaine's ministry. Most of his works were reprinted year after year, even after his death, and they attained a wide circulation. His style was clear and simple, calculated to be easily understood by all classes of people. His works lack philosophy, profundity, and even theological vocabulary. Romaine had no message for the theologian that could not be understood by the shopkeeper if he was searching for spiritual truth. The devotional tone of his writings gives them all a certain sameness, which might weary the modern reader, who expects a measure of variety, imagery, and illustration in his religious reading. Some have complained that Romaine's writings do not sufficiently touch upon the practical duties of the Christian life, and perhaps they are right. On the

other hand, one who had been schooled in his spiritual discipline, however old fashioned it might seem to some today, would find himself equipped to meet his daily tasks in the strength of divine assurance. Romaine's works were an important factor in the spread of the Evangelical doctrines in the Church of England, both during the early days of the Revival and all through the Nineteenth Century. He constantly reinforced his teaching with quotations from the Articles, Homilies, and Liturgy of the Established Church, showing that the Evangelical doctrines were no innovation but the very same as those of the reforming fathers.

Romaine's significance as a pioneer leader of the Evangelical Revival is closely connected with his unique position in the city of London for nearly a half century. The Wesleys and Whitefield had been welcomed to many London pulpits of the Church of England in the early phase of their ministry. John Wesley's hope had been that his societies might be supervised by Evangelical parish clergymen of the Church of England. Whitefield was more like a Dissenter almost from the first. By the time Romaine began his work in London only one church was still open to them, St. Bartholomew the Great, near West Smithfield, and that not for long. Richard Thomas Bateman, the incumbent, soon ceased to contribute leadership to the Evangelical cause, although he doubtless continued to be favourable toward it. The work of Wesley and Whitefield went on at the Foundery and the Tabernacle more or less independently of the Established Church. The leaders of these meetings claimed loyalty to the Church and its doctrines but they gradually drifted toward the Dissenting position and refuge under the Toleration Act.

With the exception of Bateman, Romaine in 1748 was the only Evangelical clergyman in London either beneficed or enjoying a

curacy or lectureship. Bateman, as has been said, did not long continue to lend his active support to the Revival. From 1750 to 1780 Romaine had the support of Martin Madan, Chaplain of the Lock Hospital, but the latter, while ministering under the sanction of the Church, was not in the position of a clergyman working in a parish. A few Evangelical clergy came and went during the early years of the Revival in London. From 1754 to 1762 Thomas Jones at St. Saviour's, Southwark, added his voice to Romaine's, but his position as one of two Chaplains at the Collegiate Church south of the Thames was an anomalous one, and he was not free to do as he would like. From 1754 to 1759 Henry Venn was Curate of St. Mary's, the Clapham parish church, and lectured in several London churches. Not until 1766 did Romaine become the first beneficed Evangelical clergyman in the old City of London, and John Newton did not become the second until 1780. From 1748 Romaine's was the one steady voice of the Evangelical Revival in London so far as the parishes of the Church of England were concerned. Overton and Relton have well said that "there is something very striking in the thought of this one solitary figure rising up like another John the Baptist in the moral wilderness of London, and proclaiming, not for a brief space, but Sunday after Sunday for fourteen long years, what he believed to be vital but long-neglected truths; and the stern, reserved, self-contained character of the man adds force and vividness to the picture."

It must not be forgotten that Evangelical leaders like Grimshaw, Perronet, Walker, Berridge, Adam, and Venn were exerting a powerful influence in the provinces--they had livings of their own--but Romaine with his lectureship held the fort almost alone in London. He assisted the Countess of Huntingdon from 1755 until she seceded from the Church of England in 1781. The

Evangelical Revival has been likened to three currents, almost indistinguishable, flowing in one channel for a time. The three currents were the Arminian Methodist societies of Wesley, the Calvinistic societies of Whitefield and Lady Huntingdon, and the Evangelical movement in the Church of England. Toward the end of the century two of these currents broke away from the other to flow in separate channels of their own, Wesley's societies developing into what is known as Methodism, and the Countess of Huntingdon's Connexion and Whitefield's societies drifting toward Congregationalism. The third current, Evangelicalism in the Church of England, remained in the Church, growing stronger from year to year. The Evangelical party in the Established Church is strong today. Balleine in 1908 stated that "fully a quarter of the parishes were in their hands." This he thought to be an under-estimate, as a quarter would have meant only 3,600 parishes, whereas more than 5,700 were supporting the Church Missionary Society. Much honour is due to the pioneers, who maintained their love and loyalty to the Church of their fathers when they might have taken the easier road to Dissent. To none of these more than to Romaine is due the early vitality of the Evangelical movement in the Church, especially in London.

Romaine was a man of prayer, and one of his greatest single contributions to the Evangelical Revival may be found in his ministry of prayer. He took seriously the words of Jesus, "The harvest truly is plenteous, but the labourers are few; Pray ye therefore the Lord of the harvest, that he will send forth labourers into his harvest." He began to pray for more labourers in the Established Church. His Friday "clergy's litany" was one of his greatest joys, and here week by week he remembered individually and specifically in prayer all the Evangelical clergy he

he knew. He saw his list of these grow from a very few to over five hundred in his lifetime.

He was an instrument in calling the believing remnant in the Church of England to prayer. At first it was in a time of national stress that he called upon the believing clergy and laity to humble themselves before God in prayer and supplication for national cleansing, deliverance, and blessing. This developed into a prayer campaign for God's blessing upon the Evangelical cause, for more awakened ministers, and for a general revival in the Established Church. John Wesley laboured in vain for a union of the Evangelical ministers, but the unseen and intangible bond of prayer did succeed in a measure in binding together the Gospel clergy of the Church. Romaine's Earnest Invitation to the Friends of the Established Church to Set Apart One Hour in Every Week for Prayer and Supplication during the Present Troublesome Times was a clarion call over a period of nearly a century. The Duty of Praying for Others and his circular letter to the clergy on prayer were both used to help accomplish the same end.

Romaine was a teacher, and he exercised great influence over all ages. Through his teaching and preaching many young men turned to the ministry of the Church; others became Dissenting preachers. His house was a rendezvous for young clergymen and aspiring ministers; many later testified to the hours of instruction received from him there. His early breakfasts with these friends were times of real fellowship and blessing. His curates at Blackfriars came to him practically unknown and left him to become conspicuous in positions of Evangelical leadership--Henry Foster, Erasmus Middleton, and William Goode. Many came to him for instruction in Hebrew. He became a veritable Elisha, and his London school of the prophets made a significant contribution

to the Revival.

Every aspect or characteristic of the Evangelical Revival was illustrated in the life and work of Romaine--in greater or smaller measure. Outstanding among these was the difficulty of finding and holding pulpits. Most of the early Evangelical clergy were converted while holding livings. Those who were known to be such secured benefices only with great difficulty, and often were excluded from those they found for one reason or another. The fact that a man of Romaine's training and abilities was not offered a living until he was almost fifty years of age emphasizes this point. He was excluded from St. George's, Hanover Square, St. Bartholomew the Great, and the New Way Chapel. Every possible effort was made to have him excluded from St. Dunstan-in-the-West. His reasons for leaving St. George's, Botolph Lane, and St. Botolph's, Billingsgate, and St. Olave's, Southwark, are not known. He knew how to sympathize with men like Haweis and Simpson, who were put out of their churches.

Another phase of the Revival was the itinerant ministry. John Wesley said that the world was his parish, and his society and conference organization was built upon this principle. Romaine, while stoutly maintaining the parochial order of the Church, spent all his summers in the traveling ministry. From one end of England to the other, he preached wherever he found opportunity. His position in London opened many more churches to him than were available to Wesley and Whitefield, but he also preached in private houses and halls. Field preaching was very popular in connection with itinerating, but Romaine was quite averse to this type of ministry, probably because of his natural reserve. Only on one or two occasions, as far as the evidence goes, was he prevailed upon to preach in the open air.

Irregularity was another prominent feature of the Revival—the conducting of services outside consecrated buildings and at hours distinct from those of the parish churches. Despite his early friendship with Wesley and his consistent attachment to Whitefield until his death, no document survives to prove that he ever preached in their chapels or meetings. He may have done so, but the evidence is lacking. He seems to have gone to hear Whitefield with Hervey about the middle of the century. Romaine gave himself fully to serving the Countess of Huntingdon in her houses and chapels, but he preached as a chaplain to a Peeress at her command. After a few years her chapels came more and more to be considered irregular, but as soon as she felt obliged to register her chapels as Dissenting meeting houses, he ceased to preach for her. He was perfectly consistent up to this point. He often gave expositions and exhortations in the homes of his relatives in the north and west and in the homes of his friends in all sections of the country. He preached in Mrs. Talbot's house in Reading when Cadogan reversed the Evangelical message of St. Giles'. Such preaching Romaine probably did not consider irregular but in the nature of conducting devotions in a family circle. But what of his preaching in Benjamin Ingham's societies in Yorkshire? He could not be consistent in refusing to preach in the Tabernacle or Tottenham Court Chapel in London and in the summer officiate in Ingham's societies, which were separate from the Established Church. He told David Parker in later years that at one time he "had a great mind to join" Ingham's Connexion. Was Romaine ever at the point of leaving the Church of England to ally himself with a Dissenting group? It hardly seems possible, and yet his unquestionably irregular activity in Yorkshire, in contrast with his punctiliousness as to regularity elsewhere, must

have some explanation.

Notice has already been taken of the two outstanding doctrines of the Revival--justification by faith and the changed life of the believer. Romaine, in common with his fellows, did not hesitate to speak and write about "the new birth" and being justified. They spoke of those who had "become serious" or had "been awakened." Upon the doctrine of sanctification the great division in the ranks of the Evangelicals took place between the Calvinists and the Arminians. Romaine with the other Calvinists stressed the unworthiness of man to receive anything from God except through sovereign grace. In excluding works as a condition of salvation, they did not thereby condone loose living in the Christian. The charge of Antinomianism against them by Wesley was a misnomer. It was rather a question of whether the believer was to find victory over sin through momentary dependence upon God or whether he could reach that state of Christian Perfection which Wesley termed "a full salvation in this life." Romaine constantly taught his people that in dependence upon the Holy Spirit they must seek to grow in grace, walking as becometh saints.

The pioneering days of the Revival were now past. What of the future? The Evangelical party had already begun to turn the tide against adverse conditions in the Church, such as pluralism and non-residence, the gross worldliness of the clergy, and the apathy of the laity. The combined influence of all branches of the Revival had begun to raise the moral and social level of the English people. Wilberforce and his Clapham associates had already started the campaign in Parliament to abolish the slave trade, an objective that was accomplished in 1807. In 1799 the Church Missionary Society and the Religious Tract Socie-

ty were founded. 1804 saw the beginning of the British and Foreign Bible Society. Other Evangelical societies of kindred nature were soon launched. It was not long before Evangelicals, no longer quite so fiercely despised, were holding high positions in the Church. Isaac Milner was President of Queen's College, Cambridge, as early as 1788, Henry Ryder became Bishop of Gloucester in 1815, and J. B. Sumner rose to ^{the} Archbishop^{ric} of Canterbury in 1848. What a contrast to conditions a hundred years earlier, in 1748, when William Romaine began his work in London!

APPENDIX

ROMAINE'S STATEMENT OF THE TRUTHS TAUGHT HIM AT HIS CONVERSION

I gave over striving; the pride of free-will, the boast of mine own works, were laid low. And as SELF was debased, the scriptures became an open book, and every page presented the Saviour in new glory. Then were explained to me these truths, which are now the very joy and life of my soul. Such as,

First, The plan of salvation, contrived by the wisdom of Jehovah Alehim, fulfilled in the divine person and work of Jesus, and applied by the Spirit of Jesus. The whole was so ordered, from first to last, that all the glory of it might be secured to the persons in Jehovah. The devil fell by pride; he tempted and seduced man into pride: therefore the Lord, to hide pride from man, has so contrived his salvation, that he who glorieth should have nothing to glory in but the Lord.

Secondly, The benefits of salvation are all the free gifts of free grace, conferred without any regard to what the receiver of them is; nothing being looked at by the Giver but his own sovereign glory. Therefore the receivers are the ungodly, the worst of them, the unworthy, the chief of sinners; such are saved freely by grace through faith, and that not of themselves: it (namely, salvation by faith) is the gift of God, not of works, lest any man should boast.

Thirdly, When I considered these benefits one by one, it was the very death of self-righteousness and self-complacency; for when I looked at the empty hand which faith puts forth to receive them, whence was the hand emptied--whence came faith--whence the power to put forth the empty hand--and whence the benefits received upon putting it forth? All is of God; he humbles us, that we may be willing to receive Christ; he keeps us humble, that we may be willing to live by faith upon Christ received: and as it is a great benefit to have this faith, so it is,

Fourthly, A great, inestimably great benefit to live by faith; for this is a life in every act of it dependant upon another. Self is renounced, so far as Christ is lived upon. And faith is the most emptying, pulling down grace; most emptying, because it says and proves it too. In me, that is, in my flesh, dwelleth no good thing, and therefore it will not let a man see aught good in himself, but pulls down every high thought, and lays it low in subjection to Jesus. It is called the faith of the Son of God, because he is the author and the finisher of it; he gives it; he gives to live by it; he gives the benefits received by it; he gives the glory laid up for it; so that if I live to God, and in any act have living communion with God, it is by nothing in myself, but wholly by the faith of the Son of God. When I wanted to do any thing commanded (what they call duties), I found,

Fifthly, A continual matter of humiliation. I was forced to be dependant for the will and for the power, and, having done my best, I could not present it to God but upon the golden altar that sanctifieth the gifts; not the worthiness, not the goodness of the gifts, but the sanctifying grace of the Great high priest alone can make them holy and acceptable. How low did this lay the pride of good works; since, after all, they were viler than dung, unless perfumed with the sweet incense of Jesus's blood and righteousness? Here I learnt to eye him in all my works and duties, the alpha and omega of them; the life and spirit of all my prayers, and sermons, and hearing, and reading, and ordinances; they are all dead works, unless done in and by faith of the Son of God. Against this blessed truth, of which I am as certain as that I am alive, I find my nature kick. To this hour a legal heart will be creeping into duties, to get between me and my dear Jesus, whom I go to meet in them. But he soon recovers me from the temptation, makes me loathe myself for it, and gets fresh glory to his sovereign grace; and as all the great and good things ever done in the world were done by faith, so all the crosses ever endured with patience were from the same cause: which is,

Sixthly, Another humbling lesson. I find to this moment so much unbelief and impatience in myself, that if God was to leave me to be tried with any thing that crossed my will, if it was but a feather, it would break my back. Nothing tends to keep me vile in my own eyes like this fretting and murmuring, and heart-burning, when the will of God in the least thwarts my will. I read, the trial of your faith worketh patience; the trial of mine, the direct contrary. Instead of patient submission, I want to have mine own way, to take very little physic, and that very sweet: so the flesh lusteth. But the Physician knows better; he knows when and what to prescribe: may every potion purge out this impatient, proud, unbelieving temper, so that faith may render healthful to the soul, what is painful to the flesh. And as no cross can be endured without the faith of the Son of God, so

Seventhly, and lastly, There is no comfortable view of leaving the world, but by the same faith. These all, who had obtained a good report in every age, died in faith. On their death-bed they did not look for present peace and future glory, but to the Lamb of God. Their great works, their eminent services, their various sufferings, all were cast behind their backs, and they died as they lived, looking at nothing but Jesus. He was their antidote against the fear and against the power of death. They feared not the cold death-sweat; Jesus's bloody sweat was their dependance. The dart lost its force on Jesus's side. The sting was lost in his corpse. Death stung itself to death, when it killed him. There is life, life in its highest exaltation and glory, in not breathing the air of this world. This life, through death, Jesus entered on, and we enter on it now by faith; and when our breath is stopt, we have this life, as he has it, pure, spiritual, and divine. Because he lives it, we shall live it also. Yes, my dear friend, we, you and I, after we have lived a little longer, to empty us more, to bring us more out of ourselves, that we may be humbled, and Jesus exalted more, we shall fall asleep in Jesus, not die, but sleep; not see, not taste death, so he promises us; but in his dear arms sweetly go to rest in our weary bodies, when our souls shall be with the Lord. And then we shall be perfect in that lesson, which we learn so very slow in this present world, namely, that from him, and of him,

and to him, are all things; to whom be all the glory, for ever and ever, Amen.

These are the things which God himself has taught me. Man had no hand at all in it. No person in the world, not I myself: for I fought against them as long as I could; so that my present possession of them, with all the rich blessings which they contain, is from my heavenly teacher alone. And I have not learned them, as we do mathematics, to keep them in memory, and to make use of them when I please; no, I find in me to this moment an opposition to every gospel truth, both to the belief of it in my head, and to the comfort of it in my heart. I am still a poor dependant creature, sitting very low at the feet of my dear teacher, and learning to admire that love of his, which brought me down, and keeps me down at his feet. There be my seat, till I learn my lesson perfectly.¹

¹From a letter to Mrs. Thomas (Elizabeth) Medhurst dated March 21, 1767. William Romaine, Letters from the Late Rev. William Romaine, A.M. to a Friend, on the Most Important Subjects, ed. Thomas Wills (5th ed.; London: Smith and Elder, 1822), pp. 127-135.

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