

**JEWES AND JUDAISM IN THE METHODIST COLLECTION, JOHN  
RYLANDS LIBRARY, MANCHESTER: BACKGROUND**

**Representations of “the Jews” in Methodist Discourses:  
Report based on a brief visit to the Methodist Archives and Research Centre**

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**25 August 2014**

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### **John Wesley and his “Jewish Parishioners” (1735-1737)**

In 1735, John Wesley travelled from England to Savannah, Georgia, in the American colonies, in order to preach Christianity to the local natives and settlers. As a number of his biographies relate, his mission in Georgia ended in controversy, with Wesley falling out with a number of prominent colonists, including Thomas Causton, the chief magistrate of the settlement. In December 1737, he had to leave Georgia in a hurry (fleeing according to some accounts; leaving in defiance according to others) and return to England in order to avoid facing a number of potentially humiliating charges at trial. These revolved around an ambiguous and emotionally charged relationship with Causton’s niece. Wesley had nearly married Sophy Williamson (Causton’s niece), but after vacillating for months, decided not to. When Sophy found someone else, Wesley decided, for reasons that are not immediately transparent, to refuse her Communion (presumably feelings of belated jealousy were a factor; rightly or wrongly, it was certainly believed by some of those in Savannah that her only offence was to spurn Wesley). Subsequently, Thomas Causton, believing that the honour of his niece could only be upheld by humiliating Wesley in a trial, convened a grand jury which agreed to indict Wesley on a number of charges. The Wesley-Savannah controversy has been discussed in a number of biographical studies. Less well known, and more relevant to this essay, is that Wesley also encountered a number of Jews during his time in Savannah; and unfortunately, it would seem that arguably Wesley’s only genuine (and warm) encounter with a Jew was brought to a premature close because of the Savannah controversy.

Wesley’s encounter with Jews in Savannah was probably his first – and possibly only – significant engagement with real Jews rather than “the Jews” of scripture. Philip Wingeier-Rayo (2013) argues that prior to his time in Savannah, Wesley maintained an image of the “other” as “a noble savage,” which he developed through his reading of missionary letters and travel journals. According to Rayo, “John Wesley’s time in Savannah in the New World was an encounter with Native Americans, Jews and African Americans that challenged his view of the noble savage with real life encounters. ... Here he was stripped of the view of noble savage and replaced it with harsh views toward Jews, Muslims, Native Americans and to a certain extent Roman Catholics.” This interpretation, at least with respect to Jews, can be challenged. Wesley did, as Rayo suggests, develop deprecating constructions of the Jew, but going by his journal during his time in Georgia, his encounters with Jews in Savannah were almost universally positive. Rayo is on firmer ground when he notes that “after returning to England his writing about Jews became less personal and more theological.”<sup>1</sup> In fact, it would seem that after leaving Savannah, Wesley largely forgot his positive encounters with Jews, such as his friendship with Dr Nunez, and simply returned to an image of Jews drawn from scripture and theology.

According to an article by John English (1998), a large community of Jews had settled in Savannah, comprising approximately 15% to 20% of the relatively small community. At the time, there was a good relationship between Jews and Christians in

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<sup>1</sup> Philip Wingeier-Rayo, “A Wesleyan Theology of Missions: A Re-reading of John Wesley through his encounters with people of non-Christian faiths,” paper presented to the Mission and Evangelism Group at the Oxford Institute for Methodist Studies, 8 August 2013, 2, 5-6. This paper can be found online at <http://oimts.files.wordpress.com/2013/09/2013-5-wingeier-rayo.pdf>

Savannah. According to John English, some of the Jews welcomed Christian immigrants with gifts and food, and the Christian Englishmen in Savannah treated the Jews as equals, drinking, gambling and walking together with them. According to English, Jews also occasionally attended Christian services and Christian weddings, not in order to embrace Christianity, but “either out of curiosity or as an expression of civic solidarity.” Jews and Christians also served together in the local militia. Samuel Nunez Ribeiro (usually referred to simply as Dr Nunez), a Portuguese Jew and medical doctor, was responsible for ending an epidemic of Yellow Fever which was ravaging Savannah at that time. He arrived a few months after the epidemic started to claim lives, including the settlement’s only doctor. As a result of his successful efforts, he and approximately forty other Jews were given permission by Colonel Oglethorpe, the founder of the colony of Georgia, to settle in Savannah (over the protests of the London Trustees of the colony, who did not want it to become a Jewish settlement). As his journal reveals, John Wesley regarded the Jews in Savannah as his “Jewish Parishioners,” and he developed a friendship with Dr Nunez despite their religious disagreements.<sup>2</sup>

A brief entry in his diary (“began Spanish”) possibly reveals that Wesley started to study Spanish in June 1736.<sup>3</sup> This is certainly how the entry was interpreted by John English, who inferred that Colonel Oglethorpe had explained to Wesley that he needed a Spanish language interpreter. John Wesley, he explains, asked Dr. Nunez to give him lessons. Nunez agreed, and according to Wesley’s diary entries, a series of lessons ran from 24 June until 29 November 1736. At the end of November, the lessons came to a temporary end. However, a few months later, in April 1737, Wesley came to the conclusion that Spanish would prove useful if he wanted to convert the many Jewish settlers that he came into contact with.<sup>4</sup> He thus approached Dr Nunez again, who agreed to resume the Spanish lessons. On 4 April 1737, he recorded in his journal that he was beginning to learn Spanish (again) in order to converse with “my Jewish Parishioners.” He noted that some of them are nearer to the mind of Christ than many of those who actually “call him Lord.”<sup>5</sup> According to English, a couple of weeks later, on 15 and 16 April, Wesley read a book entitled *The Demonstration of the Messiah: In which the truth of the Christian religion is defended, especially against the Jews*, suggesting that he was preparing himself for the task of defending Christianity to the Spanish speaking Jews in Savannah.<sup>6</sup> English speculates that Wesley was probably less than honest with Nunez, allowing the doctor to believe that he was continuing to learn Spanish in order to help Colonel Oglethorpe with colony business, rather than to facilitate the evangelizing of Spanish speaking Jews.<sup>7</sup>

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<sup>2</sup> John C. English, “John Wesley and his ‘Jewish Parishioners’: Jewish-Christian Relationships in Savannah, Georgia, 1736-1737,” *Methodist History* 36 (July 1998), 220-227.

<sup>3</sup> John Wesley, diary Entry for 28 June 1736, in *The Works of John Wesley: Journal and Diaries I, 1735-38*, vol. 18, edited by W. Reginald Ward and Richard P. Heitzenrater (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1988), 398.

<sup>4</sup> See English, “John Wesley and his ‘Jewish Parishioners,’” 222-223.

<sup>5</sup> John Wesley, Journal Entry, 4 April 1737, in “J. Wesley’s MSS Journal,” accession reference 1977/157, item reference JW III/4, page 16, *Methodist Archives and Research Centre*, John Rylands University Library, University of Manchester. This entry can also be found in *The Works of John Wesley: Journal and Diaries I*, 178.

<sup>6</sup> English, “John Wesley and his ‘Jewish Parishioners,’” 223.

<sup>7</sup> According to English, Dr Nunez had been a crypto-Jew in Portugal, conforming to Catholicism in public, whilst practicing Judaism in private, and converting a number of “New Christians” (i.e. Jewish

According to English, almost right up until his hasty departure, and thus throughout most of the controversy that occurred in Savannah, Nunez had “kept his door open” for Wesley, and provided a “haven to which Wesley could retire, at least temporarily.” English notes that Wesley recorded 34 visits to Nunez from June to August 1737. He was, English argues, no longer interested in converting Jews or learning Spanish (as at this point, he only recorded studying Spanish in his diary and journal on a handful of occasions). The goal, English observes, was simply relaxed and educated conversation with Nunez, a fellow university graduate, on uncontroversial topics – though as English acknowledges, his journal records that he did on one occasion debate the controversial topic of the Messiah, which he immediately regretted.<sup>8</sup> It is not clear who started the debate, but it seems clear that Wesley lost it, as he stated in his journal that: “I was unawares engaged in a dispute with Dr. Nunez, a Jew, concerning the Messiah. For this I was afterward much grieved, lest the truth might suffer by my weak defence of it.”<sup>9</sup>

English concludes that the relationship between Nunez and Wesley probably ended on an unhappy note. According to English, Nunez had to consider his position in the colony. It was only on the good will of the leaders of the colony that he and his fellow Jews were allowed to stay in the settlement. English also notes that Nunez and Causton were “both members of the Masonic lodge” – presumably the same Masonic lodge for this to be at all relevant – and thus perhaps Wesley offended Nunez when he “appeared to spurn an accommodation with Causton.” English’s conclusion about the unhappy end of the relationship between Nunez and Wesley was however based on a very short and ambiguous entry in Wesley’s diary, and English acknowledged, quite rightly, that his interpretation was “speculative.”<sup>10</sup> The available evidence would not

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Christians) back to Judaism. His medical practice in Lisbon tended to a number of important patients, including the Grand Inquisitor of Portugal. However, it would appear that his crypto-Judaism was discovered, and he was arrested and tortured by the inquisition and sentenced to life imprisonment in 1703, though he was released a year later because of the intervention of the Grand Inquisitor, who wished him to treat him for various medical problems he was suffering. He was confined to Lisbon, and kept under close surveillance by officials of the inquisition, and re-arrested on at least one occasion before escaping with his family to London and then Savannah. Nunez would thus, English not unreasonably speculates, be reluctant to help Wesley to evangelise to fellow Spanish speaking Jews. English, “John Wesley and his ‘Jewish Parishioners,’” 224.

<sup>8</sup> English, “John Wesley and his ‘Jewish Parishioners,’” 226. According to W. Reginald Ward, one of the editors of Wesley’s journals, Nunez and Wesley were good friends, with Nunez becoming “his chief mentor and religious colleague” (though presumably in the sense of being able to discuss and debate religious subjects rather than necessarily agreeing on them and working towards shared goals) whilst he was in Savannah. Comment by W. Reginald Ward in *The Works of John Wesley: Journal and Diaries I*, footnote 64, 178. As English notes, the phrase “religious colleague” is misleading, as it “implies a degree of theological agreement which did not exist.” English, “John Wesley and his ‘Jewish Parishioners,’” footnote 25, 226.

<sup>9</sup> John Wesley, journal entry for 7 July 1737, in *The Works of John Wesley: Journal and Diaries I*, 525.

<sup>10</sup> English, “John Wesley and his ‘Jewish Parishioners,’” 226-227. In fact, English’s conclusion is highly speculative. The journal entry in question merely states “3.45 Nunez, Spanish. 4 Dispute! 4.40.” This might suggest that Wesley met Nunez for a Spanish lesson, and that a dispute on some matter ensued a short while later. But it gives no indication about the nature of the dispute, or whether it was friendly or unfriendly. Maybe it was merely another religious debate about the Messiah. It is even possible that the “dispute” was with someone else that Wesley met after the Spanish lesson. There is simply no way to know from the ambiguous journal entry. John Wesley, diary Entry for 31 August 1737, in *The Works of John Wesley: Journal and Diaries I*, 558. Note: I have not been able to verify

seem to support any reliable conclusion about the fate of the friendship between Nunez and Wesley, other than it presumably coming to an end with Wesley's departure from Georgia.<sup>11</sup>

### **John Wesley's Theological Constructions of the Jew (1738-1757)**

After his return to England at the end of 1737, Wesley seems to have embraced an increasingly theological construction of "the Jew." This would seem to coincide with a significant religious development in his life. Despite already being a notably pious Christian and recognised founder of the Methodist movement, Wesley started to adopt the idea of an all or nothing "pure" Christianity. He no longer believed that Christianity could develop slowly in the heart of each individual. One either believed entirely, without a shadow of reservation or doubt, in salvation through absolute faith alone, made possible by God's grace, or one was simply not a Christian at all. There was to be no half-way position. Thus, despite his pious Christianity, he began to believe that he was not really a Christian at all. This position, which many of his friends took to be a criticism of their own Christianity as well, led him to believe that he was not yet a Christian. In May 1738, he experienced what he describes as his "conversion" experience, when he finally became a full or true Christian. It is noticeably from around this time onwards that he started to develop a negative religious construction of the Jew.

Later in the same year, shortly after his so-called conversion experience, he made another voyage from England, though this time to somewhere much closer than Savannah. He visited Germany and the Netherlands so that he could meet the leaders of the Moravian Church (having been impressed by Moravian Christians during his voyage to Savannah and his time in the colony). During this trip, he visited a synagogue in Rotterdam on 4 September 1738, and recorded his impressions in his journal. Whilst he called upon God to not cast off the Jewish people, but rather to let them be blessed, he observed that:

Having waited till past four in the afternoon, we stepped into the Jews' Synagogue, which lies near the water-side. I do not wonder that so many Jews (especially those who have any reflection) utterly abjure all religion. My spirit was moved within me at that horrid, senseless pageantry, that mockery of God which they called public worship.<sup>12</sup>

In the mid-1740s, John Wesley wrote a series of booklets ostensibly intended as appeals to men of "reason and religion" to embrace his approach to Christianity, but also as responses to hostile criticisms of his beliefs and methods by members of the

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that Dr Nunez was a Freemason, but it seems that one of his sons, Moses Nunez, was a member of the same Masonic lodge as Colonel Oglethorpe.

<sup>11</sup> It is worth noting that Wesley recalls the relationship in a sermon some years later. See reference to Nunez's appreciation of 1 Corinthians 13 in 1782 in Albert C. Outler (ed.), *The Works of John Wesley Vol. III: Sermons 71-114* (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1986), 290.

<sup>12</sup> John Wesley, journal entry for 4 September 1738, in *The Works of John Wesley: Journal and Diaries II, 1738-43*, vol. 19, edited by W. Reginald Ward and Richard P. Heitzenrater (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1990), 12.

Church of England, including certain Anglican bishops.<sup>13</sup> In these booklets, he criticised the practices and beliefs of Jews, Catholics, Muslims and “heathens.” As he acknowledged in 1745, he used “the Jews, the antient Church of God,” primarily as a benchmark against which various kinds of Christians could be compared. He wanted to ask, “how much we are better than they?” Wesley observed that, “no sooner were they brought out of Egypt, than we find them murmuring against God.” According to Wesley, the Jews maintained their obdurate spirit throughout their forty years in the wilderness, and they “call’d upon his name by vain oaths, by perjury and blasphemy.”<sup>14</sup> Wesley concluded that “from the very day when God brought them out of the Land of Egypt, their murmurings, chiding, rebellion and disobedience, against those whom he had chosen to go before them, make the most considerable part of their history.”<sup>15</sup> Turning to modern Jews, Wesley stated that:

you do not love God at all, tho’ you will sometimes condescend to use Him. You love the world. This possesses your heart. This therefore is your God. You renounce the God of your Fathers, the God of Israel; you are still uncircumcised in heart. Your own conscience bears witness, you in this no more hear Moses and the Prophets, than you do Jesus of Nazareth.<sup>16</sup>

He concluded that “from Moses and the Prophets it has been shewn, that your forefathers were a faithless and stubborn generation; a generation which set not their hearts aright, and whose spirit cleaved not steadfastly unto God.” According to Wesley, the Jews continue to tread in the same sinful steps as their ancient forefathers.<sup>17</sup>

In similar spirit, a sermon by John Wesley preached on October 18 1741, referring to Israel and the “folly of those who still trust in the ‘righteousness which is of the law,’” stated that: “What stupidity, what senselessness must it be for such an unclean, guilty, helpless worm as this, to dream of seeking acceptance by his own righteousness, of living by ‘the righteousness’ which ‘is of the law!’”<sup>18</sup>

In 1757, John Wesley published *The Doctrine of Original Sin*. In this volume, he refers to the “astounding wickedness” of the Jews. According to Wesley:

The Sacred History of what occur’d within a short Space after the Death of Jofhua, for some hundred Years, even ‘till the Time that Samuel judged Israel, gives us a large Account of their astounding Wickedness, during almost that whole period.

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<sup>13</sup> See Richard Green, *The Works of John and Charles Wesley: A Bibliography*, second edition (London: Methodist Publishing House, 1906), 35-36.

<sup>14</sup> John Wesley, *A Farther Appeal to Men of Reason and Religion*, part II, Fourth Edition (London, 1746), 4-5. Early Modern English spelling has been retained in these quotes. This booklet was originally published in 1745.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid*, 6.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid*, 68.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid*, 68-69.

<sup>18</sup> John Wesley, sermon, “The Righteousness of Faith,” in *The Works of the Rev. John Wesley, A. M.*, third edition, vol. 5 (London: John Mason, 1829), 72. This quote can also be found in Robert Michael, *A Concise History of American Antisemitism* (Oxford: Rowman & Littlefield, 2005), 62-63.

In this volume, the Jews were represented according to traditional Christian anti-Judaism, as “a faithless and stubborn generation,” “uncircumcised in heart,” “stupidly, brutally ignorant,” and as the murderers of the “Just One.”<sup>19</sup>

### Charles Wesley and the Jews (1754-1758)

One of John Wesley’s brothers, Charles Wesley, was a fellow Methodist preacher and founder of the Methodist movement. Whilst John Wesley was the natural preacher and sermon writer, Charles Wesley was the talented author of hymns (many of which are still found in modern hymn books). A hymn for the conversion of the Jews attributed to John and Charles Wesley, and published in 1758, stated that:

Outcasts from Thee, and scatter’d wide  
Thro’ every nation under heaven,  
Blaspheming whom they crucified,  
Unfav’d, unpitied, unforgiven,  
Branded like Cain, they bear their load,  
Abhor’d of men, and curst of God.

But hast thou finally forsook,  
For ever cast Thine own away?  
Wilt Thou not bid the murderers look  
On Him they pierc’d, and weep, and pray?  
Yes, gracious God, Thy word is past:  
All *Israel* shall be fav’d at last.<sup>20</sup>

This hymn has been variously attributed to Charles and/or John Wesley, and so far it has not proven possible to determine which Wesley brother authored it. Peter Nockles has suggested to me in conversation that they often collaborated on hymns, with one of them possibly writing an early version of it, and the other refining it. Charles Wesley does however seem to have been the primary hymn writer of the two brothers – though John Wesley was also interested in hymns. In a subsequent visit to the MARC, I hope to go through some of the boxes of Wesley hymn notes to see if I can resolve the hymn’s authorship (and the date it was written, seeing as at present I only know the date it was first published).

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<sup>19</sup> John Wesley, *The Doctrine of Original Sin according to Scripture, Reason, and Experience* (Bristol, 1757), 18-20. As Bernard Glassman has correctly observed, in this volume, Wesley surveyed “ancient and modern religions all over the globe,” and concluded “that they have few, if any, redeeming qualities.” According to Glassman, heathens, Muslims and Catholics fared little better than the Jews. Bernard Glassman, *Protean Prejudice: Anti-Semitism in England’s Age of Reason* (Atlanta, Georgia: Scholars Press, 1998), 64. Heathens, Muslims and Catholics were all depicted in *The Doctrine of Original Sin* as murderous. For example, Wesley referred to the whole body of “Southern Indians,” without “any exception” that he could find, as “gluttons, drunkards, thieves, dissemblers, liars.” He observed that they even murder their own parents and children (39). Catholics were depicted as the murderers of Protestants and children. The Catholic Church was accused of polluting ancient Christianity, and “Popish” or “Romish” nations were associated with “vices and villainies” (48-52).

<sup>20</sup> John or Charles Wesley, “For the Jews,” in [John Wesley and Charles Wesley], *Hymns of Intercession for All Mankind* (Bristol: 1758), hymn 32, 26. A modern rendition of this hymn can be found in *The Poetical Works of John and Charles Wesley*, edited by G. Osborn (London: Wesleyan-Methodist Conference Office, 1870), 136.

Charles Wesley also references to Jews in his personal correspondence. In December 1755, he wrote a letter to his wife, Sarah Wesley. Towards the end of the letter, he briefly mentioned the Lisbon earthquake. This earthquake, which occurred on 1 November 1755, all but destroyed the city. Some people speculated that as the earthquake destroyed a number of important churches in a city which was predominantly Roman Catholic, and as the day the catastrophe occurred was All Saint's Day, a religious explanation for the catastrophe should be sought. Charles Wesley's letter offered no such religious explanation, but he did note that the citizens of Lisbon had been planning for that day, as an "Act of Faith," to make "a Bonfire of the poor Jews & Hereticks." As a result, he noted, English residents in Lisbon had already left, and thus escaped the calamity before it happened.<sup>21</sup>

### Mary Whittingham Letters (1811-1813)

Mary Whittingham (b. 1765) was the niece of Mary Fletcher, a noted Methodist evangelist. She was married to Richard Whittingham, who exercised an evangelical ministry as the Vicar of Potten in Bedfordshire.<sup>22</sup> A number of her letters to Mary Fletcher mention, albeit in passing, the conversion of the Jews. A letter dated 7 March 1811 mentioned receiving a pound note from Mary Fletcher for a portrait engraving of John Fletcher, some of which was to be used "for the Jews."<sup>23</sup> A letter dated 8 March 1813 also mentioned having giving some of the money from the John Fletcher portrait to a "penny collection for the Jews."<sup>24</sup> Another letter from Whittingham to Fletcher, dated 5 December 1813, again mentioned the penny collection, noting that she "began a penny society for the Jews in 1811," with the hope of collecting about £50 during the first three of years. According to the letter, she "heard two young Jews speak delightfully at Bedford." She also mentioned that there is a society consisting of Jewish converts to Christianity who meet together, approximately 40 of whom visit the sick and distribute Bibles.<sup>25</sup> This society she refers to was probably the "Beni Abraham," which was one of the first – if not the first – congregation of Jewish Christians in England, founded by the Jewish Christian preacher Joseph Frey in 1813. Indeed another letter from Whittingham to Fletcher, undated but probably also written in 1813, once again mentioned the Jews, and also Joseph Frey. According to this letter, Whittingham had started to do some work with the London Society for Promoting Christianity Among the Jews (which was also founded by Frey). She mentioned a new penitentiary for poor Jewesses, noting that "not less than five thousand of these poor creatures are in London streets," and a school which had received fifty Jewish children. According to her letter, a few of the "pious young Jews" were preparing for Christian ministry. Whittingham again mentioned having

<sup>21</sup> Letter from Charles Wesley to Sarah Wesley [otherwise known as "Sally"], DDCW 5/86, "Folio Scrapbooks: Letters of the Revd. C. Wesley," *Methodist Archives and Research Centre*. See also catalogue for the correspondence of Charles Wesley, page 89-90, held in the Methodist Archives and Research Centre.

<sup>22</sup> Catalogue for the Fletcher-Tooth Collection, volume 10, 203, *Methodist Archives and Research Centre*, John Rylands University Library, University of Manchester.

<sup>23</sup> Letter from Mary Whittingham to Mary Fletcher, 7 March 1811, the Fletcher-Tooth Papers, MAM/F1/7/16/13, *Methodist Archives and Research Centre*.

<sup>24</sup> Letter from Mary Whittingham to Mary Fletcher, 8 March 1813, the Fletcher-Tooth Papers, MAM/F1/7/16/16, *Methodist Archives and Research Centre*.

<sup>25</sup> Letter from Mary Whittingham to Mary Fletcher, 5 December 1813, the Fletcher-Tooth Papers, MAM/F1/7/16/18, *Methodist Archives and Research Centre*.

started a penny society for the Jews, hoping to collect money by going “from house to house soliciting subscriptions.” The letter made some references to “Mr Frey the Jew,” noting that he had preached at a barn in Potten, and been a guest at the Whittingham home.<sup>26</sup>

### **Adam Clarke, the New Testament, and the Jews (1825)**

Adam Clarke was born in 1762, and passed away in 1832. In his mid-twenties, in 1778, he encountered and joined the Methodists. He would later become one of the movement’s key preachers. According to Stephen Dawes (1994), John Wesley heard of Clarke and offered him a position at Kingswood School, but upon meeting him, recruited him into the ranks of preachers and sent him to Wiltshire instead. He was stationed and preached in a number of regions (or “circuits”). Clarke studied the Bible and biblical languages, and according to Dawes, was described by certain ladies in Halifax as “dull, though learned.” He started to write his biblical commentary in 1798, joined the British and Foreign Bible Society in 1805, and the first volume of his commentary on the bible appeared in 1810. Eleven thousand copies of it were printed. The multi-volume commentary on the bible was finished in 1825.<sup>27</sup>

Adam Clarke made hundreds of references to Jews in his voluminous study of the Bible. His references to Jews were a part of his detailed commentary on passages from the New Testament. For the most part, his references to Jews and Pharisees seem to have been to biblical Jews. The following are just some examples – there are many and I have only just started to examine them – from the first volume of his study of the New Testament, which focused on Acts and the Gospels. It should be noted that these are based on the new condensed edition, which was supplemented by Daniel Curry in 1883,<sup>28</sup> and thus the following passages need to be double checked against Adam Clarke’s original 1825 edition.<sup>29</sup>

### Referring to Matthew 6:2

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<sup>26</sup> Letter from Mary Whittingham to Mary Fletcher, undated [1813?], the Fletcher-Tooth Papers, MAM/F1/7/16/14, *Methodist Archives and Research Centre*. Joseph Frey (1771-1850), born Joseph Levi, was born into a devout Jewish family in Germany. According to his autobiography, he was appointed as a communal leader of a local synagogue, but later found himself attracted to Christianity after a chance encounter with a Christian evangelist during a trip from Hamburg to Schwerin. He was baptised into the Protestant Lutheran Church in May 1799, and took the name Joseph Samuel Christian Frederick Frey. He enrolled at the Missionary Seminary in Berlin and was later recruited by the London Missionary Society to serve in Africa, though in the end he decided to remain in London in order to evangelize and preach to English Jews and Christians. He was one of the founders of the London Society for Promoting Christianity Among the Jews. See Joseph Frey, *Narrative of the Rev. Joseph Samuel C. F. Frey* (Eleventh Edition, New York, 1834).

<sup>27</sup> See Stephen B. Dawes, *Adam Clarke: Methodism’s First Old Testament Scholar* (Cornish Methodist Historical Association, 1994), 1-4.

<sup>28</sup> Pages references in brackets are from Adam Clarke, *The New Testament of Our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ*, new condensed edition, supplemented by Daniel Curry (New York: Phillips & Hunt, 1883). The Rev. Daniel Curry (1808-1887) was a member of the Methodist Episcopal Church, a doctor of divinity, theologian, preacher and journalist.

<sup>29</sup> Adam Clarke, *The New Testament of our Lord and saviour Jesus Christ: The text carefully printed from the most correct copies of the present Authorised Version including the marginal readings and parallel texts with a commentary and critical notes, designed as a help to a better understanding of the sacred writings*, vol. 1 (New York, 1825).

“Do not sound a trumpet – it is not likely that this was literally practised even by the Pharisees, who seemed to live on the public esteem, and were excessively self-righteous and vain.” (41)

“In the synagogues in the streets – As places of public discourse. They have their reward – That is, the honour and esteem of men, which they sought. God is under no obligation to them; they did nothing with an eye to his glory, and from him they can expect no recompense.” (41)

Referring to Matthew 6:5

“Love to pray standing in the synagogues and in the corners of the streets – The Jewish phylacterical prayers were long, and the canonical hours obliged them to repeat these prayers wherever they happened to be; and the Pharisees, who were full of vainglory, often contrived to be overtaken in the streets by the canonical hour, that they might be seen by the people and applauded for their great piety. This hypocritical pretention to devotion is common among the Asiatics. Both Hindus and Mohammedans love to pray in the most public places – at the landing places of rivers, in the public streets, on the roofs of the covered boats, without the least endeavour to conceal their formal devotion.” (42)

Referring to Matthew 23:31

“There are many who think that, had they lived in the time of our Lord, they would not have acted toward him as the Jews did. But we can scarcely believe that they who reject his Gospel, trample under foot his precepts, do despite to the Spirit of his grace, love sin, and hate his followers, would have acted otherwise to him than the murdering Jews, had they lived in the same times.” (132)

Referring to Matthew 23:33

“Ye serpents, ye generation of vipers – They confessed that they were the children of those who murdered the prophets; and they are now going to murder Christ and his followers, to show that they have not *degenerated* – an accursed *seed* of an accursed *breed*.” (132) (note: italics are Adam Clarke’s)

Referring to Matthew 23:37

“O Jerusalem, Jerusalem - ... .. It is very manifest that the incorrigibility of the Jews, and the consequent destruction of Jerusalem, and the subversion of the Jewish State, was to Christ the occasion of both surprise and deepest sorrow.” (133)

“As a devoted son of Israel’s race, he loved his people and country; and as was the case with Paul afterward, he had ‘great heaviness and continual sorrow [of] heart;’ and his heart’s desire for Israel was, that they might be saved. And now that he saw that that *could not* be by reason of their perverse *would not*, as an Israelite he wept over the city, while as the righteous Judge of all men he pronounced its doom.” (133)

Referring to John, 15:26

“Our Lord appears to reason thus: In every respect the unbelief of the Jews is inexcusable. They believe not my doctrine, notwithstanding its purity and holiness. They believe not in the Father who sent me, notwithstanding I have confirmed my mission by the most astonishing miracles. One thing only remains now to be done, that is, to send them the Holy Spirit, to convince them of sin, righteousness, and

judgment, and this he shall do, not only by his influence upon their hearts, but also by your words: and when they shall have resisted this Spirit, then the cup of their iniquity will be filled up, and wrath shall come upon them to the uttermost.” (384)

Referring to John, 16:2

“That whosoever killeth you – This Paul found, first in his own spirit, and afterward in the conduct of his countrymen; for more than forty Jews bound themselves under a curse that they would neither eat nor drink till they had killed him. ... What the Zealots did is notorious in history. They butchered any person in cold blood who, they pretended to believe, was an enemy of God, to the law, or to Moses; and though they were fulfilling the will of God by these human sacrifices.” (384)

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Significantly, in some cases, the references to Jews in Clarke’s commentary applied explicitly to Jews from later times:

Matthew 27:25

Referring to the famous blood curse, “his blood be on us and on our children,” in Matthew 27:25, Adam Clarke notes: “The notes on chapter xxiv will show how [this imprecation fell on its utterers, they] being visited with a series of calamities unexampled in the history of the world. They were also visited with the very same *kind* of punishment; for the Romans crucified them in such numbers when Jerusalem was taken that there was found a deficiency of crosses for the condemned and of places for the crosses. Their children or descendants have had the same curse entailed upon *them*, and continue to this day a proof of the innocence of Christ, the truth of his religion, and of the justice of God. [A rather remarkable fulfilment of this imprecation is said to have occurred in one of our cities a short time ago. A Jew and a Chinaman got into a street brawl, when, after each seemed to have exhausted his whole store of invectives against the other, the heathen at length rallied to a final onset, calling out, ‘You are a very bad man, and all your people are very bad; *they killed the American man’s Josh,*’ (God.)” (162)

John Wesley also wrote a commentary on the New Testament (which I have not as yet had time to properly examine). By way of comparison, this is what John Wesley said about the blood curse: “His blood be on us, and on our children,” was “dreadfully answered in the ruin so quickly brought on the Jewish nation, and the calamities which have ever since pursued that wretched people.” According to Wesley, it was “peculiarly fulfilled by Titus, the Roman general, on the Jews whom he took during the siege of Jerusalem.” He observed that “so many, after having been scourged in a terrible manner, were crucified all round the city, that in a while there was not room near the walls for the crosses to stand by each other. Probably this befell some of those who now joined in this cry, as it certainly did many of their children, the very finger of God thus pointing out their crime in crucifying his Son.”<sup>30</sup>

Colossians, chapter 2, verse 8

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<sup>30</sup> Entry for Matthew 27:25, in *Wesley’s Notes on the Bible*, edited by G. Roger Schoenhals (Grand Rapids, MI: Francis Asbury Press, 1987), 423. This is a single volume abridgment of John Wesley’s four volume *Explanatory Notes Upon the Old and New Testaments* (1755-1766).

The following example is from a different volume by Adam Clarke (a study of the Old and New Testament). Referring to Jewish philosophy, mysticism and literature, and the famous Jewish medieval philosopher, Moses Maimonides, as well as the Jews in general since the time of the “inspired writers” (i.e. the Old Testament prophets), Clarke observed in his volume on the Epistle on Colossians that: “The Jewish philosophy, such as is found in the Cabala, Midrashim, and other works, deserves the character of vain deceit, in the fullest sense and meaning of the words. The inspired writers excepted, the Jews have ever been the most puerile, absurd, and ridiculous reasoners in the world. Even Rabbi Maymon, or Maimonides, the most intelligent of them all, is often in his master piece (the *Moreh Nevochim*, the Teacher of the Perplexed) most deplorably empty and vain.”<sup>31</sup>

### **Methodist Newspapers and Magazines (1858-1922)**

In order to get a sense of what may be found in the Methodist newspapers and magazines, I examined – albeit quickly – a number of prominent English Methodist newspapers and magazine for key months during the mid to late nineteenth century, and the early twentieth century. Two Methodist magazines were examined: the *Methodist New Connexion Magazine* and the *Bible Christian*. Both magazines existed throughout the nineteenth century. The main newspapers, the *Methodist Times*, the *Methodist Recorder* and the *Free Methodist*, would seem to be a later development, with issues only held at the *Methodist Archives and Research Centre* from the 1880s onwards.<sup>32</sup> The key months examined for the magazines revolved around events that provoked intense reporting about Jews elsewhere (i.e. in English Catholic and secular newspapers), such as the Dreyfus Affair (focusing on key moments in the controversy in 1898 and 1899), the “Bulgarian Horrors” (during which Disraeli and Jews were accused of supporting “the Turks” in 1876), the capture of Rome by the forces of the Risorgimento (1870), and the Mortara Affair (1858). The key events examined for the newspapers were the Dreyfus Affair (1898 and 1899), and in the case of the *Methodist Times* and *Methodist Recorder*, the Marconi Affair (1912-1913), the Beilis blood libel (1913), and the ratification of the British Mandate (1922).<sup>33</sup> Unfortunately, with the exception of the Dreyfus Affair, almost nothing was found for any of these events in the Methodist newspapers and magazine.

With the exception of the Dreyfus Affair, the *Bible Christian Magazine*, the successor to the *Arminian Magazine*,<sup>34</sup> contained little of interest during the key months examined. The magazine did contain reports of the “Bulgarian Horrors”. However,

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<sup>31</sup> Entry for Colossians 2:8, in Adam Clarke, *The Holy Bible, Containing the Old and New Testaments: The Text ... Including the Marginal Readings and Parallel Texts, with a Commentary and Critical Notes*, vol. 2 (London, 1836), 1518. Note: I have only examined this volume online so far (using Google Books), and hope to examine a hardcopy volume either during my next visit to Cambridge University Library, or my next visit to the MARC.

<sup>32</sup> I have not as yet investigated the exact details of these newspaper and magazine publications (such as when they were founded, who they were founded by, and their differences in circulation and readership).

<sup>33</sup> The Methodist Archives only contains issues of the *Free Methodist* until 1907.

<sup>34</sup> Arminianism was a movement based on the religious ideas of Jacobus Arminius (1560-1609). Many of his theological ideas influenced John Wesley and eighteenth-century Methodism.

whilst critical of “the Turks,” it made no comment about Jews or Disraeli.<sup>35</sup> The magazine contained a number of reports of the fall of Rome and the collapse of the Church’s Temporal Power, which it seemed to regard as a good thing, but unlike the English Catholic newspapers, it did not assert any Jewish role in the event (though it was critical of English Catholics who used the analogy of the murder of Christ for the outrage done to the Pope).<sup>36</sup> Other key incidents were not mentioned at all.

The *Methodist New Connexion Magazine* contained almost no significant reports of interest relating to Jews even during the Dreyfus Affair, though it did contain a couple of minor pieces of interest relating to the conversion of Jews in 1858 and 1859.<sup>37</sup>

Similarly, outside of the Dreyfus Affair, little of interest was found in the three Methodist newspapers. None of the papers took any significant interest in Zionism, positively or negatively, during the ratification of the British Mandate. They also seemed to take little or no interest in the Beilis Affair.

The *Methodist Times* did contain reports on the “the Marconi Scandal,” criticising “Cabinet Ministers” for “want of judgment,” whilst reserving more condemnation for the “calumniators” who invented the malicious “fables.” Whilst the paper referred to Rufus Isaacs, it did not allude to a specifically Jewish dimension to the scandal (as Cecil Chesterton had in a number of articles in the *Eye Witness* and *New Witness*). The paper was mildly critical of Rufus Isaacs’ judgement, and his delay in putting the full facts before the House of Commons, but concluded that his actions did not reflect upon “his personal honour and integrity.” Alluding to Cecil Chesterton, the paper criticised those who “display their zeal by giving currency to malignant rumours, and basing upon them bitter personal attacks.” According to the paper, Rufus Isaacs did not deserve “the slanderous attacks of those who in all probability, must have been fully possessed of the facts of the case from the beginning. On the evidence given, the only charge that can be sustained against the Attorney-General and his colleagues is a mistake of judgment.”<sup>38</sup>

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<sup>35</sup> See “Turkish Atrocities in Bulgaria,” *Our Miscellany, Bible Christian Magazine*, September 1876, 430; “Mr. Gladstone on the Bulgarian Horrors,” *Our Miscellany, Bible Christian Magazine*, October 1876, 479-480.

<sup>36</sup> See for example, “Popery,” *Bible Christian Magazine*, September 1870, 405; “The Inhabitants of the Romish States,” *Bible Christian Magazine*, November 1870, 531; “The Pope and Italy,” *Bible Christian Magazine*, December 1870, 572.

<sup>37</sup> In 1858 and 1859, the magazine contained favourable reports on the conversion of Jews in America, noting that “it is a delightful fact, and marks the genuineness of the work now going on in America, that many Jews have participated in the operations of the present revival-movement. ...” The reports mentioned that a large number of Jews of both sexes have embraced Christianity, and/or send their children to Christian Sunday-schools, and that one Jewish convert was about to go forth as a missionary among his own people. See “Conversion of Jews in the American Revival,” *Methodist New Connexion Magazine*, July 1858, 370; “A Jewish Synagogue or Christ,” *Methodist New Connexion Magazine*, July 1859, 381.

<sup>38</sup> “The Marconi Inquiry,” *Methodist Times*, 27 March 1913, 2; “The Marconi ‘Scandal,’” *Methodist Times*, 3 April 1913, 2. For English Catholic responses to the “Marconi Scandal,” and in particular those of Cecil Chesterton (who arguably constructed it in the first place), see Simon Mayers, “From ‘the Pharisee’ to ‘the Zionist Menace’: Myths, Stereotypes and Constructions of the Jew in English Catholic Discourse (1896-1929),” PhD thesis, University of Manchester (2012), 92-95.

The one event that did capture the attention of most of the Methodist periodicals was the Dreyfus Affair. In 1898, the Methodist newspapers largely ignored the Dreyfus Affair, but by July 1899, they were all siding with Captain Dreyfus. In July 1899, the *Bible Christian Magazine* applauded the French Judges who quashed the original “conviction of Dreyfus, which, it has now been demonstrated, was obtained by wholesale perjury and forgery.” The magazine depicted Dreyfus as the victim of a plot. In September, the magazine contended that not just Dreyfus, but the French nation was on trial at Rennes. The magazine suggested that the nation’s statesmen, administrators and army stood before the eyes of the world, “a discredited product of the age.” The paper attributed the injustice done to Dreyfus, and the nation’s perjury and shame, to “Jesuit influence.” In October, the magazine observed that it was not concerned with Dreyfus as an individual, but rather with the French people, who were close neighbours to the English, and their history closely interwoven with that of the English. The *Bible Christian Magazine* claimed that it desired to avoid anti-French sectarianism, noting that “their downfall cannot profit us; their shame is a menace to us, for as they sink they tend to drag us with them. The magazine thus wished to avoid condemning France to oblivion, as some critics seemed to advocate, desiring instead to restore “a sane France, a justice-loving France, a pure France.” The paper expressed its hope that France would consider the judgement that has been passed upon her by popular opinion across Europe, overcome the “flood of corruption and perjury,” and free herself from “Jesuitism.”<sup>39</sup>

The *Free Methodist* only contained a few very short reports on the Dreyfus Affair. In September 1899, the paper stated that the verdict at the retrial of Dreyfus excites “mingled feelings of compassion and indignation. Deep sympathy is felt for Captain Dreyfus and his noble wife. To be condemned again after suffering five years’ torture on Devil’s Isle ... is very hard indeed.” The paper attributed the verdict of the judges in favour of the army rather than Dreyfus to “stupidity,” “prejudice,” and “moral cowardice.” In English Catholic discourses during the mid to late nineteenth century, the mythological character of the Jewish Christ-Killer, along with Judas Iscariot and Pontius Pilate, were often used as symbols and analogies for contemporary sins and evils.<sup>40</sup> Perhaps ironically, these characters were now used as analogies for the sin committed by the judges against the Jew:

Mr. Price Hughes does not hesitate to say that ‘these five unhappy officers have already taken their places, in the judgement of the human race, beside Judas Iscariot, Pontius Pilate, Judge Jeffreys, and other foul creatures who have been proved by their actions to be the enemies of God and man.’ This is strong language, yet who shall say it is undeserved.

Whilst the *Bible Christian Magazine* linked the Dreyfus Affair to “Jesuitism,” the *Free Methodist* linked it more broadly to Catholicism, the Pope and the bishops. It argued that:

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<sup>39</sup> “Dreyfus,” *Bible Christian Magazine*, July 1899, 471-472; “Distraught France,” *Bible Christian Magazine*, September 1899, 609; “Our Next Door Neighbour,” *Bible Christian Magazine*, October 1899, 676-677.

<sup>40</sup> Simon Mayers, “Myths and Stereotypes of ‘the Jew’ in English Catholic Discourse, 1850-1900,” End of year project report to the Vidal Sassoon International Center for the Study of Antisemitism, 7 August 2014.

the Dreyfus case makes a startling revelation of the corrupt condition of the Church of Rome. The clerical papers of France, and notably those conducted and influenced by priests, have clamoured for this cruel and unjust verdict. The Pope and the bishops have maintained a criminal silence, and the Church which claims to be the true body of Christ has never one word in favour of mercy towards a man who, like his Divine Lord, is a persecuted Jew.

The *Free Methodist* attributed the “corruption of France and the unjust condemnation of Dreyfus” to “the clerical education system ... and the hypocrisy of French priests.” The paper approved when the French Government pardoned and released Captain Dreyfus, and wished him a quick recovery. The paper noted that Dreyfus and his friends should not content themselves with a mere release, as his good name needs to be restored. The paper stated that it is doubtful however that the reputation of “the Church of Rome” can be restored after its “cruel persecution of Dreyfus.” “The Catholics who rejoiced and praised God for the outrageous judgement of Rennes have dealt their Church an irreparable blow,” the paper concluded.<sup>41</sup>

The *Methodist Recorder* similarly defended Dreyfus and attributed the injustice largely to Catholicism. On 14 September, the paper reported that “it is no exaggeration to say that the act of the Court Martial at Rennes, or rather the act of the five military Judges who re-condemned Captain Dreyfus, has filled the whole world with horror and amazement.” Only the “Anti-Semites and the Jesuits,” the paper suggested, were likely to be pleased with the result. The paper observed that France as a whole should not be condemned, as a large number of people in France believe in the innocence of Captain Dreyfus, and sympathise with the indignation felt by other nations regarding the verdict. “France is not wholly given over to fanatical Jew-baiters, idolaters of the Army, and Jesuitry,” the paper reported. The *Methodist Recorder* defended English Catholics and Cardinal Herbert Vaughan (the Archbishop of Westminster), noting that “the English Roman Catholics largely share the indignation of their protestant neighbours,” and that “even Cardinal Vaughan himself is on the same side.” In this, the *Methodist Recorder* was probably swayed by the more positive articles in English Catholic newspapers at the end of the affair when it was difficult for them to continue arguing that Dreyfus was guilty. Earlier articles in Cardinal Vaughan’s newspaper, the *Tablet*, were bitterly hostile towards Dreyfus, and represented his various defenders as part of an anti-Catholic Jewish-Masonic conspiracy.<sup>42</sup> Whilst the *Methodist Recorder* was relatively conciliatory towards Cardinal Vaughan and English Catholics – though on 5 October it was critical about Vaughan’s decision to defend the Catholic newspapers’ handling of the Dreyfus Affair – it did report that “the authorities of the Church in Rome, if only because of their silence, cannot be held blameless in the matter. The Pope and his Cardinals may not have had it in their power to prevent the result, but they might, at least, with their great authority, have imposed silence upon those priests in France, who, though a fanatical Press, have inflamed the popular provincial mind.” Like the *Free Methodist*, it invoked Pilate and the Jewish Christ-Killer as an analogy to condemn those who

<sup>41</sup> Notes and Comments, *Free Methodist*: 14 September 1899, 625-626; 28 September 1899, 657.

<sup>42</sup> For anti-Jewish-Masonic articles relating to the Dreyfus Affair in the *Tablet* during the late 1890s, see Mayers, “From ‘the Pharisee’ to ‘the Zionist Menace’”, 89-90, 124-125.

condemned Dreyfus. It stated that the Pope and his Cardinals have “elected to play the part of Pilate and Caiaphas in another tragedy. Knowing, as they must have done in their secret hearts, that an innocent man was being martyred, they were content to let events take their course.” On 21 September, the paper applauded the pardoning of Dreyfus, noting that “no French Government would dream of pardoning an officer of the General Staff twice condemned if there were even the shadow of a doubt as to his innocence.” It again condemned “the forgers and conspirators and liars” who “go scot free, except that they are execrated not only by the world outside France, but by the best and noblest of their own countrymen.” Significantly, the paper argued against an agitation for the boycotting of the Paris Exhibition that was planned for 1900, which it regarded as unfair and unwise, as “the rotten section of the French army is not France, nor is that blind and mad section of the Roman Catholic Church of France of which ‘La Croix’ is the organ, nor yet those dregs of the French Press which stand for all that is unjust and inhuman.” English people should not hate France in general the paper concluded, but rather “honour the noble minority – if minority it still is – that has pleaded for justice to the falsely-accused.” The paper did however “confess to an intense desire to see justice avenged on the real culprits in this great drama.”<sup>43</sup>

Of all the Methodist newspapers, the *Methodist Times* adopted the most aggressively anti-Catholic and anti-English-Catholic stance on the Dreyfus Affair. In March 1898, the paper contained a brief report about Zionism. The report did not mention the Dreyfus Affair, but it did express admiration for Zionism, and it also hinted at the paper’s hostility towards Catholicism, which was more clearly manifest during the final phase of the Dreyfus Affair in 1899. According to the report, “the Zionist Movement for the colonisation of Palestine is one of the most remarkable and significant movements of our time.” “The great movement of the Jews towards their native land,” combined with the “overthrow of the Temporal Power of the Papacy,” were “great events which students of ancient prophecy have, with singular unanimity, predicted would mark the momentous close of the present century,” the paper reported.<sup>44</sup>

The *Methodist Times* argued on 21 September 1899 that the Jesuits were to blame for the Dreyfus Affair. Furthermore, whereas the *Methodist Recorder* mostly defended or praised English Catholics and Cardinal Vaughan, the *Methodist Times* excoriated Vaughan for his attempts to deflect just criticism, and “his silence and the silence of all the English Romanist Hierarchy, when every other Christian Church is protesting against the wicked verdict of Rennes.” According to the *Methodist Times*, Vaughan was the “docile pupil of the French Jesuit school.” “The Dreyfus case and the rotten condition of the French Army,” the paper argued, was “the direct result of the momentous fact that the Jesuits now dominate the French Roman Catholic Church.” The *Methodist Times* argued that the “great political and ecclesiastical fact of our time is that the Jesuits, after centuries of strife, have at last captured the whole machinery of the Roman Catholic Church, and are gradually crushing out of that Church all those who do not accept their views and methods.” “The more Liberal and manly American Romanism lies prostrate in the dust under the foot of Spanish Romanism,” the paper concluded. Furthermore, the Jesuits were to blame for events

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<sup>43</sup> Editorial Notes, *Methodist Recorder*: 14 September 1899, 3; 21 September 1899, 3; 5 October 1899, 3.

<sup>44</sup> Notes of Current Events, *Methodist Times*, 10 March 1898, 153.

throughout Europe: “the Jesuit organisation has brought France into her present position, keeps the unity of Italy in constant peril, threatens the German Empire, will certainly destroy the unity of Austria, and, mainly through Irish agency, is always secretly seeking to undermine the unity of the British Empire.”<sup>45</sup> The same issue of the *Methodist Times* also contained a couple of reports of Methodists delivering lectures on the Dreyfus Affair and organising protests. One Methodist minister, the Rev. D. A. De Mouilpied, delivered a lecture on France and the “Dreyfus Tragedy” at a crowded chapel in York – according to the paper, 2000 congregants assembled to hear the lecture – and the Superintendent organised a letter to be sent from the large congregation to Madame Dreyfus to express “profound sympathy” and “confidence in Captain Dreyfus’s innocent.”<sup>46</sup> The Rev. De Mouilpied then repeated his lecture at another crowded chapel in Sheffield. According to the *Methodist Times*, the minister declared that the retrial was not a “miscarriage of justice, for there had been no justice”; it had simply been a “cruel and infamous farce.”<sup>47</sup> The paper also reported that another letter had been sent to Madame Dreyfus by many members of the British Women’s Temperance Association.<sup>48</sup> Unlike the *Methodist Recorder*, the *Methodist Times* called for a firm boycott of the French Exhibition, and argued that “the French people are responsible” for the Dreyfus Affair. “It is transparent nonsense,” the paper argued, “to say that we must not punish the whole nation for the sins of a handful of men, or even of the General Staff of the Army.” According to the paper, the “notorious fact” is that with the exception of a small minority, the whole nation “savagely endorses the abominable crime perpetrated by the court-martial at Rennes.” It was thus morally unacceptable, the paper argued, to go “laughing and smiling and dancing to the Exhibition,” as to do so would be to make oneself party to the “Dreyfus infamy.” Only if the French people – via their Government and Parliament – repent and repudiate the infamies committed in their name, would it be acceptable to attend the Exhibition, the paper contended.<sup>49</sup> The subsequent issue of the *Methodist Times*, on 28 September, contained letters from readers, some expressing their thanks and appreciation for the *Methodist Times*’ exposé of the Jesuit Society, and others protesting its accusations against the French people.<sup>50</sup>

The *Methodist Times* also contained other reports that were critical or hostile towards Catholicism in October and November 1899. On 26 October, the paper reported and approved George Mivart’s criticisms of the Church’s toleration of French Catholic antisemitism during the Dreyfus Affair. Mivart was a liberal English Catholic modernist who was all but excommunicated from the Church just a few months after his protest, with Cardinal Vaughan ordering all priests in his Archdiocese to refuse him the sacraments. According to Mivart, Captain Dreyfus was the new Galileo, unfairly condemned by the Church.<sup>51</sup> In November, the paper contained a number of

<sup>45</sup> “Americanism,” *Methodist Times*, 21 September 1899, 657.

<sup>46</sup> “York: The Dreyfus Tragedy,” *Methodist Times*, 21 September 1899, 662.

<sup>47</sup> “Sheffield: The Dreyfus Infamy,” *Methodist Times*, 21 September 1899, 662.

<sup>48</sup> “Appreciation of Madame Dreyfus,” *Methodist Times*, 21 September 1899, 662.

<sup>49</sup> Notes of Current Events, *Methodist Times*, 21 September 1899, 664.

<sup>50</sup> Correspondence, *Methodist Times*, 28 September 1899, 682.

<sup>51</sup> “Mr. St. George Mivart and the Pope,” *Methodist Times*, 26 October 1899, 737. Mivart’s criticism of the Church and French Catholics with regard to the Dreyfus Affair can be found in George Mivart, Letter to the Editor of The Times, ‘The Roman Catholic Church and the Dreyfus Affair,’ *The Times*, 17 October 1899, 13-14. He also published other articles that were critical of illiberal anti-modernist Catholic theology in various periodicals. Vaughan subsequently circulated a letter (on 18 January

reports that the Pope, the Jesuits, and the Catholic newspapers, hated England, and were gloating over calamities faced by the British Empire. According to the paper, “the Jesuits from their standpoint are logically justified in the hatred with which they regard us. Their sentiments are exemplified in the Dreyfus infamy. The British Empire stands for civil and religious freedom, the rights of conscience and the vindication of truth. ... the official hierarchy of the Papacy is, and always has been, the deadliest enemy of human freedom and of the rights of man.” According to the paper, the Catholic Church, the Pope, and the Jesuits, are hoping for or planning the downfall of the British Empire.<sup>52</sup>

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1900) to the clergy of the Archdiocese of Westminster, declaring Mivart’s views heretical, and forbidding the clergy henceforth from administering the sacraments to him (the “minor excommunication” according to nineteenth century canon law).

<sup>52</sup> See for example: “The Pope and the Jesuits Rejoice,” *Methodist Times*, 2 November 1899, 760; “The Jesuits’ Position Logical,” *Methodist Times*, 2 November 1899, 760; “Roman Catholicism Losing Ground,” *Methodist Times*, 2 November 1899, 760; “The Papal Hatred of England,” *Methodist Times*, 16 November 1899, 796; “The Jesuit Invasion of England,” *Methodist Times*, 16 November 1899, 796.

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