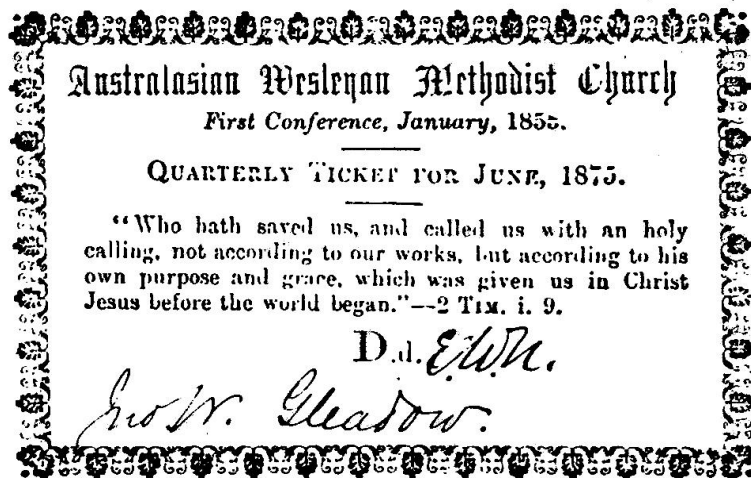


# The Spiritual Diary of a Colonial Launceston Wesleyan Methodist, Henry Jennings *Dr Anne V Bailey*

## Introduction

The Launceston Wesleyan Methodist Society 1832-49 was a highly unusual group with an elite component; they went far beyond the normal range of colonial Wesleyan Methodist establishments. As a first generation Wesleyan Methodist group, its members were extraordinary in what they achieved in the areas of commerce, community involvement, philanthropy, consecration of wealth, banking and political involvement.

By examining the spiritual diary of Henry Jennings, solicitor, who was one of these colonial Launceston Wesleyan Methodists, it has been possible to gain a specific, rare and intimate picture of the Launceston Wesleyan Methodist Society – a picture that could not possibly be gained from many other sources.<sup>1</sup> Jennings' diary does not necessarily highlight the achievements of the group in the public areas of community, commercial, banking and political involvement. What it does is capture the picture of one Wesleyan Methodist caught between the two worlds of Spirituality and Mammon and who was brought almost to the brink of bankruptcy. It also shows that he was reproved, admonished and rescued by the stern monitoring of his fellow Wesleyans who adhered strictly to the rules of the Wesleyan Methodist Society.



## Background

The writing of spiritual diaries had its roots in the early Church fathers' practice of self examination as with St John Chrysostom (347-407) who commended self examination through the metaphor of a diary. He wrote 'Let thy account be kept every day and have a little booklet in thy conscience and write therein daily transgressions'.<sup>2</sup> This evolved through the Pre-Reformation times of personal confession to the active Puritan period of the 16<sup>th</sup> century when the spiritual diaries moved from the habit of self examination to actual diary writing. Webster sees the spiritual diary as an element in devotional practice for English Protestants who were on a more intellectual level.<sup>3</sup> This was the period of self-fashioning the godly self. Margo Todd sees this self-fashioning of Protestants as a self-fashioning without the mediation of a cleric.<sup>4</sup>

John Wesley was influenced by Bishop Jeremy Taylor's book *The Rules and Exercises of Holy Living* which advised daily self-examination and he commenced his diary in Lent 1725 whilst preparing for ordination. In 1730 he started the Holy Club at Oxford and the members were 'enjoined to keep a journal to maintain a sense of God's presence'.<sup>5</sup> Most of the itinerants in the Wesleyan Methodist Circuits adopted the practice and the diaries of Methodist preachers had a 'unique spiritual intensity and religious vibrancy'.<sup>6</sup>

In the Methodist sense diaries and journals were often kept. The diary was written mostly for private use, while the journal was used for propaganda in the wider field. The diary revealed fears, doubts, uncertainties and hopes, and it was a true mirror of the soul with a literal belief in demonic hosts and powers. Struggling with Satan was a constant threat throughout, and it accompanied the belief that evil forces were trying to destroy young Methodist societies.

## Henry Jennings

Henry Jennings, solicitor, the son of a Congregational minister had arrived in Hobart Town by the *Heroine* in April 1824 with his brother Joseph Gellibrand Jennings. In 1830 he married Alicia Legge who arrived with her sisters and brother in the *Medway* in 1827. The socially prominent sisters intermarried with the Gray, Dumaresq, Franks and Pitcairn families.



*Henry Jennings circa 1880.*

By 1833 Jennings had commenced practice as a solicitor and attorney in Launceston, whilst John Gleadow, who also was to become a Wesleyan Methodist, had commenced practice as a solicitor in 1827. In 1838 members of the bar practising in Launceston were Gleadow, Jennings, Henty, Wickham, George Howe and E Stilwell,<sup>7</sup> but Gleadow and Jennings appeared to be the most prominent and consequently open to most criticism, particularly from the *Cornwall Chronicle*. Much of the two men's work appeared to revolve around money lending, acting for insolvents, being agents for the sale of properties and making claims upon unpaid bills. They offered sums of £1,000, £700 and £400 as mortgage loans at 15%.<sup>8</sup> Particularly the involvement with insolvencies heaped fire and criticism on their heads. A letter in the *Cornwall Chronicle* from 'Inhabitant' criticised the lawyers

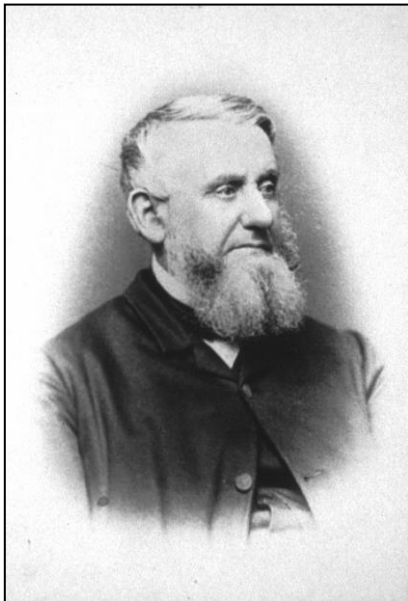
as 'being rapacious towards their clients unable to meet their obligations'.<sup>9</sup> 'Inhabitant' called Gleadow and Jennings 'hard men in their temples, devoted to religion, professing the grace of God'.<sup>10</sup>

Making allowances for the *Cornwall Chronicle's* partiality for scandal and invective, there comes through a sense of Gleadow and Jennings being in the right place at the right time for making money. This background provides the understanding of Jennings being caught between the two worlds of commerce and religion. Gleadow and Jennings possibly were conducting their business within the confines of best business practice and failing in humanity. Additionally Jennings had an overwhelming desire for land and, as a solicitor, he had an unequalled opportunity for purchase.

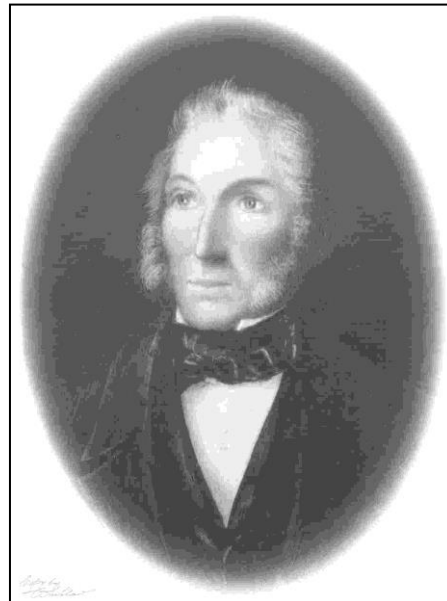
## Henry Jennings' Spiritual Diary

As the son of a Congregational minister, Henry Jennings would already have been exposed to the practice of keeping a spiritual diary or certainly the practice of self-examination. Also extant is a spiritual diary of his sister Eliza Pettingell née Jennings from the period January 1821 to December 1824, which was brought to Van Diemen's Land.<sup>11</sup> It was commenced two years before her marriage and is full of private thoughts and meditations. At twenty-six years of age, she was writing 'O Lord let me live to thy service'.<sup>12</sup> Although she died in 1824, the four-year period seemed to be the norm for spiritual diaries at the time, as Henry Jennings presents his in a four-year period.

At the same time as Henry Jennings' diary was commenced in January 1836, it appeared that his wife Alicia, who had become a Wesleyan Methodist, kept a diary and the two exchanged their diaries on their wedding anniversary day in early June and commented freely upon them.<sup>13</sup> Jennings was happy to have an insight into Alicia's mind, finding that she had been humbling herself before God and that they could be a mutual help and comfort to each other. Alicia, for her part, took the opportunity to make the comment 'that there was a great sameness in Henry's journal and it was very evident that he was not walking by the spirit'.<sup>14</sup> In other words, she doubted the extent of Henry's true commitment. There is no suggestion that these diaries were read by anyone else, even Henry Jennings' band mates, Philip Oakden and John W. Gleadow. The Jennings' standards were high and demanding as well as self-flagellatory. Deep sincerity shows through, aligned in Henry's case to a thread of carping criticism when others did not rise to his demanding standards.



*John W Gleadow circa 1850.*

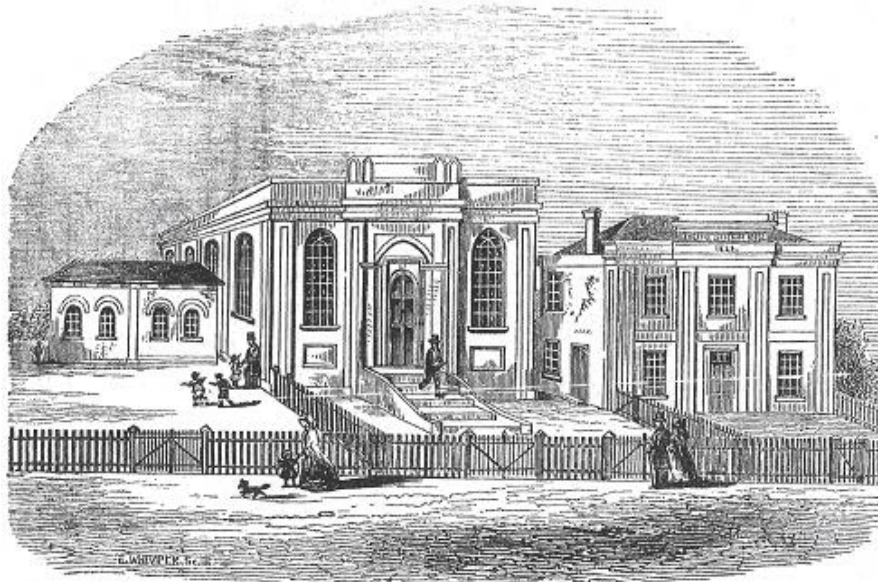


*Philip Oakden circa 1840.*

Henry Jennings commenced his Spiritual Diary in January 1836 and finished it in December 1839. At the commencement, in his own words 'he had been attending regularly upon the ministry of the Lord for the last twelve months'.<sup>15</sup> He had had his conversion experience to Wesleyan Methodism and felt it appropriate to commence a diary for spiritual purposes. For a background of understanding about Henry Jennings' household it is relevant to look at the Van Diemen's Land Census for 1842-43.<sup>16</sup> Jennings lived on his large estate 'Coronea' at Entally, some twelve kilometres outside Launceston; his legal practice was in Charles Street, Launceston. The census

revealed that there were twenty-three people living in the household; sixteen of these people were free and the remaining seven people had tickets-of-leave or were assigned. There were some thirteen Wesleyan Methodists out of the twenty-three people.<sup>17</sup>

The household seemed constantly to expand to house visiting Wesleyan Methodist ministers who came to town to preach, as well as to the Congregational ministers Mr Miller and Mr Beazley.<sup>18</sup> The Congregational / Independent connections were strong within the Jennings family and Henry's brother Joseph Gellibrand Jennings, a deacon, was received as a member of the Independent Chapel, Hobart Town, in 1834.<sup>19</sup> The Independent Chapel had been formed in Hobart Town in March 1832 by Henry Hopkins and others, including Joseph Gellibrand Jennings' wife Elizabeth, who had been a member of the Independent Chapel at Poole, England. This strong Independent connection was compounded further by the marriage of Sarah Jennings to the Rev. Joseph Beazley. Some of the sisters of Alicia Jennings constantly visited and stayed. Other visitors included members of the extended Pitcairn, Russell and Gray families.<sup>20</sup> Henry Jennings' household and establishment were considerable and required a constant flow of money.



***Wesleyan Methodist Chapel, Paterson Street, Launceston, 1839.***

Jennings' diary, which was written every Sunday evening, combined self-examination of the past week's failures and triumphs, interspersed with other family and local matters. The imperative which drove the diary was spiritual advancement by faith from week to week, but there was a dual and equally strong dialogue throughout the diary. It was that of Jennings' financial problems, which posed the dark underlying thread of his living beyond his means and trying to solve the problem by buying more land. The language and outline of the diary are formulaic and do not appear to veer from the Puritan model. In a sense Jennings' diary followed the course of what Ponsonby calls 'the more or less conventional formula of self disparagement'.<sup>21</sup> The emotions are constantly voiced, and coldness and deadness are examined minutely. Valentine comments that 'this self denigration characterises early autobiographical accounts of Methodist preachers'.<sup>22</sup>

Rather than discuss the Spiritual Diary in a chronological fashion, this paper will examine and explore the various dialogues which emerge from it and which can often seem to mirror earlier published spiritual diaries, contemporary Wesleyan Methodist

morés, as well as contemporary Van Diemen's Land society. In the diary, the New Year of each year produced a review of the past year and a redirection for the coming year. The watch night service and covenant renewal also took place at this time within the Wesleyan Methodist Society. Additionally, each week of the diary generally started with the statement that the past week had shown failures, lukewarmness, backwardness, coldness and worldly mindedness.

As noted before, the two main dialogues driving the Spiritual Diary are that of spiritual advancement and temporal concerns and are a good example of a Wesleyan Methodist caught between the two worlds of Spirituality and Mammon. It is the Wesleyan Methodist trying to find a compromise between the two, but at the same time being suffused with anxiety. Another dialogue touches on some struggles with egalitarianism in the Launceston Wesleyan Methodist Society, and the final dialogue is Jennings' proselytising attempts with his own social class, his convicts and the dying.

## **Spiritual Advancement**

As Henry Jennings had become a Wesleyan Methodist, there was an obligatory communal element to his membership and that obligation shaped his vision and forced him to provide an example of piety. Jennings attempted to fashion himself in accordance with the prevailing Wesleyan Methodist culture in all things, except debt and speculation. Jennings' spiritual advancement is demonstrated through such benchmarks as lukewarmness, gluttony, indolence, sloth and early rising, watchfulness, bible-centred text and sermons, backsliding and care of time.

### **Lukewarmness**

Lukewarmness in religion was something to be avoided in spiritual advancement and Jennings made frequent references to his own lukewarmness and constantly complained of it in his character. He wrote 'My desires are sincere for a growth in grace but I am in a great danger of lapsing into lukewarmness'.<sup>23</sup> Again in March 1838, he tried 'to act up to my experiences of last Sunday, I have grown again into lukewarmness'.<sup>24</sup>

Lukewarmness was regarded as a very real deterrent for Christians at this period. This is backed up by an advertisement in the *Cornwall Chronicle* 31 August 1839 for books sold by the Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge (SPCK) at Mr Cameron's shop in Brisbane Street, Launceston. The particular book of interest advertised was *The Dangers of Lukewarmness in Religion*. This type of publication was available to Jennings and the reading public that discussed concerns about lukewarmness. The *Chronicle* of the same date also advertised through the SPCK a homily against gluttony, and the Spiritual Diary revealed Jennings' own concerns when he wrote that 'I am still being gluttonous, eating freely of things that are injurious to me'.<sup>25</sup>

### **Indolence, Sloth and Early Rising and Watchfulness**

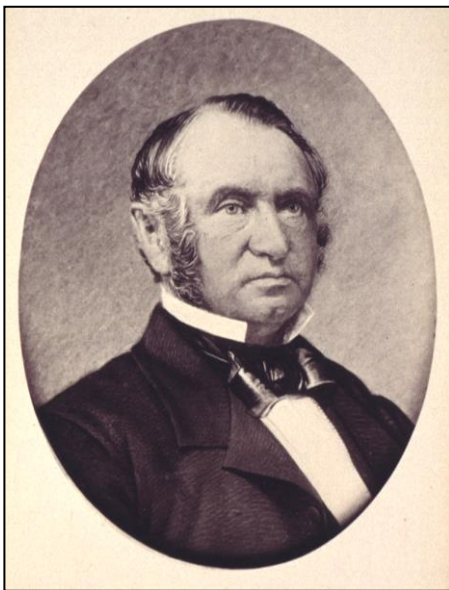
Indolence and sloth, particularly in early rising, were a strong obstacle to Jennings' spiritual advancement. Not a week passed in the diary without a reference to this omission. John Wesley had written forcefully when castigating the rich in his sermon: 'You cannot deny yourselves the poor pleasure of a little sleep ... you cannot get out in the morning because it is so dark, cold and perhaps raining too'.<sup>26</sup> Jennings' problems lay with the demands of the early Launceston Wesleyan Methodist prayer meeting, for which he needed to rise at 5.00am and which he was incapable of attending.<sup>27</sup> Early rising took on a new light in the sense of his obligation to the community that he had joined. Time and time again, he bemoaned his failure in this area, particularly as it was also tied into his leading his assigned servants in morning prayer. Often his reasons for inability to rise were genuine, including not retiring until midnight the night before. As he wrote 'I did not go to the men for morning prayer. I

had scarcely any time to be alone before Chapel, certainly not time for heart searching examination. What a train of circumstances follow from my neglect of duty. Oh that I may learn again from experience'.<sup>28</sup> Jennings saw this inability to rise in the morning as provoking a train of events following upon it: 'My not rising early in the morning, thus neglecting to assemble my men for prayer has so many evils upon it, there is a deadness to private prayer and every day many things are left out, this all proceeds from a want of faith and love, an entire giving up of myself to God'.<sup>29</sup>

Often after a late night, there was a complete collapse of Jennings' good intentions: 'this morning I got out of bed at 10 to 6 and actually went back to bed thinking I should be there until 6, but although lying awake, I did not get out again till 10 to 7. May this teach me the danger of entering into temptation'.<sup>30</sup> At times in the diary, it seems as if Jennings took an almost delighted interest in his slothfulness: 'This has again been a week of much darkness. I see that I have given away to a spirit of slothfulness lying in bed of a morning. On Wednesday morning, I went to the prayer meeting but lay down afterwards and didn't get up [until] half past seven. This morning I got out of bed a quarter before six and lay down again and didn't get up till 7'.<sup>31</sup>

Jennings saw all this as a need to press forward more and realised 'that he had to be more watchful to use the grace he was given and to remember that he had a warfare to go, a fight to maintain'.<sup>32</sup> There was in the Wesleyan Methodist psyche a constant fear of relaxing one's guard, and this, particularly for Jennings, was tied into early rising: 'May I be more prayerful, particularly may I even begin the day by rising betimes in the morning'.<sup>33</sup>

### **Bible-Centred Texts and Sermons**



***John Crookes circa 1855.***

Margo Todd refers to 'the shaping force of the text'<sup>34</sup> in relation to Renaissance Puritan diaries. This is equally applicable to Henry Jennings in the Launceston Wesleyan Methodist Bible-centred community of the 1830s. In Henry Jennings' Diary the weekly sermons by the Wesleyan minister often acted as a boost to Jennings' spiritual equilibrium. The text had power and authority to interact and Jennings' attention to it is noticeable in the diary from 1837 through to 1838.

In the Launceston community, it was generally the minister who gave the Sunday sermon, but occasionally, preachers – like Matthew Lassetter and John Crookes – delivered a weekly sermon. One sermon from Lassetter from Isaiah 30:10-11 discussed 'the righteous man who had right views of himself as a sinner and right views of his present duties,' and this considerably impressed

Jennings.<sup>35</sup> John Crookes preached on the morning of 15 October 1837 from Psalm 46 'there is a river of streams whereof shall make glad the city of God', but Jennings deprecatingly wrote 'there was much good in the sermon but not sufficiently practical for general usefulness'.<sup>36</sup> The subject of Christian warfare was tackled by the Rev. J. Manton preaching from 2 Corinthians 10:14, and referring to 'mighty weapons of our warfare putting down the strongholds of ignorance, prejudice and unbelief, all to be pulled down by the truths of the gospel'.<sup>37</sup>

The Rev. Mr Simpson touched a raw nerve when he preached from 2 Philipians, 2:179 'If there be any consolation in Christ'. He cited that there was consolation to believers and consolation to backsliders. Jennings felt that his morning meditation had

prepared him for the sermon, but Simpson took it a step further when he enlarged on those who were suffering from worldly embarrassment, who could not go into the world without meeting, here and there, those to whom they were indebted; they were unable to act upon the precept, owe no man anything. Positively though, Simpson stressed that Christ sympathised with their feelings and Jennings wrote 'I felt much encouraged that Christ would bring me out of all my difficulties'.<sup>38</sup>

### **Backsliding**

The repeated mention of backsliding shows that it was considered to be a very real entity by the Wesleyan Methodists. In 1838, there was a strong letter to the editor of *The Wesleyan Methodist Magazine* on backsliding. The writer, one John Wesley Barrett, elaborately detailed backsliders as those who had fallen from a state of grace into a sinful condition. Once they saw and felt the need for salvation and repented, they were made partakers through faith in God's renovating and justifying grace. The letter is highly emotive and refers to backsliders as 'cowardly, treacherous and foolish, twice dead and doubly damned, plucked up by the roots and fed to the fire. Backsliders were like a dog turned to his vomit and a sow that was washed in her wallowing in the mire'.<sup>39</sup>

In editing John Wesley's Journal, Elizabeth Jay noted that 'Wesley never minced his words, when he encountered backsliding in the various societies whose spiritual health he so carefully monitored'.<sup>40</sup> There were hymns in the Wesleyan hymn book of the day especially targeting backsliders. They were for 'Persons Convinced of Backsliding and for Backsliders Recovered'.<sup>41</sup> Often the ministers personalised the sermon, giving more impact to their message. The Rev. Mr Benjamin Hurst preached from Revelations and asked 'Have you the knowledge of your sins forgiven, be given to each heart'. Hurst pointed out that it was the knowledge of all to do so and to feel. Obviously uplifted, Jennings wrote 'May the Divine Blessing follow thy sermon'.<sup>42</sup> All the Wesleyan ministers visiting and otherwise seemed to preach with what Jennings referred to 'as an animated and forceful style'.<sup>43</sup> This was the popular style and the ministers taking part were Simpson, Manton, Orton, Butters, Hurst and Waterhouse. There was quite a sense of dependency and relish issuing from Jennings' Spiritual Diary about these Bible-centred sermons from which hopefully fruits would appear.

Simpson also had the effect of stirring up Jennings with his text from Jeremiah 'Leave us not'. One can see the influence of the sermon when Jennings realised 'that the great cause of God leaving us was neglecting to grow in grace. I know God has blessed me greatly with his promises, but I have not denied myself sufficiently or taken up my cross daily. I should be more watchful and prayerful'.<sup>44</sup> The culmination to this attention to the scriptural word for Jennings was when Simpson suggested that Gleadow, Oakden and Jennings should meet together for two and a half hours, once a week, for reading the Scriptures. The time of the meeting was to be five o'clock on Tuesday mornings.

### **Care of Time**

Care of time was a cardinal precept for Wesleyan Methodists and Henry Jennings showed his concern for this in 1838: 'So does time hasten on another week, time steals away, but this is not the case with the Lord, to Him we have to give a strict account of that. Oh that I daily learn to watch more circumspectly'.<sup>45</sup>

Care of time had been an important precept in 1656 for Jeremy Taylor when he wrote his *Rule and Exercise of Holy Living*. It had been one of the instruments for serving a holy life. He wrote that 'the care of time was necessary to avoid the idleness that leads to temptation. A person could order his worldly employment to make room for devotional prayer'.<sup>46</sup>

## Struggle with Egalitarianism

Henry Jennings' Spiritual Diary provides an excellent insight into a small struggle with the egalitarianism in the Launceston Wesleyan Methodist Society. At the commencement of 1836, Henry Jennings wrote 'My chief objection is the very assembly and class. I do not like meetings in such intimate intercourse with those with whom I have no previous acquaintance'.<sup>47</sup> Then again late in August 1836, in what was judged to be a type of revival, where prayer meetings were held every night for one week from 7 to 10pm and members were taught to cry for pardon and found it, Henry Jennings wrote: 'before this I should have considered such meetings as some statement of the animal nature. But to bring out the spirits, I was constrained to acknowledge that it was no other than the work of God'.<sup>48</sup> It was difficult for Henry Jennings to cross the social divide and even more difficult for his wife Alicia. She was obliged to leave a Quarterly Meeting with her sister Sarah Pitcairn because she could not endure, as she said, 'the sight of a man who was led and in a fit, under conviction of mind, started screaming terribly'.<sup>49</sup> Ex-convict and Swing Rioter John Tongs had been exhorting at this particular meeting and as a contemporary John Glover Jnr remarked 'his sermons were rough and homely and possibly made a suitable impression on the less educated portion of the prisoner population'.<sup>50</sup>

Methodist exhortation emphasised the intermediary of grace. It emphasised that now was the right time to respond and that the people addressed were the specific ones God was calling – hence the screaming and crying out.<sup>51</sup> Tongs was an example of what Hempton calls 'Methodism thriving on the raw edge of excitement'.<sup>52</sup> Methodism could be a noisy movement and these excesses were hard for a gentleman such as Henry Jennings to absorb in the spirit of egalitarianism. This religious enthusiasm had been accepted in a limited fashion by John Wesley, who saw it as God working in the lives of humble people.

## Temporal Concerns

Henry Jennings' diary was written at a period in his life when his legal business was flourishing and Launceston was economically stable. Yet he was in debt owing mainly to his life-style and his overwhelming desire for more land. He was sliding into bankruptcy and the unique quality of his spiritual diary is that his business concerns were so paramount. Jennings was conscious of the fact that he was encumbered with too many things. He was aware of his worldly-mindedness and asked 'the Almighty to make my path clearer'.<sup>53</sup>

In this discussion of Jennings' temporal concerns, worldly-mindedness was a strong element in the topic. He admitted early in the diary that 'I am going backwards into the world and being anxious about riches'.<sup>54</sup> Anxiety about pecuniary matters pervaded Jennings' thinking, particularly during prayer and devotions, and references to his pecuniary worries compound from the end of 1836 into 1837. This anxiety is voiced under the guise of referring to increasing worldly cares, and he refers to his rashness in entering into numerous engagements which were now oppressing him.

Gradually the scenario unfolded within the diary of the deteriorating nature of his temporal affairs. The first tangible evidence was Jennings' entry in early January 1837: 'How I go on sinning with my eyes open. Under the plea that it would assist me in disposing of the property, I took more land into my possession from the seller, who had it under lease for three years and only on advantageous terms. Having it in my possession, I thought I should let it be, whilst having interest to pay, but this week I purchased some sheep to the value of £650. I did it without reflection and it has certainly occasioned me a great uneasiness this week'.<sup>55</sup> Instead of cutting back on his land investments, Jennings continued to buy more. He knew that he had to be, in



the Wesleyan sense, more regular and diligent in business, but feared 'that he was confronting another snare, that of pursuing business for the sake of the world'.<sup>56</sup>

As the pressure mounted, Jennings confessed that 'I cannot keep my thoughts from the world ... I am much afraid of worldly love but my business is increasing and I am much obliged to give closer application to it'.<sup>57</sup> Again at the end of April, the spirit of speculation surfaced with him writing 'this week I have endeavoured to purchase an estate and have been thinking of selling this cheaper in order to get another that will answer my purpose better ... I have no business to buy another and this desire for another is a mere continuation of my old spirit of speculation'.<sup>58</sup> Additionally, Jennings confessed that he was missing his class and too ready to find excuses for it. The confession exactly patterned the cautions laid out to class leaders. The first signs of some realisation of his behaviour are evidenced at this time and there is a suggestion in the diary of selling his estate and certainly not buying another. The actual word *debt* now appears in the narrative and Jennings appealed to the Lord to 'Make open a way to me. Better increase my substance or show me my duty how I may retrench my expenses'.<sup>59</sup>

Jennings' worldly affairs were now taking up the greater part of the diary as the crisis loomed. Spiritual advancement had to take a back seat. Gradually, the true state of affairs was revealed over the last months of 1837. He had an overdrawn bill for £450 for sheep purchased in 1836 due on 5 October, and he was unable to meet it. The true realisation of his behaviour began to sink in, and he realised 'that in the past year, I have added to my engagements under the argument of getting clear from them by making more money. Love of the world and money has a deep hold on me'.<sup>60</sup>



**Henry Reed 1870.**

His entries then became conflicting, running the gamut of saying that he would have to give up everything for God and he was prepared, but not quite ready, to make the sacrifice. Typically, he wrote 'I am prepared to give up everything for the Lord, but is it the Lord's will that I should part with everything'.<sup>61</sup> Prayers for his wife Alicia appear in the diary, drawing her into the responsibility of debt. The true state of Jennings' finances was recorded in December 1837 when he stated baldly that 'I have £22,000 worth of property with £17,000 to pay and scarcely any possibility of settling, it is a cumbrous load'.<sup>62</sup> His expenses for the house were £300 a year, and family and personal expenses were £750 with the profits of his business being £900 a year. The £17,000 debt was the halter around his neck. Jennings saw the situation as a just punishment for his greediness and he prayed that the Lord would deliver him. Bankruptcy was the event to be feared and rejected within Wesleyan Methodism. It was specifically stated in the rules relating to the

Society that 'to prevent scandal whenever a member becomes bankrupt the Superintendent should talk with him and if he has not kept fair accounts or that liabilities have been incurred without reasonable probability of meeting them, the member should be expelled immediately'.<sup>63</sup>

Henry Jennings needed Philip Oakden and Henry Reed as his mentors in the self-fashioning process. A sense of deference to the opinions of these two men comes through strongly in the narrative, not just as financial advisers but also as spiritual ones. His relationship with John Gleadow, the other Launceston Wesleyan Methodist attorney, had more of a competitive edge to it. This is exemplified in Jennings' voiced

envy when Gleadow was made a Class Leader before himself. He asked 'why was he called before me, he has been upwards of six months less a member than myself. I don't think I felt anything like jealousy but why have I been kept back, The state of my affairs would be a sufficient objection'.<sup>64</sup>

In the mentor role, Philip Oakden suggested to Jennings that he peruse the current book *Mammon* which was popular in Wesleyan Methodist circles. Jennings read it and felt 'more convinced of the importance of living life to myself of denying myself and doing more for the cause of God'.<sup>65</sup> Such a publication was designed to make Jennings re-evaluate his position. Oakden was aware of this and had provided a guide in the shape of *Mammon*.

Prior to his leaving on his trip to England in 1836, Philip Oakden, as mentor, had expressed a desire to meet in band with Jennings when he returned from his trip. On Oakden's return in April 1838, Jennings was overjoyed and poured into his diary 'Oh may he bring the blessing of God, prove a friend to me indeed both spiritually and temporally. My soul longs to have someone to pour its cares and doubts into and I cannot but pray that he may be the instrument chosen by God'.<sup>66</sup> The select nature of band meetings involved a plan of individuals meeting in groups of three or four people who were living for God alone and practising self-denial, involving total abstinence from worldly pleasures. However, an article in *The Wesleyan Methodist Magazine* for November 1836 underlined the value of band meetings: 'we reap a double advantage over these men who merely keep a diary, for by relating of its results, we hear the conferences of our brethren and receive cautions and encouragements as our case requires and as their love suggests'.<sup>67</sup> The band meeting was a more intimate and consoling extension of the spiritual diary. For Jennings, it was a coup to meet in band with Oakden, who had returned from England as a director of the newly-established Union Bank of Australia and who could possibly solve Jennings' spiritual and temporal problems.

At this period Jennings seemed to decide 'that in order to work out his spiritual predicament all he had to do was walk by faith in God and that faith would advance him and teach him to forsake all and follow him'.<sup>68</sup> The other person to meet in band with Oakden and Jennings was John W Gleadow, but Gleadow never assumed the same mentoring role as Henry Reed in relationship to Jennings. From early 1838, Reed seems to have adopted the role of reproofing class leader to Jennings. Reed adopted the position advocated in the *Class Book Containing Directions for Class Leaders* where it was advised that 'reproof and admonitions are part of your office. Should any of those who meet with you be overtaken by a fault, the evil should clearly be pointed out to him and reproof given with tenderness or sharpness, according to the fault. Members must be watched over with a Godly jealousy'.<sup>69</sup> Reed commenced the reproofs in February 1838 when he spent the evening at Jennings' home and informed him 'how wrong he had been in going to Lady Franklin's evening party'.<sup>70</sup> Jennings felt that he had gone to the party as a necessary compliment to Lady Franklin, but then realised that 'he had been conforming to the world and mixing in trifling conversations, and that he should confess his sin and find forgiveness'.<sup>71</sup> This was the repressive grip of Wesleyan Methodism. Its rules forbade unprofitable conversation, lightness and social entertainment, diversions, recreation and worldly company. Jennings' social position was being compromised by the requirements of the Wesleyan Methodists.

Henry Reed enjoyed his role as reprover and admonisher. A clearer insight into his repressive behaviour comes through correspondence to Philip and Georgiana Oakden in 1842 from England. Reed's wife Maria complained bitterly that 'we are in Halifax and do not like it, because we have no friends. Mr Reed refuses to visit worldly people and the only pious people we know are the tradesmen, with whom we do not care to

associate'.<sup>72</sup> This was one of the aspects of Reed's complex character and the question has to be asked was Reed the type of man who accepted the demands of Wesleyan Methodism more wholeheartedly than others? Reed needs to be compared with Edmund Morgan's assessment of the Puritan Michael Wigglesworth, whose 'sense of guilt to pleasures, even his minding of other people's business were not the anomalies of a diseased mind, but simply the qualities demanded of a good Puritan'.<sup>73</sup>

The claustrophobic nature of the band meeting meant that Jennings' band mates were privy to his financial problems and the general lack of privacy in the Wesleyan Methodist Society meant that Jennings' financial woes were exposed. Directives began to flow from Reed and Oakden towards Jennings. On 13 May 1838, Reed pointed out that 'Henry had to make a material reduction in his yearly expenditure and part with his present residence. It was his duty to do so at any sacrifice'.<sup>74</sup> Jennings realised that 'I must do something, may the Lord advise me to what that something should be'.<sup>75</sup> Oakden's reproof took a more practical turn and he went to Hobart Town to settle the sale of Henry's land in the Brighton area.

Henry Jennings made efforts to economise in his large establishment and Alicia Jennings was cooperative, but could not see the need for the extent of the economies. Arrangements were made to relinquish the expense of the gardener and several other expenses, possibly including governess, Miss Cowie.<sup>76</sup> The Rev. Joseph Orton quoted to Jennings the case of Ferguson, a member of the Wesleyan Methodists, who had been in pecuniary embarrassment and had come over from Hobart to be a clerk at the Commercial Bank branch. Out of a small salary, he saved sufficient to pay off his debts and had lived on ten shillings a week. These salutary tales had some effect on Jennings, who was 'led to a deeper understanding of my expenditure and what I am to do'.<sup>77</sup> Further reprimands came from Oakden who spoke to Jennings during the week of 30 September 1838 and told him 'that the world and Mr Sherwin were talking about his mode of living; that it was too expensive for his special circumstances'.<sup>78</sup>

With the Wesleyan net closing in, Reed called on Jennings a few weeks later and advised that 'it was absolutely necessary that Jennings should sell the house in which he was living at any sacrifice and he, Oakden and John Gleadow would discuss the general arrangement of his affairs'.<sup>79</sup> There was more at stake than Jennings' soul and reputation. The reputation of the whole Launceston Wesleyan Methodist Society was in jeopardy, and it could not afford the bankruptcy of such a prominent figure. Decisions were made to sell the family home and land adjoining with other convertible property in Launceston and Hobart, in order to discharge the mortgage on the family residence. However, procrastination was still evident in Jennings' entries which showed a reluctance to take the final steps: 'I have for some time felt the necessity of a more complete giving of myself to the Lord, although we may not, like the Apostles, be called to a literal forsaking of all'.<sup>80</sup> On the actual sale day of his residence, no bids were received but some lots of ground sold for £430. The same situation occurred in the Hobart Town sale – no buyers attended the sale. Reed accompanied Jennings to the sale and spent his time in stirring up believers by preaching in the streets of Hobart; at the same time Jennings wrote 'I could scarcely open my mouth for God'.<sup>81</sup>

The only tangible remark to gain a further understanding of Jennings' financial affairs was made at the beginning of 1839. Jennings felt 'a comparative calm in my worldly affairs and I fear I am resting too much on that'.<sup>82</sup> There was no mention of what was sold and what was not. Examination of Jennings' Land Memorial Index in the Registry of Deeds, Hobart, reveal that from the period October 1838, there were seven land sale transactions in the succeeding eight months. Four of these sales were to friends or relatives – Henry Reed, Isaac Sherwin, Edward Dumaresq and W Gellibrand, the last two a brother-in-law and a cousin. There was also one purchase by Jennings. Four land purchases were noted in November 1838, but these would have been

delayed purchases coming through the Land Titles system and purchased before the crisis selling up period of October 1838.

With the threat of bankruptcy lifted and life on a more even financial keel, Jennings' diary appeared to lose its dynamic. The dialogue about temporal worries had been all consuming and all that was left in 1839 were the well-worn formulae of slothfulness, late rising, gluttony etc. though there was an oblique reference to feeling at peace because of no trying worldly circumstances. The serpent of covetousness reared its head in September when Henry was accused by Sinclair of charging too much in connection with the 'Cleggan Estate' and George Hobler protested against charges for procuring a loan of £5,000. Jennings agreed that he was showing an unbecoming love of money and wrote in the diary 'May I humble myself before God and seek forgiveness for what I have done'.<sup>83</sup> Recognition of his own weakness showed up when he identified with St Paul: 'I delight in the law of God, but I find another law in my members, warring against the law and bringing me into the captivity of sin in my members'.<sup>84</sup>

## Proselytising

It is fitting to conclude with a look at the proselytising aspect of Henry Jennings and its impact on various threads of contemporary Van Diemen's Land Society, his assigned convicts and his relations, in-laws and social circle. Jennings had some assigned servants and these he referred to in a proprietorial tone as *my men*. He felt a strong duty to bring them to some sort of conversion experience and to this end he applied himself spasmodically. His program included assembly for morning prayers and evening prayers and often an individual man would pretend to be in the service of God, only to relapse. One such incident Henry detailed thus: 'I have been much pained this last week, because one of my men whose change I believed to have been sincere, appeared to be giving away to the temptation of drinking and cursing and had come to the resolution not to abstain at all. I got my friend Reed to speak to him and convince him of his folly, and he obtained a promise from him that he would attend a prayer meeting. He has since regularly attended the means of grace and I trust the incident will be blessed to others of the household'.<sup>85</sup>

This situation fell apart at the New Year in 1837, when the assigned men took the Monday holiday with Jennings' approval. Jennings sadly discovered that 'The one whom I made overseer, who understood all the principles of religion, was the one who led them in the mischief of drunkenness and rioting'.<sup>86</sup> Resultantly, the overseer received fifty lashes and six months in a road party and another man who had not done anything before got fifty lashes. This disheartened Jennings who saw the only remedy as being led in the ways of religion and regretted not having had more prayers in the morning. He was blind to the harshness of the punishment system and equally blind to the fact that the convicts' culturally acceptable and easy mode of relaxation was drunkenness. He accepted the system and utilised it, but had little or no understanding or compassion for the men within it.

Jennings preached at the Penitentiary and Convict Hospital in Launceston and distributed tracts, but did not feel comfortable. He lacked the ebullience and bravura of Henry Reed. His wife Alicia held Bible classes for the female servants' spiritual welfare. In his diary he confessed that 'I find religious conversation hard to introduce'.<sup>87</sup> There is a noticeable contrast with George Palmer Ball's men at 'Mountford', Longford, and Jennings' men. Ball presented the picture of the stable Wesleyan Methodist and Jennings' diary recorded 'the cementing of a Christian friendship with him, a man whose mind is fully devoted to the word of God'.<sup>88</sup> This was exemplified by the fact that nearly all Ball's men had made a profession of religion. This was in sharp contrast to Jennings' men whom he described as 'having a decided distaste for family prayer and seldom came to the evening prayers'.<sup>89</sup> In a sense,

Jennings' social framework was at odds with Wesleyan Methodism. He had come from a strongly religious upright family and with a large element of social prominence through his relations to the Gellibrands and intermarriage with the Russells. His wife Alicia's family, the Legges, were intermarried with the socially prominent Pitcairns, Dumaresqs, Franks and Grays.<sup>90</sup> Jennings and his brother Joseph Gellibrand Jennings had doubts about their sister Sophia's marriage to Philip Russell.<sup>91</sup> They wondered if they should sanction the marriage by being present at it. The Russell family's piety and seriousness were in doubt, and the doubts of the Jennings' family were confirmed when they met them. Jennings' proselytising took the shape of an admonishing letter on service to God and a two-page poem entitled 'Young Married Christians'.

The separateness from worldly people which Wesleyan Methodism advocated is very evident in the diary and it often seemed to impinge on normal social intercourse. Henry Jennings looked for spiritual improvement in social intercourse with his in-laws the Grays and Eliza Franks. He found it with the Grays and said that his sister-in-law, Eliza Franks, 'was under serious consideration and looking to him for guidance and instruction'.<sup>92</sup> His opinion of his own family in Hobart was 'that there was too much conformity to the world and my sisters are in danger of being led away. Their consciences will not allow them to neglect the form of religion, but they are in great danger of being satisfied with that and not walking with God'.<sup>93</sup> Jennings, with his brother Joseph Gellibrand Jennings, hoped to unite their combined efforts as a means of bringing the family to be of one mind. One of Jennings' sisters-in-law, Sarah Pitcairn, was sympathetic to religion.<sup>94</sup> Henry Jennings happily noted that she was 'giving up her mind to religion, but she is indulging in a strong prejudice against Methodists, which is a hindrance, but that is how I felt before I joined them'.<sup>95</sup> By June, however, her prejudices were strengthening against the Methodists.

This was an example of the social prejudice against the Wesleyan Methodists, particularly in establishment circles. They were not completely socially acceptable and Jennings had in a sense crossed a social divide with Gleadow, Oakden, Reed, Sherwin, Palmer Ball and Bartley whilst still retaining their unique status in Launceston. Robert Pitcairn and his wife, who were frequent visitors to the Jennings, were equally resistant to Jennings' proselytising. Henry saw him as 'a man of high standing in the community without entering into the spirituality of religion. Pitcairn asked if it were really necessary to make such a fuss about religion and should not the life of a Christian be quiet reticence'.<sup>96</sup> Quiet reticence was not the Wesleyan Methodist way and Jennings confessed to his diary about Robert Pitcairn, 'I would like to say to him you are heartily welcome but our ideas are very different. You must not expect much of my company'.<sup>97</sup>

Occasionally, Jennings' proselytising bore fruit as when he visited Mrs and Miss Aitken.<sup>98</sup> He felt that 'Miss Aitken was willing to admit she wanted a little more religion but was wholly blind to the heights and depths'.<sup>99</sup> Clearly Jennings' efforts were to bear small fruit with the people of his own social class. The Wesleyan intrusive manner of conversion was not destined to appeal to that stratum in society. Where it was destined to succeed and where it always succeeded was in death bed conversions and reinforcement of pious conversion. Proselytising succeeded in the case of imminent death as with a client of Henry Jennings, Mr E H Thomas, who called for his services to make a will. This was an ideal opportunity for a Wesleyan Methodist to inquire about the state of mind and soul of a dying person. Within Wesleyan Methodism, 'Holy Dying' was an important ritual. The good death was to be thankful, faithful and indeed almost celebratory and triumphant. The doctrine of perfection suggested that the death bed was to be a sanctified place. For those within Wesleyan Methodism who had the conversion or new birth experience and supreme assurance of personal salvation, it was important to monitor their death experience

and be convinced that they had definitely been saved. The Wesleyans' own particular doctrine of assurance needed some drama on the death bed.

Often the reports of the death bed scenes had embellishments to perfect the tableau'.<sup>100</sup> *The Methodist Magazine*, which commenced in 1798, carried on the traditional obituaries, including the death bed scene of the dying one. One popular phrase for the dying was 'All is well, all is well'. John Wesley's own last words were 'the best of all, God is with us'<sup>101</sup> and Henry Reed's reported last words were 'Precious Jesus, sweet peace'.<sup>102</sup> When the dying John Gleadow used the phrase 'two things are pillars of strength to my soul at this solemn time – the fatherhood of God and the sympathy of Christ. All is well, all is well'.<sup>103</sup>

John Crookes died in 1870. His 'Holy Dying' utterances, as reported by the Rev. John Harcourt (son-in-law of the Rev. Nathaniel Turner), consisted of repeating two lines of the second verse of Toplady's hymn, *Rock of Ages*, and his final words were 'He is precious'.<sup>104</sup> In 1843 the Launceston Wesleyan Sunday School reported with a certain amount of relish the dying utterances of some of the children in the Sunday School, saying that several children gave 'delightful evidence of the practical application of the gospel truths'.<sup>105</sup> One little girl dying from burns called out 'Messenger of life, I shall soon be in heaven'.<sup>106</sup> Another child dying of scarlet fever cried out 'Hallelujah, Hallelujah, they are coming'.<sup>107</sup>

According to Schneider 'it was common for preachers, class leaders, family or friends to enquire into the spiritual condition of the dying one'.<sup>108</sup> Often the dying one gave testimony in return and the testimony was repeatedly prompted down to the last minutes. Happy or joyful signs from the dying one often took the form of clapped hands, hand waving in token victory or in extremis, a crooked finger; there were also often cries and shouts using the word 'Victory'. With this framework in mind and also the understanding that the Launceston Methodists, from their inception, had been exposed to copies of *The Wesleyan Methodist Magazine* and the prominent articles on holy death, it is relevant to view Henry Jennings' experience.

Jennings spoke to Mr Thomas, who was dying of rapid consumption, about his state of mind and Thomas confessed to much drunkenness and he said he was resigned to the will of God. Henry disagreed, and his response was 'Man is depraved and must be born again, but Mr Thomas did not seem to enter into the subject'.<sup>109</sup> The next day Jennings brought Henry Reed as reinforcement and Reed spoke to Thomas and prayed with him, but Thomas was too weak and depressed to say much. Miraculously in the night, Thomas appeared to have been visited by some sense of God and had a feeling of peace and joy, and was anxious to tell Jennings of his experience. Reed, Jennings and the Rev. Simpson were all convinced that it was the work of God, a type of conversion experience, and when Thomas died a few days later, Jennings recorded that 'Mr Thomas died today at 5.30am. He did not speak after 12.30 the night before, but went off calmly and peacefully his faith unshaken to the last'.<sup>110</sup>

Henry Jennings' Diary ends in December 1839 on an inconclusive note. Webster sees this as the norm noting that 'the lack of closure was a condition for the truly godly life, the authentically godly are in a sense always in a state of becoming'.<sup>111</sup> This opinion supports an understanding that the diary was only a portion of Jennings' spiritual journey.

What the spiritual diary has uncovered is the insecurity and turmoil in the psyche of the Wesleyan Methodist economic man of the period. The insecurity and turmoil particularly related to business affairs, and in Henry Jennings' case, his weakness for land purchases and worldly values. One can detect here the direct thread emanating from John Wesley, the injunctions to Stewardship of Wealth and the injunctions against risky financial schemes.

This lecture was delivered by Dr Stefan Petrow at the Annual Symposium.

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<sup>1</sup> There were no other spiritual diaries extant for any of the Launceston Wesleyan Methodists. Some of Walter Powell's journal/diary is detailed in Benjamin Gregory's *A Thorough Business Man: Memoirs of Walter Powell*, London, 1871, and some of Henry Reed's meditations are available in Margaret Reed's *Henry Reed, an Eventful Life Devoted to God and Man, by his Widow with a Preface by General Booth*, London, 1906. A good percentage of Philip Oakden's personal papers were destroyed by a descendant circa 1970. (Anne and Robin Bailey, *An Early Tasmanian Story with the Oakdens, Cowies, Parramores, Tullochs and Hoggs*, Melbourne, 2004, p. 13); some letters still extant between Philip Oakden and Henry Reed reveal the depth and sincerity of their inner life.

<sup>2</sup> Tom Webster, 'Writing to Redundancy: Approaches to Spiritual Journals and Early Modern Spirituality', *The Historical Journal*, vol. 39, no. 1, 1996, p. 45, citing Isaac Ambrose, *Prima, Media and Ultima*, p. 117.

<sup>3</sup> Webster, 'Writing to Redundancy', p. 36.

<sup>4</sup> Margo Todd, 'Puritan Self Fashioning: The Diary of Samuel Ward', *Journal of British Studies*, vol. 31, 1992, p. 257.

<sup>5</sup> *The Arminian Magazine* (1798), pp. 117-21, 168-72, as cited by S R Valentine, *The Mirror of the Soul: Diary of an Early Methodist Preacher, John Bennet, 1714-1754*, Peterborough, 2002, p. 1.

<sup>6</sup> Valentine, *Mirror of the Soul*, p. 1.

<sup>7</sup> *Launceston Examiner*, 25 January 1838.

<sup>8</sup> *Cornwall Chronicle*, 7 November 1835.

<sup>9</sup> *Cornwall Chronicle*, 4 February 1837.

<sup>10</sup> *Cornwall Chronicle*, 4 February 1837.

<sup>11</sup> Diary of Eliza Pettingell, 1821 - 1824, Jennings Family Papers, MS9432, SLV.

<sup>12</sup> Diary of Eliza Pettingell.

<sup>13</sup> Alicia Jennings' spiritual diary of this period is not extant; only a nine months' Journal, from January 1856 to September 1856, in Melbourne when she had rejoined the Anglican Church. The Journal gives mainly social comment.

<sup>14</sup> Henry Jennings' Spiritual Diary, Jennings Family Papers, 10 June 1838, MS9432, SLV.

<sup>15</sup> Jennings, Diary, 3 January 1836.

<sup>16</sup> This Census was the first complete Census in Van Diemen's Land; any previous notation was incomplete.

<sup>17</sup> *Statistics of Van Diemen's Land: 1842-1844*, Australian Bureau of Statistics, 1989, reprint of *Statistics of Van Diemen's Land: 1842-1844*, Hobart, 1845, La Trobe Library, SLV.

<sup>18</sup> Mr Beazley made an offer of marriage to Henry Jennings' sister Sarah Jennings, Diary, 1 October 1837.

<sup>19</sup> Church of Christ Assembly, The Independent Chapel, Hobart Town, 9 June 1834, TAHO, NS 477/1.

<sup>20</sup> Henry Jennings' sister Sophia married Philip Russell of the Clyde Company.

<sup>21</sup> Arthur Ponsonby, *English Diaries*, London, 1923, p. 16.

<sup>22</sup> Valentine, *Mirror of the Soul*, p. 20.

<sup>23</sup> Jennings, Diary, 13 June 1837.

<sup>24</sup> Jennings, Diary, 11 March 1838.

<sup>25</sup> Jennings, Diary, 27 October 1839.

<sup>26</sup> John Wesley, *The Danger of Riches, The Works of John Wesley, Bicentennial Edition* Nashville, 1984, vol. vii. p. 13.

<sup>27</sup> In having 5.00am prayer meetings Launceston Wesleyan Methodists were adhering strictly to grass roots Wesleyan Methodism.

<sup>28</sup> Jennings, Diary, 1 January 1837.

<sup>29</sup> Jennings, Diary, 20 May 1838.

<sup>30</sup> Jennings, Diary, 12 August 1838.

<sup>31</sup> Jennings, Diary, 9 June 1839.

<sup>32</sup> Jennings, Diary, 7 July 1839.

<sup>33</sup> Jennings, Diary, 14 July 1839.

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- <sup>34</sup> Todd, 'Puritan Self Fashioning', p. 250.
- <sup>35</sup> Jennings, Diary, 24 July 1837.
- <sup>36</sup> Jennings, Diary, 15 October 1837.
- <sup>37</sup> Jennings, Diary, 30 July 1837.
- <sup>38</sup> Jennings, Diary, 3 December 1837.
- <sup>39</sup> John Wesley Barrett, *The Wesleyan Methodist Magazine*, May 1838, vol. xvii of 3<sup>rd</sup> series, Letter on Backsliding, pp. 354-5.
- <sup>40</sup> Elizabeth Jay (ed.), *The Journal of John Wesley*, Oxford, 1987, p. xiii.
- <sup>41</sup> Rev. John Wesley, *A Collection of Hymns for the use of the People called Methodists*, London, 1779 and 1876, Hymns 168 and 182.
- <sup>42</sup> Jennings, Diary, 29 July 1838.
- <sup>43</sup> Jennings, Diary, 2 September 1838.
- <sup>44</sup> Jennings, Diary, 16 June 1839.
- <sup>45</sup> Jennings, Diary, 9 December 1838.
- <sup>46</sup> Jeremy Taylor, edited by P G Stanwood, *Holy Living and Holy Dying, Vol. 1*, Oxford University Press, 1989, p. xi.
- <sup>47</sup> Jennings, Diary, 3 January 1836.
- <sup>48</sup> Jennings, Diary, 28 August 1836.
- <sup>49</sup> Jennings, Diary, 7 October 1838.
- <sup>50</sup> Letter John Glover, 'Patterdale', Deddington, June 1839, <http://ariel.unimelb.edu.au/~graham/john%20tongs.html>.
- <sup>51</sup> Lester Ruth, *A Little Heaven Below: Worship at Early Quarterly Meetings*, Nashville, Tennessee, 2000, p. 57.
- <sup>52</sup> David Hempton, *Methodism: Empire of the Spirit*, New Haven & London, 2005, p. 41.
- <sup>53</sup> Jennings, Diary, 16 October 1836.
- <sup>54</sup> Jennings, Diary, 27 November 1836.
- <sup>55</sup> Jennings, Diary, 8 January 1837.
- <sup>56</sup> Jennings, Diary, 12 March 1837.
- <sup>57</sup> Jennings, Diary, 16 April 1837.
- <sup>58</sup> Jennings, Diary, 22 April 1837.
- <sup>59</sup> Jennings, Diary, 16 July 1837.
- <sup>60</sup> Jennings, Diary, 8 October 1837.
- <sup>61</sup> Jennings, Diary, 8 October 1837.
- <sup>62</sup> Jennings, Diary, 3 December 1837.
- <sup>63</sup> Samuel Warren, *A Digest of the Laws and Regulations of the Wesleyan Methodists*, London 1835, p. 165.
- <sup>64</sup> Jennings, Diary, 3 December 1837.
- <sup>65</sup> *Mammon* had been written in 1836 by the Rev. John Harris, variously described as the Principal of New College, London, and Dissenting minister of Epsom. He had previously written an evangelical publication called *The Great Teacher* and the publication of *Mammon* was in response to a competition for a prize essay. One hundred guineas was offered for the best essay on the love of money. A strong requirement in the essay was one that would bear on selfishness as it led men to live to themselves and not for God and fellow men. References to covetousness and the tremendous consequences of the vile crime of accumulating property which excluded from the kingdom of heaven was also a main requirement.
- <sup>66</sup> Jennings, Diary, 8 April 1838.
- <sup>67</sup> 'Old Methodism, Miscellaneous Commentaries', *The Wesleyan Methodist Magazine*, November 1836, p. 836.
- <sup>68</sup> Jennings, Diary, 4 March 1838.
- <sup>69</sup> *A Class Book containing Directions for Class Leaders, Ruled Forms for Leaders, Weekly Accounts and the Rules of the Methodist Societies*, London, 1842.
- <sup>70</sup> Jennings, Diary, 18 February 1838.
- <sup>71</sup> Jennings, Diary, 18 February 1838.
- <sup>72</sup> Letter, Maria Reed to Georgiana Oakden, 8 January 1841, cited in Anne and Robin Bailey, *An Early Tasmanian Story*, p. 80.
- <sup>73</sup> Michael Wigglesworth, Edmund S Morgan (ed.), *The Diary of Michael Wigglesworth 1653-1657: the Conscience of a Puritan*, New York, 1970, p. ix.
- <sup>74</sup> Jennings, Diary, 13 May 1838.
- <sup>75</sup> Jennings, Diary, 13 May 1838.



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- <sup>76</sup> Jennings, Diary, 5 August 1838.
- <sup>77</sup> Jennings, Diary, 26 August 1838.
- <sup>78</sup> Jennings, Diary, 30 September 1838.
- <sup>79</sup> Jennings, Diary, 14 October 1838.
- <sup>80</sup> Jennings, Diary, 21 October 1838.
- <sup>81</sup> Jennings, Diary, 27 November 1838.
- <sup>82</sup> Jennings, Diary, 13 January 1839.
- <sup>83</sup> Jennings, Diary, 22 September 1839.
- <sup>84</sup> Jennings, Diary, 1 September 1839.
- <sup>85</sup> Jennings, Diary, 11, 18 September 1836.
- <sup>86</sup> Jennings, Diary, 1 January 1837.
- <sup>87</sup> Jennings, Diary, 14 May 1837.
- <sup>88</sup> Jennings, Diary, 21 January 1839.
- <sup>89</sup> Jennings, Diary, 13 January 1839.
- <sup>90</sup> Mary Legge was married to Captain James Gray of the Eighteenth Regiment, who with his brother Major William Gray settled on the St Paul's River; Frances Legge married Edward Dumaresq, late of the East India Company, brother-in-law to Governor Darling and Acting Surveyor General; Eliza Legge married Matthew Franks; Sarah Legge married Thomas Pitcairn, brother of Robert Pitcairn, prominent solicitor and solicitor to the Australia Company of Edinburgh; P L Brown (ed.), *Clyde Company Papers, Prologue, 1821-35*, Oxford, 1941, pp. 57, 119-120.
- <sup>91</sup> Philip Russell was the brother of George Russell of the Clyde Company fame and had come to Hobart in 1821 with Alexander Reid and Captain Patrick Wood.
- <sup>92</sup> Jennings, Diary, 5 March 1837.
- <sup>93</sup> Jennings, Diary, 26 November 1837.
- <sup>94</sup> Thomas Pitcairn, Sarah's husband, had died in 1835 and with her two children she came to live with Henry Jennings' household (TAHO, Colonial Tasmanian Family Links; Jennings, Diary, 6 November 1836.)
- <sup>95</sup> Jennings, Diary, 11 February 1838.
- <sup>96</sup> Jennings, Diary, 31 December 1837.
- <sup>97</sup> Jennings, Diary, 31 December 1837.
- <sup>98</sup> Mrs Aitken was the widow of Robert Aitken, the Scottish banker; Brown (ed.), *Clyde Company Papers, Prologue, 1821-35*, p. 181.
- <sup>99</sup> Jennings, Diary, 22 April 1838.
- <sup>100</sup> Richard J Bell, Harvard University, 'Our People Die Well: Death Bed Scenes in Eighteenth Century Britain', *Conference Papers*, Association for Education and Journalism and Mass Communication, 2003, p. 522.
- <sup>101</sup> Roy Hattersley, *A Brand for Burning: the Life of John Wesley*, London, 2002, p. 396.
- <sup>102</sup> Margaret Reed, *Henry Reed: An Eventful Life*, p. 223.
- <sup>103</sup> Matthews Tyson, *Launceston Wesleyan Sunday Schools, Jubilee Volume*, Launceston, 1886, p. 22.
- <sup>104</sup> *Launceston Examiner*, 27 September 1870.
- <sup>105</sup> *The Teetotal Advocate*, 18 September 1843.
- <sup>106</sup> *The Teetotal Advocate*, 18 September 1843.
- <sup>107</sup> *The Teetotal Advocate*, 18 September 1843.
- <sup>108</sup> A Gregory Schneider, 'Ritual of Happy Dying among early American Methodists', *Church History*, vol. 56, no. 3, September 1987, p. 360.
- <sup>109</sup> Jennings, Diary, 24 December 1837.
- <sup>110</sup> Jennings, Diary, 31 December 1837.
- <sup>111</sup> Webster, 'Writing to Redundancy', p. 55.