



John Wesley
ætat. c. 38.

after the painting by Williams from the original in Dissbury College.

THE WILLIAMS PORTRAIT OF JOHN WESLEY.

A photogravure portrait of Wesley from the Williams picture at Didsbury College is given as the frontispiece to the new volume of our *Proceedings*. An illustration of this portrait has already appeared in vol. iv, p. 120. But it has been thought desirable to give to our members a better representation. The late Rev. Richard Green had this photogravure prefixed to his *John Wesley Evangelist*. I cannot do better than quote Mr. Green's description of Williams' portrait, given in an earlier volume: "It is the portrait of a man who made Methodism. The face is of the Miltonic type. The nose is prominent and well defined. . . . The eyes are large and reflective. . . . There is no appearance of hurry or flutter in them; but a hidden power of activity and sustained labour. . . . They are fixed on the beholder with that calm, steady, penetrating gaze with which he arrested the leaders of riotous mobs, and put to silence disturbers and rude assailants in his meetings. The well-modelled mouth is firm without sternness. . . . it shows no line of flippancy or anger, but an habitual seriousness that could evidently brighten into sweetness and joy, or melt into tenderness. Power of thought is shown in the widely-spread eye-brows, and the ample and slightly tapering forehead, partly hidden by the dark auburn hair, which, parted in the middle, falls in wavy ringlets upon the narrow sloping shoulders. . . . The entire aspect is grave without sadness. . . . calm and even majestic in its consciousness of strength. . . . It shows great reserve of power and capability without of quivering emotion. It is the face of one having large sympathies, busied with great thoughts, and moved by great purposes."

J.W.C.

TRAVELLING IN WESLEY'S TIME.

SOME ROADS, ROUTES AND DISTANCES.

Mr. Duignan, F.S.A., of Walsall, is a veteran antiquarian of more than Midlands repute. Direct research, joined to a wealth of information gathered through a long life from ancient charters and other legal instruments that have passed under his hands professionally, give him authority on the matters he has touched, and his *Staffordshire Place Names* and *Worcestershire Place Names* are accepted as standard works. Many years ago he published in a local newspaper a series of articles suggested by *Wesley's Journal*; of this a prolonged search has lately yielded me the loan of a copy. They deal with roads, routes, distances, modes of travel and changes in those methods, and other similar topics. This paper and another to follow are, with the ready consent of the author, based on these articles.

At the outset it is interesting to learn that previous to 1675, when the great roads were measured by Ogilby, the distances were computed, *i.e.*, guessed, and the computation was always less than the measured distance. *E.g.*, from London to Holyhead, via Chester, was 208 computed and 269½ measured miles; London to Berwick 260—339½; [Worcester to Brecon, 23 April, 1781 (*q.v.*), 50—59½]; and so on throughout the kingdom. The oddest part of the thing was that, for more than a hundred years after 1675, the postmasters were paid by computation, and received a less mileage by about 30 per cent. than they were fairly entitled to. "I do not know (observes Mr. D.) a more striking instance of self-sacrificing conservatism."

14 MARCH, 1738.—The road from Birmingham to Manchester and the north lay through Perry Barr, over Barr Beacon, through Aldridge, across Druid Heath [Aldridge Heath in the *Journal*, 20 Feb., 1746, "the entrance to the moors"—*i.e.*, to Cannock Chase, on its S.E. border] crossing the Old Chester Road a mile or so before it joins the Watling Street at Brownhills,

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through the midst of what is now Norton Pool, . . . through Hednesford [Hedgeford in the *Journal*] and so on to Stafford.¹

That Aldridge was at this time a great thoroughfare is evident from its parish registers, which contain numerous entries of "a stranger," "a trader," "a soldier on the march," "a strange child," &c. Travellers from London direct to the north and north west would follow the Old Chester Road, leaving Birmingham five miles to the west and skirting Sutton Park and Aldridge, joining the Watling Street three or four miles further on at Brownhills. One of the great carriers between London and Chester lived at Aldridge, and brought his wagons, which carried passengers right into the village, a mile distant, three up and three down weekly. When an up and a down coach happened to meet in Aldridge for the night, the village was quite full of travellers. Fresh horses went out when they were due from the south, to assist in pulling them over the north-east shoulder of Barr Beacon. The Chester and Shrewsbury coaches however did not enter the village, but kept the old way. The last coach on this road ran about 1809. After 1764, traffic from Birmingham began to be attracted by the new turnpike road through Walsall and Cannock, and soon afterwards by that through West Bromwich, Wednesbury and Wolverhampton. There had been short lengths of road through this district from ancient times. Turnpiking was done in sections; the first, Birmingham to Wednesbury, was begun in 1727. The Act authorising this work recited that the roads proposed to be turnpiked, "by reason of the many and heavy carriages frequently "passing through the same are becoming so ruinous and bad that

1. The route thus indicated is of deep interest. Much of the road is now derelict, and nobody would guess even the parts still in use to be a road—still less *the* road—to the north; but it was then the *only* road. It is part of an ancient saltway, and may even be of British origin. A mark of its extreme antiquity is the fact that it formed and still forms manorial and parochial boundaries, for several miles from Brownhills northwards. The several references to Aldridge in Wesley's early *Journal* have been a puzzle to local readers;—but the road explains the difficulty. Barr Beacon is an eminence of no great height (700 feet) but conspicuous by its solitariness. A clump of trees at its summit has for centuries been a characteristic feature. From its summit ordnance surveyors have identified points in ten counties. It has strong advocates as the seat of the Arch Druid, some of whom point to the name Druid Heath in support, but Mr. Duignan disposes of this suggestion by shewing that a Norman family of Dru were mediæval lords of Aldridge. The heath, being waste, belonged to the lords, and so acquired the name of Dru or Drew-wood (*Staffordshire Place Names*). Norton Pool, a canal reservoir of 230 acres, was formed in 1819 by damming the stream and valley. The line of the road is here and there traceable when the water is low.

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"in the winter season many parts thereof are impassable for "wagons and carriages, and very dangerous for travellers." [cf., *Journal*, Nov. 9, 1745.] The section from Wednesbury to Bilston and Wolverhampton was not turnpiked till 1766. The Act says the road was "in a ruinous condition, and in some places very narrow and incommodious." Other Acts authorised other lengths.² [In 1816-7, road making was done by the unemployed, local authorities adopting this form of relief during the stagnation which succeeded Waterloo. At Wednesbury men without boots to wear were denied relief because they could not do navy work in their bare feet. But it was not until 1823 that Telford, authorised by the Act of that year, commenced the task of re-constructing the entire length of road from London to Holyhead. These various Black Country Sections were incorporated in this great scheme.³]

At Hednesford the "Cross Keys" was at that time the posting house. Many years ago I knew an ancient lady who once lived at the Cross Keys, and could remember road wagons, and the pack horses, and the gentlemen riding past. She told me she had sometimes known riders who had left London that morning call at the Cross Keys in the evening (124 miles) and take fresh horses to Stone (16 miles further). The Hednesford horses going north were left at Stone; those going south at Castle Bromwich or Birmingham, according to the route the riders took. This old way is still very plain over Cannock Chase; but it does not appear ever to have been repaired, and in places is worn and deep, affording shelter to the few deer still surviving.⁴ On the return journey Manchester to Stone is 46 miles; thence to Henley [in Arden] 48 miles; thence to Oxford 47½ miles.

22 JUNE, 1743.—[To Tamworth the road would be through Walsall and Aldridge, and skirted the northern boundary of Sutton Coldfield.] "Counsellor Littleton" was Edward Littleton of Moat House, Tamworth, son of Sir Edward Littleton. The Littletons lived at the Moat House from 1671 to 1751. Lord Hatherton is their descendant. [The famous jurist, and many other lawyers are of this family, and the Lytteltons of Hagley (Viscount Cobham)

2. The late Rev. Samuel Lees refers to the roads and routes in and about Wednesbury in *Proceedings*, iv, 153.

3. For this interpolation I am indebted to Mr. F. W. Hackwood, F.R. Hist. Soc., the Historian of Wednesbury, West Bromwich, and other South Staffordshire towns.

4. Mr. Duignan's papers were written 25 or 30 years ago.

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come from the same stock.]

20 OCTOBER, 1743.—[For topographical notes of Walsall, with plan of streets traversed on this eventful day, their gradients, &c., see my illustrated paper in *Meth. Rec.*, 29 Sept., 1904.]

6 AUGUST, 1747; 23 FEBRUARY, 1748; 11 APRIL, 1749; 24 MARCH, 1750; 23 MARCH, 1756.—[Tannabull and Danna-bull=Tan-y-bwlch. Dall-y-gelle=Dolgelly. "The sands" which he speaks of "passing," is the estuary Traeth Mawr, separating the Merioneth and Carnarvonshire coasts, with the modern town of Port-Madoc on the western side. In Wesley's time these sands stretched some miles further inland. The work of reclamation was proposed to Sir Hugh Myddelton as far back as 1625, but was not accomplished until Mr. Madocks, who purchased the estate in 1791, took it in hand. By the construction of an embankment nearly a mile long, at a cost of nearly £100,000, he reclaimed several thousand acres. For Baldon Ferry, "4 miles beyond Carnarvon," see *Proceedings*, vi, 53.]

Turning to Charles Wesley's *Journal*, 10 Aug., 1748, we touch another ancient route to Holyhead, crossing the [southern mouth of] the Menai Straits [3 miles below Carnarvon] by Aber-Menai Ferry. At this time the bridges at Conway and Bangor were not built, and travellers by that route had to ferry twice. When the tide was out they usually crossed the sands and sea at Beaumaris; when it was in, they rode round by Bangor and ferried there. Passengers for Ireland were often detained at Holyhead for several days by weather or lack of vessels. There was no regular service. On this occasion C. Wesley got away on the third day. In the spring of 1748, and again in that of 1750, John Wesley was delayed twelve days.

23 OCTOBER 1749.—The route at this time from Woore (in Cheshire) would be by Ternhill, Newport, Albrighton and Wolverhampton, 48 miles. Bilbrook is a hamlet between the two places last named, and is eleven miles, instead of seven or eight, from Wednesbury. Wesley appears to have had friends at Bilbrook, judging from numerous references to the place.⁵

5. Enquiries have failed to discover who were his friends at Bilbrook, and Mr. J. G. Wright, who enquired many years ago, confirms me in this. No Methodist cause is known to have existed there, but at the neighbouring village of Codsall there was a very old society, which may have sprung from it. It maintained a struggling existence down to about 25 years ago, when its Methodist identity was lost in a union with other Free Churches in the village. See *W.H.S.*, vi, 35. [Wesley's last visit to Bilbrook, 17. 3. 72, was to meet Fletcher there: see Wesley's letter of same date to C. Wesley.—N.]

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21 AUGUST, 1756.—[“The waters being out.” This doubtless refers to the Trent at Burton, where the river runs in two channels. A 12th century bridge of 34 arches, embattled and fortified, but narrow, gave place in 1863-4 to a new structure 496 yards in length, resting on 29 arches. In 1888-9 another bridge 240 feet in length was erected a mile higher up, to replace an ancient ferry maintained in early times by the Abbots of Burton. The town has often suffered from inundation. See also *Proceedings*, vi, 51.]

24 AUGUST, 1760.—At this time Parkgate, sixteen miles below Chester, was a great port for Irish traffic, and probably more frequented than Holyhead. Centuries ago Chester was a great port, but the Dee has been silting up for ages. [See Mr. Bretherton's article on “John Wesley's voyages to and from Parkgate,” *Meth. Rec.*, Winter Number, 1903.]

27-28 August, 1760.—From Newport (Salop) Wesley might have taken a country road and kept clear even of Wolverhampton, but the horses beginning to fail, he took that route for prudential reasons, and hiring fresh horses at that town it would be unnecessary to continue further on the “Birmingham Road.” He then proceeded south-west, through Kidderminster to Worcester. Broadwater is a mile short of Kidderminster [see *Proceedings*, vi, 60] $53\frac{1}{2}$ miles from Whitchurch. To Bristol is a further $75\frac{1}{2}$ miles, the Newport at the close of the paragraph being $17\frac{1}{2}$ miles north of Bristol.

17 MARCH, 1761.—Mr. Wesley's difficulty in getting back from Shrewsbury to Wednesbury shews the scarcity of public conveyances. At this time there was a coach “once a week with six able horses” from Shrewsbury to London, via Wolverhampton and Birmingham. The journey occupied four days. General traffic was carried mainly on pack horses and road wagons. In 1730 the wagons took ten days from Shrewsbury to London; but on 22 Oct., 1750, it was solemnly announced that “The Shrewsbury Flying Stage Wagon will begin to ply on Tuesday “next in five days, winter and summer, God permitting.” Times were then rapidly changing, and in 1772 the Salopians were startled by the announcement of a “new flying machine on “steel springs from Shrewsbury to London, via Birmingham and “Oxford, in two days.” It was about this time that Birmingham, Wolverhampton and Walsall began to attract the north-west traffic, and the glories of the Watling Street and the Old Chester Road commenced to wane.

15 AUGUST, 1763.—From London to Bath, 106 miles, in one

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day was a great innovation. Bristol is $12\frac{3}{4}$ miles further. This is probably the longest day's travelling Wesley had yet performed.

25 JULY, 1764.—The distance from Shrewsbury to Llanidloes is 43 miles, and as the travellers left Llanidloes at three and continued riding till between eleven and twelve at night they must have covered 80 miles or more in the day; but I do not know "Fountain Head" or "Roes Fair," and cannot therefore be accurate. Mr. Wesley has a very summary way of spelling Welsh names, and probably "Roes Fair" is only a faint reflection of Welsh sounds. [A paper on this terrible ride is in preparation.—F.]

24 JUNE, 1766.—In addition to the bad state of the roads, travellers of the eighteenth century were frequently exposed to discomforts and perils from lack of bridges and the lack or scarcity of ferry boats. Steam was unknown, and in crossing rivers and estuaries ferrymen were dependent on wind and tide; travellers often had to wait several hours, and in times of flood even days before they could cross rivers which we now cross in a minute. Mr. Wesley was sometimes detained five or six hours at Aust Ferry, over the Severn, the usual entrance from Bristol and the south-east into South Wales. He also frequently crossed the Solway Firth into Dumfries-shire at a point where the sea at high tide would be $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles across. Sir Walter Scott knew the difficulties of the passage, and, speaking of William of Deloraine says:—

O'er Solway Sands, through Tarras Moss,
Blindfold he knew the paths across.

[See also 14-16 Oct., 1777.]

29 MARCH, 1774.—The improvements in travelling are evidenced by [this journey] which few men of 71 would care to perform. . . . Assuming that Mr. Wesley travelled by the nearest way, via Wolverhampton, Kidderminster, Worcester and Gloucester, the exact distance from Congleton to Bristol is $135\frac{1}{2}$ miles; 271 miles in (say) 50 hours was fast travelling for 1774.

4 APRIL, 1787.—The mail here referred to was the London and Holyhead, which had commenced to run about two years previously. It left London about 8 p.m. and appears to have occupied thirty hours in the journey to Chester, a clear six miles an hour.

6 AUGUST, 1787.—The distance from Manchester to Birmingham is 89 miles, and it would seem the coach usually occupied seventeen hours on the journey; on this occasion nineteen. Notwithstanding the fatigue he must have undergone, Mr. Wesley,

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who was now 84, continued his journey (to Southampton and Jersey) on the following morning, "a little before five."

21-23 APRIL, 1788.—Wesley never complains of personal discomforts; he could say with St. Paul "I have learned in whatever state I am therewith to be content"; but Lancashire roads sorely tried him. [See *Proc.*, III., 199 sqq.]

26 MARCH, 1789.—[Clowrust=Llanrwst.] At this time the inn-keepers at Shrewsbury were making great efforts to attract the Holyhead traffic, which hitherto had almost exclusively passed through Chester. The great Holyhead road, as we now know it, then existed only in fragments. In 1780 a coach and post road was established between Shrewsbury and Holyhead *via* Oswestry, Corwen, Cerrig-y-Druidion, Llanrwst and Conway. This was a nearer way from London than the Chester route, and had the advantage of avoiding the Conway ferry, the road crossing the river at Llanrwst, over Inigo Jones's bridge. The fine road now running through Bettws-y-coed, Capel Curig and Nant-Francon to Bangor was so bad and dangerous in 1810 that the mail which then travelled that route broke the legs of three horses in one week, and was more frequently too late than in time for the packet at Holyhead.

W. C. SHELDON.

NOTE.—I have closely adhered to Mr. Duignan's text except in one or two places early in the paper, where I have brought together into one passage notes on the same topic found in different parts of his valuable articles. My own insertions are enclosed in square brackets.

WESLEY'S ORDINATIONS AT BRISTOL.

SEPTEMBER 1ST AND 2ND, 1784.

In the first printed edition of Wesley's *Journal*, Part xx. 1789. the entries for these dates stand as they appear in modern editions: "Wed., Sep 1. Being now clear in my own mind, I took a step which I had long weighed in my mind, and appointed

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Mr. Whatcoat and Mr. Vasey, to go and serve the desolate sheep in America. Thursday 2. I added to them three more, which I verily believe will be much to the glory of God."

But in another edition published the same year, which, as the three errata at the end of the first edition are corrected, Wesley had evidently revised, the entry for September 2nd is omitted.

Mr. Green does not note this in his *Bibliography* under 401, though he observes the error in the paging of 115 as 215, and the corrections of *errata*. Neither does he note a slight but significant addition to the title page: "*Printed for the Author.*" The other has "Printed and sold at the New-Chapel City-Road; and at Rev. Mr. Wesley's Preaching Houses."

I have copies of both these editions. Why Wesley omitted the entry of Sep. 2nd in the later edition we can only surmise.¹

But as I have shown in my *British Methodism* (edited by Dr. Hurst) Vol. II, 964, the matter is made clearer by an entry from Whatcoat's *Journal* given in Dr. Wm. Phœbus's *Life of Whatcoat* (1828), p. 17:

"Sep. 1st 1784. Rev. John Wesley, Thomas Coke, and James Creighton, presbyters of the Church of England formed a presbytery, and ordained Richard Whatcoat and Thomas Vasey deacons; and on Sep. 2nd, by the same hands, Richard Whatcoat and Thomas Vasey were ordained elders, and Thomas Coke, LL.D., was ordained 'superintendent for the Church of God under our care in North America.'"

From this it appears that there were *two* ordinations on Sep. 1st: Whatcoat and Vasey were ordained deacons; and on Sep. 2nd, "*three more*" ordinations took place, Whatcoat and Vasey being ordained "elders," and Dr. Coke "superintendent."

The American *Minutes*, 1783, show that Wm. Phœbus, the author of the *Life of Whatcoat*, was received as a preacher on trial that year. He was, therefore, a contemporary of Whatcoat's.

1. In a letter accompanying this communication, Mr. Brigden writes: "Did Wesley, when revising the first edition of *Part XX*, thus omit 2 Sep. altogether, because he found it was raising such a storm? Certainly when printing it he avoids using the term "ordination" [or anything equivalent] and in doing so makes the whole entry obscure. This part of the *Journal* does not come into his *Works* published in his lifetime. But I have a set of the *Works* said to have been given by him to a Mrs. Morgan, to which a 33rd volume is added, including the later parts of *Journal* (which of course he could not have given). And it is in this vol. I find a copy of the edn. without 2 Sept. I have lately bought another copy.

As bearing on the whole question of the terms used, the following notes from the American *Minutes*, 1785, may be of interest. To Wesley's well known letter, inserted in these *Minutes*, is appended the note :

"As the translators of our version of the Bible have used the word Bishop instead of superintendent, it has been thought by us that it would appear more scriptural to adopt the term Bishop."

But the change was not made this year. The question stands thus in the next following years :

"1786. Who are the superintendents of our Church ?

1787. Who are the superintendents of our Church for *The United States* ?

1788. Who are the *Bishops* of our Church for the U. States ?

1789. Who are the persons who exercise the episcopal office in the Methodist Church in Europe and America ? Ans. : John Wesley, Thomas Coke, Francis Asbury."

From 1773—1783 the terms "preachers" and "assistants" are used.

From 1784, the questions become, "Who are the elders ?" "Who are the deacons ?" A whole volume might be written on these suggestive changes. [Cf. N. & Q. 212, *Proc. IV.*, 22.]

Without entering upon the many questions arising out of the use of the terms "bishop" and "superintendent," regarded by the American Conference as synonymous, it is curious to find a passage on the subject in the *Treatise on the Christian Priesthood and the dignity of the Episcopal office* ² by Dr. George Hickes, the Non-juror, whose *Devotions* Wesley purchased in 1735. While Dr. Hickes himself regards bishops as "princes" and their territories as "principalities," and even "empires," and supports the claim with great gravity and erudition, he inserts a fine sermon in his *Appendix*, preached by Dr. George Downname in 1608, in which we read : "The work of a Bishop is, as may be gathered out of the words *Καλῶς ἐπισκοπεῖν*, to be a good Superintendent, whereunto also Peter exhorts. Now what that is, the apostle shows, Acts 20, where he exhorts the ministers of Ephesus, that they would attend unto themselves, and to the whole flock over which the Holy Ghost had made them Superintendents, to feed the church of God. So also 1 Tim., 5. And "Feed the flock," says Peter to the ministers performing the office of Bishops or

2. London. Printed by W.B. for Richard Sare at Gray's-Inn Gate in Holborn, 1.171

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Superintendents. But to speak more distinctly, the work of a Bishop or Pastor to be good Presidents or Superintendents contains these branches. For whom in the New Testament the Holy Ghost calleth Superintendents, in the Old He calleth *Speculatores, Watchmen.*"

THOS. E. BRIGDEN.

As matter of history, John Knox, in the *First Book of Discipline*, (1560) set out his scheme for the Government of the Church, which was entrusted to superintendents, ministers or pastors, doctors or teachers, elders, and deacons. The country was divided into ten districts or dioceses, over each of which a superintendent presided. With one exception (Erskine of Dun) all the superintendents were ministers who spent part of their time in their own parishes and the rest in travelling from parish to parish on tours of inspection. The office of superintendent, however, soon fell into abeyance.—J.C.N.

AN EXAMINATION OF THE TEXT OF WESLEY'S JOURNAL, AUGUST 27TH TO 31ST, 1787.

In the autumn of 1906 the Rev. R. Green called my attention to the appearance of difficulty in apportioning the facts to the days at the above dates. Indeed, as the text stands, there seemed to him to be more days' work than the dates show. "I am puzzled with the arrangement of the days," he wrote. Examination soon made it clear that we have before us a narrative strangely conflated of two others, which are in a general way parallel, but which are combined in a fashion that is curious, not to say clumsy and confused. An analysis is attempted below. It is difficult to conceive how such a confused narrative came to be written, or was passed for the press. It is one of a few facts in the text of the *Journals* which throw light upon the process of their composition. Let the printed text be compared with its dissection as here set forth.

MONDAY [AUG.] 27th.

Here we are, shut up in Jersey; for how long we cannot tell. But it is all well; for thou, Lord, hast done it. It is my part to improve the time, as it is not likely I shall ever have another opportunity of visiting these islands.

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TUESDAY—28th.

Being still detained by contrary winds, I preached at six in the evening to a larger congregation than ever, in the assembly room. It conveniently contains five or six hundred people. Most of the gentry were present; and I believe felt that God was there in an uncommon degree.

I designed to have followed up the blow in the morning, but

WEDNESDAY—29th.

I had quite lost my voice. However it was restored in the evening; and I believe all in the assembly room (more than the last meeting) heard distinctly, while I explained and applied, 'I saw the dead, small and great, stand before God.'

Being still detained, I preached there again the next evening

to a larger congregation than ever.

I now judged I had fully delivered my own soul, and

THURSDAY—30th.

In the morning, Thursday, 30, I took solemn leave of the Society.

We set out about nine,

Good is the will of the Lord. I trust he has something more for us to do here also.

and reached St. Peter's in the afternoon

in the morning the wind serving for Guernsey and not for Southampton, I returned thither, not unwillingly, since it was not by my choice, but by the clear providence of God,

for in the afternoon

I was offered the use of the assembly-room; a spacious chamber in the market place, which would contain at least thrice as many as our former Room. I willingly accepted the offer, and preached at six to such a congregation as I had not seen here before; and the word seemed to sink deep into their hearts,

I trust it will not return empty.

After preaching to a larger congregation than was expected on so short a notice, on 'God was in Christ reconciling the world to himself,'

I returned to Mont-Plaisir, to stay just as long as it should please God.

FRIDAY—31

I preached there in the morning, to a congregation as serious as death.

H. J. FOSTER.

EARLY METHODISM IN SUNDERLAND.

(I) **MONKWEARMOUTH.**—From 1743 to 1790 Wesley frequently visited the town of Sunderland, and, after his first visit,—in connection with which is claimed by healthy local tradition the famous fishwife incident which Tyerman associates with Newcastle,—always enjoyed the happiest relations with the natives of the Wearside borough.

In the old Parish Church of Monkwearmouth, redolent with the memory of the Venerable Bede, Wesley frequently preached whilst Mr. Gooday was Vicar.

Mr. Gooday lived in the old dower house of the Williamson family in Hallgarth Square, and it was in a room of the adjoining house that the Methodist Society first met in Monkwearmouth. The good Vicar had a doorway made into this room from his own house, and was frequently wont to join the Methodists at their own meetings. When Whitburn Street Chapel was built in 1766-7, the room adjoining the Vicarage was given up. Whitburn Street is the oldest existing Methodist Chapel in Sunderland.

(II) **SANS STREET.**—All the stages of the development of the Methodist Society in Sunderland prior to Sans Street, 1793, with the exception of the locality of Swine Alley, where the first "Room" was opened in 1746, can be clearly traced; but it has not, I think, been suggested that the very site of Sans Street Chapel is itself closely linked with Wesley. On his last visit to Sunderland in 1790, he preached in the open-air in the Pann Fields. Numbers Garth Chapel, just across the High Street, and the second oldest Methodist Chapel in the county of Durham, was already utterly inadequate for the needs of the Society. It is more than probable that Wesley would be keenly interested in the new chapel which must soon be built in its stead. "The Pann Fields," or as Wesley calls it "The Penn," was at a later period a term descriptive only of the land to the north of High Street, but at that time it covered the land on the south side also, where Sans Street Chapel now stands. It is not unlikely that the site so soon afterwards bought for the new "House," was suggested by Wesley himself, after that last open-air service.

B. A. HURD BARLEY.

NOTE.—I have been collecting materials for a history of Methodism in Sunderland, and should be grateful for any information that the members of the W.H.S. may be able to afford me. [Tyerman spells "Goodday"—F.]

A LETTER FROM WILLIAM SHENT.

Knasbower July 27 1786

Dear Son in y^e Gospel I thank the Lord for What you Sent mee by Mr. Wilkinson for it Just Came to me in time of need, What you wrote to me conserning your state of soul, all ways fear your selfe But never Distrust God now you are a Son of God thear is laid up for you a crown of Glory God is your father Christ is your Brother Friend and the Holy Ghost is your Teacher your friend and the Angels your atendens to your fathers Kingdom Now set your Hart at home and trie How Maney you can bring along with you Fathers house in oder you may get Safe landed ad to your Faith Curredg—knowledge temperence—patence—godlinefs—brotherly-kindnefs—love and Peter declars then you shall never Fall 2 of Peter y^e firs chapter reed it over folow that rule and all will be well with you hear and to all Eternety—I am for a few weeks in Thurst round then I hope to return Leeds I have the Lord with me and I trust he ever will stand by me that I may winn moor souls pray for me and I trust I shall not forget you till we meet to part no more for ever and ever Amen all from your poor Father in y^e gospel

Till death Wm Shent

For
John Lupton
At Mr John Woodcok
at Storton
near
York

KNARES
BOROUGH.

[Shent had been for some time under a cloud, and “in not undeserved embarrassment; his friends forsook him; but not so Wesley.” See letters of John Wesley and Charles Wesley, full of sympathetic consideration for the old pioneer Methodist preacher, in Tyerman, *Wesley*, III, 289, 296. One cannot but hope that John Pawson’s verdict may be a little revised: “Poor William Shent died this year [*i.e.* 1787], a melancholy instance of human instability. After preaching the Gospel to others for forty years, there is too much ground for fear that he died in sin at last. O for grace to endure unto the end.” (*E.M.P.*, iv, 57). Letter in possession of Mr. William Lupton, New Park, Harrogate.—*H.J.F.*]

NOTES AND QUERIES.

390. SAMUEL SAVAGE (*Desid. et Quær.*, No. 26; *Journal*, 17 Nov., 1772). Mr. Walter C. Brown, of Dulwich, sends the following acceptable note upon this name. Wesley says "a gentleman of Kent," but his informant may not have told the story, or Wesley may not have remembered it, with any close exactness. There can hardly be any doubt that Samuel Savage of Limpsfield is the person with whom the story is concerned.

"In the *Town and Country Magazine* for Sept., 1772, his death is thus announced, 'Samuel Savage, Esq., of Lower Brook St., Sep. 2., 1772.'

"From another source it appears that he died at his seat at Limpsfield, in Surrey.

"In an article on The Church Plate of Surrey, in Vol. 12, p. 75, of the *Surrey Archæological Society's Collections*, dealing with St. Peter's, Limpsfield, is the following: 'The sacred monogram is engraved on all the plate of this date (1764), which is very massive. Each piece (there are 4 pieces) also bears this inscription: The gift of Samuel Savage, Esq., to the Parish of Limpsfield, 1765.'

"The donor owned and occupied a house in the centre of the village, which had formerly belonged to Mrs. Eugenie Stanhope, widow of Philip Stanhope, Esq., natural son of the Earl of Chesterfield, whose letters were published by her."

391. WESLEY RELICS.—Mr. Alfred Bate, of Shepherd's Well, Dover, brother of the late Rev. George Osborn Bate, and a nephew of Rev. Dr. George Osborn, writes thus in reference to the following articles in his possession: "Some time before his death, my father, Mr. John Bate, of Faversham and Sittingbourne, gave [me] a walking-stick and a silver tea-spoon, which were given to him by the Rev. James Mole [ent. m. 1806; ob 1849], for whom he acted as executor. Mr. Mole died at Sittingbourne; he had been the executor of Henry Moore,

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John Wesley's Executor. He told my father the articles were in John Wesley's possession at the time of his death. The stick is a straight stick, with a tassel, part of which still remains. The spoon is engraved with the letters, *W.* I have treasured these as relics all these years, and should be glad if [any member of the W.H.S.] can assist me in establishing their genuineness, of which I have no documentary proof. Rev. Nehemiah Curnock says he distinctly remembers Dr. Osborn telling him about the walking stick."

392. HENRY DURBIN, THE OLD PLANNER, OF BRISTOL. [*Proc.*, II, 40-43, 110, note; VI, 101; also III, 24].—

I found his mural tablet in St. Thomas' Church, Bristol:

Sacred to the Memory of
HENRY DURBIN, ESQ.,
More than 60 years a most respected inhabitant
of this Parish. He was born

Sep. 11th, 1718.

Piety to God and Charity to the Poor
Were conspicuous traits in his Character.
From the age of 16 to the end of his Life
He devoted a tenth of his income
to charitable use, and by his Will
he left 50^l the interest to be applied
to the relief of the Poor belonging to the
Alms House *in this Parish.*

He descended to the grave as a ripe
Shock of Corn expiring without Pain
Or Sorrow.

Dec. 24th, 1798, Aged 80.

(The characterization of Henry Durbin may be compared with that quoted, from an anonymous Bristol writer, *Proc.*, II, 42). Upon the same mural tablet is also given:

Also in Memory of Alice Durbin,

youngest daughter of the above Henry Durbin, Esq.,
who departed this life, Dec. 20th, 1834, aged 77 years.

The shock of corn (Job V, 26), is carved upon the mural tablet of Captain Webb, in Portland Chapel, Bristol. Henry Durbin's death is noticed in *Meth. Mag.*, 1799, p. 487, although he had ceased to be connected with the Society.

I can now complete Mr. Brigden's reply, *N. & Q.*, 146 [*Proc.*, III, 24] to *N. & Q.*, 121, with the following extract from Bonner and Middleton's *Bristol Journal*, Sep. 23, 1780:

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"Thursday [21st] was married at Bedminster Church, Mr. John Horton, drysalter, of London, to Miss Mary Durbin, eldest daughter of Mr. Henry Durbin, chemist of this city." (See Wesley, *Journal*, 21 Sep.) The Directories of 1783 and 1787 say: "Henry Durbin, Chymist, Redcliffe Street." St. Thomas' and St. Mary Redcliffe were "chapels" to Bedminster Church.—*H. J. Foster.*

393. HERBERT SPENCER'S METHODIST PARENTAGE. — *Herbert Spencer* (1820—1903) was of Methodist parentage. I give a few extracts from his autobiography.¹

"Out of a family of seven, five were among the earliest Wesleyans (of whom my maternal grandfather was one), and two of these were among the earliest Wesleyan preachers—John Brettell and Jeremiah Brettell, born respectively in 1742 and 1753. Of these, the younger, Jeremiah, seems to have been somewhat intimately associated with John Wesley, who spoke approvingly of his work; and at one time he was appointed to the Epworth² circuit, Epworth² being Wesley's native place. Of John Brettell there exists, in the *Arm. Mag.* for 1796, a brief biography written by his brother,³ and there is a portrait of him in the same periodical for March, 1784. Jeremiah, of whom there is a portrait in the *Arm. Mag.* for Feb., 1784, and another in the *Wes. Meth. Mag.* for Aug., 1823, and a third in the *Meth. Mag.* about 1796, wrote a memoir of himself, which was published after his death in the *W. M. Mag.* for Oct., 1830."

"My paternal grandmother, Catherine Spencer, *née* Taylor was, like her husband, a follower of John Wesley. She knew him personally, and was among the few who attached themselves to him in the days when he was pelted by the populace. At the time of her death [1843, aged 84.] she was the oldest member of the Wesleyan Connexion in Derby." (I, 19).

Of an annexed portrait H.S. says:—"This sketch [made after one in 1841] shows her as wearing the plain Methodist cap, which she adhered to all through life: this being a part of that wholly unornamented dress which, in

1. 2 vols., 1904, Williams & Norgate.

2. Misprinted "Upworth" both times.

3. 'In this it is stated that John Brettell was "converted" by a local preacher named Brettell.' (Footnote, I, 7-8).

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the early days of Methodism, was, I think, *de rigueur*—a point of community with Quakerism.”⁴ (I, pp. 19, 20).

Of his mother, *née* Harriet Holmes (b. 1794) H.S. says : —“Brought up as a Wesleyan, and adhering to Wesleyanism through life, she might . . . be classed as a nonconformist. But she simply accepted and retained the beliefs given to her in early days, and would have similarly accepted and retained another set of beliefs . . . Constitutionally she was averse to change. (I, 56).”

“I have named the fact that my father’s family, as well as my mother’s, were Wesleyans ; and during my childhood both parents belonged to the body. It would appear, however . . . that even in those days my father betrayed an incipient alienation from it. The Wesleyan church discipline was repugnant to such a nature as his ; and in the course of my boyhood his repugnance became manifest. I believe that the immediate cause of his final secession was his frequent contact with the Methodist ministers on the occasions of the meetings of the Methodist book committee—a committee which managed the Methodist library. [His objection was to their exclusive selection of religious, and especially Methodist works, whereas he wished to include scientific and other secular books.] Further, he found that in their priestly capacity they exercised a kind of direction over other members of the committee who belonged to their congregations. This he resented more and more.” (I, pp. 82, 83).

Without actually joining the Quakers, his father “fell into the habit of going every Sunday morning to the Quakers’ meeting house.” His mother remaining a Methodist, “there resulted a compromise ; so that from about 10 years of age to 13 I habitually on Sunday morning went with him to the Friends’ Meeting House, and in the evening with my mother to the Methodist Chapel.” (I, pp. 82, 83).—*C. Lawrence Ford.*

394. TWO MANX NOTES.—I. *Wesley’s Hymns in Manx.*—“Daniel

4. The question of Methodist dress was a matter of great concern to John Wesley, and somewhere in his writings [I forget exactly where] he expresses a half regret that he had not enforced a sort of uniform apparel on his followers. The Salvationists, who are really Methodists, have been led by General Booth to do so, no doubt greatly to the promotion of their cause. For J.W.’s views on this subject see his Sermon 88 “On Dress,” and various other references in the Index to his *Works*. “Give no ticket to any that wear enormous bonnets” (VIII, 307).

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Cowley, of Kirk-Michael, who was educated by Bishop Hildesley, and by him apprenticed to a printer, published Mr. Wesley's Hymns in Manx for the use of the Methodists of the island." (*A Tour through the Isle of Mann in 1797 and 1798.* By John Feltham. Bath, 1798. p. 70).

2. *Early Manx Methodism* (1775—1798).—"The progress of the Methodists in this Island has been no less rapid than in other countries. In this (Kirk Onchan) and in most parishes, there is a place of worship: here I heard an English sermon delivered with an animated elocution; and one in Manx, by a native, no less fervent and devout. No other denomination of Dissenters exist in the island. The progress was owing to Mr. Lawry, a native, who prevailed on Mr. Crook first to visit it in 1775. Mr. Crook preached to numerous audiences, and after some violent opposition from turbulent spirits, established many societies. Mr. Wesley visited it in 1777 and was well received." "*A Tour through the Island of Mann in 1797 and 1798.* By John Feltham. Bath, 1798, p. 240."—(The late) *Rev. R. Corlett Cowell.*

395. TWO WESLEY LETTERS.—(1). The original of the following characteristic letter is in the Hobill Collection of Methodist literature, United Methodist Theological College, Ranmoor, Sheffield. The donor of the letter is unknown; so is its history.

London,
Feb. 11, 1779.

My dear Brother,

I am agreeably surprized with a letter from my old friend whom I long desired to see, and how I missed of seeing you when I was last at Barrow I cannot yet comprehend.

It is very probable I shall have some more work to do with regard to that wretched Infidel. For if Dr. Bealey [?], the publisher of his Works, prefixes to them a flaming Panegyric, I shall think it my duty to deal exceeding plainly, both with y^e Author & the Translator.

I am now in my seventy sixth year, and am by the wonderfull mercy of God in at least as good Health as I was in my twenty sixth; and in some respects better. So when it pleases Him,

'He bids the Sun of Life stand still,
And stops the panting Soul.'

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I am glad you speak a word to your Brethren, on behalf of our Good Master. This is worth living for.

Believe me to be, as ever,

Dear Charles,

Y^r affectionate Brother

J. WESLEY

[Endorsement]

To

Mr Delamotte
At Barrow, near Barton
Lincolnshire.

Delamotte was Wesley's companion in Georgia. He became a Moravian : died at Barrow-upon-Humber in 1796.—*Rev. George Eayrs*. [Dr. Bealey was one of George III's chaplains and was proposing to print the works of Voltaire. See Wesley's indignant letter of 4 Jan., 1779, in Tyerman, *Wesley*, III, 288-9.—*H.J.F.*]

396. (2). In *Glad Tidings*, the Australasian *Joyful News*, for 4 Sep. 1907, appears a letter, forwarded by Mr. A. Greenwood, of Ballarat, written by John Wesley to Mr. Greenwood's grandfather, of which the following is a copy :—

Bristol,

Oct. 8, 1755.

My dear Brother,

In a multitude of Counsellors there is safety. This is a General Rule : But your case is an exception. You must not consult with many parsons. It would only puzzle and confound you. If you advise with another, beside me, it shd be He that is as myself, that is Thomas Walsh.

Unless there shd be a very Particular Call, you shd not act publicly, till you are ordained. Give yourself to Reading, Meditation, Prayer. And do all the Good you can in a Private manner. Pride & Impetuosity of Temper will be apt to lead you out of y^e way. But what is Faith, if it will not destroy y^e one & regulate y^e other ?

I am Your Affectionate Brother

J. WESLEY

—*Rev. J. W. Sellar.*

[Evidently this letter was addressed to Paul Greenwood, (ent. min., 1746, ob. 1767). This letter is specially interesting and important for its mention of an impending "ordination" of Greenwood. It is well known to our workers that Wesley, availing himself of the liberty he had recently come to believe that he possessed (20 Jan., 1746), had conferred a kind of

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ordination upon Joseph Cownley at Bristol in 1746 (Stamp, *O.H.*, 89), and that in 1755, the year of the letter, the question of separation from the Church came up in an acute form. Mr. Nattrass points out the very pertinent pages in Tyerman's *Wesley*, ii, 381-2. Paul Greenwood had administered the sacraments.—*H.J.F.*

397. *The New Testament, with an analysis of the Several Books and Chapters.* By the Rev. J. Wesley, M.A., London. Printed and sold at the New Chapel, City Road, and at the Rev. J. Wesley's Preaching Houses, in town and country. 1790.

The above is the Title of the volume numbered 411 in Rev. Richard Green's *Bibliography*. Mr. Green's note upon it says: "It has not been reprinted." But I have now by me a copy printed in 1818 by Dewhirst, of Leeds, for Robert Harley and Co., Dunfermline. The Title Page is altered, and the Preface is much longer; but in that preface it is said, "The translation here presented to the public, is that of the Rev. John Wesley, who brought to the task both learning and genius, and whose long, indefatigable and devout attention to the Greek New Testament is well known to the religious world." Wesley's own edition has 424 pages; the Leeds one has 494. I give a copy of the Leeds title page:

A New Translation and Analysis of all the Books of the New Testament in which the subjects are properly distributed into paragraphs. By the Rev. John Wesley, M.A., Late Fellow of Lincoln College, Oxford. "Always carry a New Testament about you."—Dr. Adam Clarke. Printed for Robert Harley and Co., Dunfermline, 1818.

On the back of the title page, and on the last page of the volume are the words "Dewhirst, Printer, Leeds."

398. MISS FREEMAN.—(*Proceedings*, v, p. 170).—Will our members add to the references to this lady given as above, this from Jackson's *Life of C.W.*, ii, 443 (8vo. ed.) "A fortnight before [he died] he prayed with many tears for all his enemies, naming Miss Freeman. 'I beseech Thee, O Lord, by thine agony and bloody sweat,' said he, 'that she may never feel the pangs of eternal death.'"

The last reference above given, 17 May, 1783, is quite friendly. Is anything known to account for the change of feeling toward her? He died in 1788.—*H.J.F.*

399. WESLEY AT BURN MOOR FARM (*Journal*, 18-20 May, 1779).—The following note accounts for one of the small gaps in the itinerary of the *Journal*.

Under date 1779, Wesley writes that he preached in

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Monkwearmouth church, on *Tuesday, May 18th*; and on *Thursday, 20th*, returned to Newcastle. There is never any mention of visits paid to Burn Moor, yet the writer has the assurance of members of the Wylam family, who lived at Burn Moor Farm, that Wesley frequently preached in the barn. *Wednesday, May 19th*, is one date that can be vouched for. On that occasion Wesley preached from ii Cor., v. 17, and under the sermon one of Mr. Ralph Wylam's daughters, named Martha, aged 8, was converted. Her granddaughters, who live in Sunderland, gave the writer a page of the Bible used by Wesley on that occasion, and showed him the small silk shawl which their grand-mother wore at the time. The stool Wesley used was long treasured in the family as a relic, and was quite a profitable source of income for the Foreign Missionary Society, a penny being levied for that cause upon all visitors who sat upon the stool.—*Rev. B. A. Hurd Barley.*

400. MARRIAGE AT BUXTON (*Journal*, 24 May, 1783).—"N," in the winter No. of the *Meth. Rec.*, 1899, at p. 30, writes an article on Buxton and its Methodism, and quotes the above entry from the *Journal*. He adds: "Who the two friends were he married has not yet been ascertained. It would be worth while to search the registers, which no doubt are still in existence, and discover the names."

I did not know of this article, or had forgotten it, when some little time ago I wrote to the Rev. R. D. Ringrose, then curate in charge at the quaint old church of St. Ann, asking whether the registers shed any light upon the matter. He replied: "There is no reference at any possible date to John Wesley in our registers. They are on parchment sheets, signed as above." [I.e. as "John Mellor, Minister of Buxton."] "The sheet upon which, if at all, the entry would be found, is wanting."

But an answer, incomplete in so far as that the name of the lady is not found, was long ago given to the main enquiry by Rev. J. S. Stamp, in a footnote to page 13 of his memoir of Charles Atmore, *W.M. Mag.*, 1845. The bridegroom was the Rev. Cornelius Bayley, who had just obtained episcopal ordination, and was leaving Kingswood, where he had been a master since 1773. It will be noticed that Bayley had on the preceding Sunday, May 18, assisted Wesley in the service. [? at the Cathedral, then the parish church] at Manchester; as he did at Nottingham, on the day following his marriage,

May 25th.

Bayley will be found in the *Dict. Nat. Biog.* His Hebrew Grammar had great vogue. The young Adam Clarke, in the miserable days he spent at Kingswood whilst awaiting the return of Wesley to Bristol, was one day digging in the garden, and turned up a half-guinea piece. Nobody could claim it, and Adam promptly put down his name as a subscriber to Bayley's Hebrew Grammar, thus laying the foundation of his acquaintance with the Hebrew tongue. Wesley mentions "Dr. Cornelius Bayley" in letter to Rev. Dean D. (*Works*, xii, 449). Bayley was for many years the "Methodist" clergyman of St. James' Church, Manchester, which he built in 1788.

Has the page been removed from the register for the sake of the autograph?—*H. J. Foster.*

401. EXACT DATE OF PUBLICATION OF "COLLECTION OF HYMNS, &c.," (Green, No. 348).—Mr. Wallington, the reader at the Methodist Publishing House, has found an announcement as to Wesley's last tune-book, *Sacred Harmony*, which is of special interest. Dr. Osborn gave the date of its publication as 1761; but in his *Wesley Bibliography*, p. 214, the Rev. Richard Green, after referring to the 'prolonged research, which had been made by Mr. Dobson, Mr. Sugden and Mr. Hardcastle (see *Wesleyan Methodist Magazine*, 1866, p. 430), inclines to the year 1781.

The announcement which has just been discovered appears on the cover of the *Arminian Magazine* for June 1780, and reads as follows:

London,

May 1, 1780.

This day is published, price four shillings bound, A Collection of Hymns for the use of the People called Methodists, intended to be used in all their Congregations. London: Printed by J. Paramore, at the Foundry, Upper Moorfields, and sold at the New Chapel, City Road, and by Mr. Thackway at the Chapel in West Street, Seven Dials.

Also this day is published, and to be had as above, price Seven Shillings and Sixpence Bound, in a large pocket volume, done on superfine printing Royal, *Sacred Harmony*, or a choice Collection of Psalms and Hymns, set to Music in two and three parts, for the Voice, Harpsichord, and Organ. N.B.—There are a few copies bound and gilt in a very elegant manner. Price 9s.

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This seems to prove not only the exact date of publication of *Sacred Harmony*, which has (according to Mr. Green) never been confidently fixed, but also that the Large Hymn-book and the Tune-book were issued on the same day, and settles the exact date in 1780 when the former was published.—*Note by Editor, Wes. Meth. Mag., February, 1909, pp. 133-4.*

402. "I AM A HIGH CHURCHMAN, THE SON OF A HIGH CHURCHMAN" (Letter to Lord North, 15 June, 1775, Smith, *Hist. Meth.*, i, 700).—Canon Alfred Ainger (*Lectures and Essays*, i, 216), thus comments on the phrase: "Swift was, what in those days was called a High Churchman, only we must carefully disentangle this, like other political badges of that time, from any association with modern applications of them. A High Churchman, in Swift's day, was one who magnified the position of the Church, its rights, privileges, and dignity. Whatever theological or spiritual suggestions his churchmanship had were subordinate." [Cf. Dr. Rigg, *Churchmanship of John W.*, p. 72.]

403. DIALOGUE BETWEEN A PRESBYTERIAN AND HIS FRIEND, 1741. (Green, *Bibliog.*, 24).—Mr. H. W. Ball, Barton-on-Humber, has a copy of the above on the title page of which is a very interesting note in Rev. James Everett's handwriting: "This Tract, as I am informed by W. Sellon Gibson, Esqr., York, a descendant of the Rev. Walter Sellon, was sent in *MS.* to the latter by Mr. Wesley, with an express desire that he would strike out everything he might deem unnecessary to the argument. He accordingly cut down the original *MS.* to the present size, and returned it to Mr. Wesley, who, in return, sent him this printed copy, accompanied with a note stating to Mr. Sellon that he has adhered to all his dockings and suggestions, by printing the *MS.* as Mr. Sellon had returned it. Mr. Gibson had the note in the handwriting of Mr. Wesley, but told me that it had got mislaid when he gave me this Tract. June 9th, 1841, York. JAMES EVERETT."