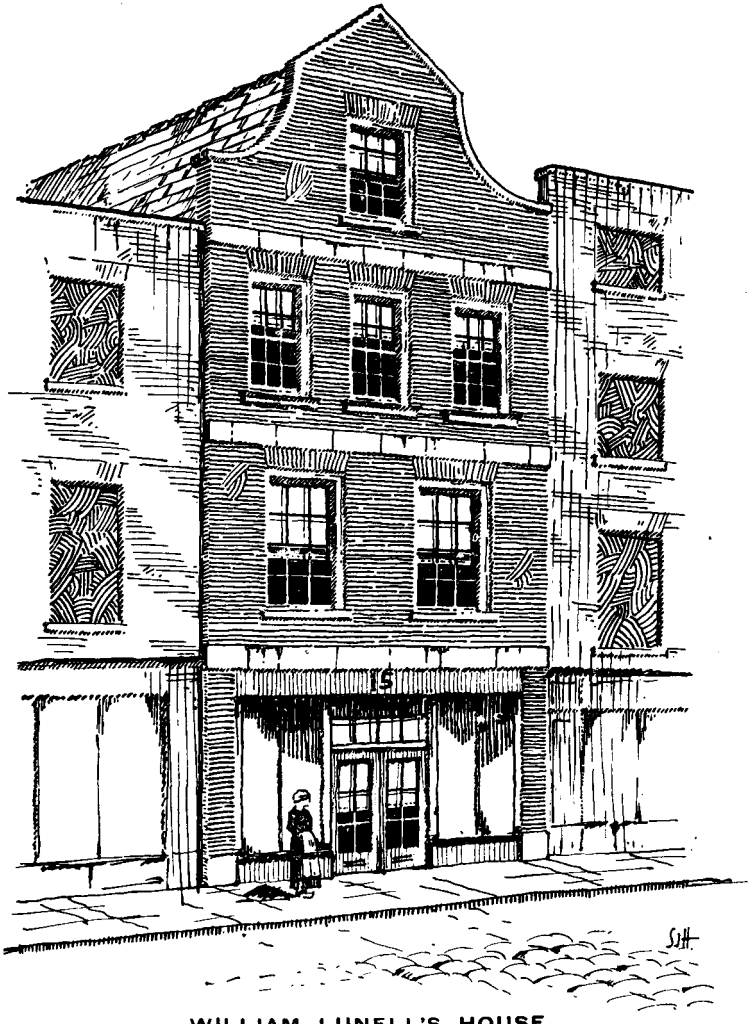

WILLIAM LUNELL'S HOUSE
15, FRANCIS STREET, DUBLIN

WILLIAM LUNELL, OF DUBLIN.

> Before ten we came to St. George's Quay. Soon after we landed, hearing the bells ringing for church, I went thither directly. Mr. Lunell came to the Quay just after I was gone, and left word at the house where our things were, he would call again at one. He did so, and took us to his house (Wesley's *Journal*, August 9, 1747).

In this hospitable home Wesley was made a welcome guest during his first visit of a fortnight to Dublin, and in August and October of the following year Charles Wesley was similarly entertained. Yet a third guest was George Whitefield, in 1751, with whom Lunell had already been in correspondence with a view to obtaining redress and protection, through the efforts of the Countess of Huntingdon, for the persecuted Methodists of Cork. The intimate and indeed endearing terms of William Lunell's letter of June 27, 1748, to John Wesley, preserved for thirty years, and published after the writer's death (*Arminian Magazine*, 1778, p. 532) is eloquent as to the mutual regard of these two friends. Lunell was a contributor of £400 to the erection, in 1752, of the Whitefriar Street Chapel, and long after, Wesley had occasion (April 14, 1771) to remember and commend his liberality. His personal and domestic history is, consequently, of considerable interest.

In this connection much fresh light of an authoritative nature has been made available in a valuable paper by Mr. Thomas Philip Le Fanu, C.B., in vol. 14 of the *Proceedings of the Huguenot Society of London*. This paper is entitled: "The Story of Peter Lunell, a Huguenot Refugee, and his son William," and is based on a family record in manuscript prepared by William's son, William Peter, in 1807. Mr. Le Fanu has kindly allowed me to draw upon this important material.

Peter Lunell fought at the Battle of Boyne, and his son William (who was named after King William III) was born on May 7, 1699, on a farm at Rahara, Co. Roscommon, 10 miles north west of Athlone. "I heard my father say," writes William Peter, "there was not a teapot in the house, and I am confident there was not a watch in the pockets of any of the family."

William attended a local day school and afterwards went to a boarding school in Athlone. Later, his father, Peter, moved to Dublin, but the family was not in flourishing circumstances. When William was 18 years of age, he persuaded his father to allow him to start a cloth or woollen shop on his own account. This shop was at the southern corner of Hanover Lane and Francis Street. For several years he had considerable difficulties to contend with, but ultimately, he was able to conduct a successful wholesale business with Norwegian ships and traders, for which purpose he learned Danish, Norway being then united to Denmark. His shop sign was "The King of Denmark."

In 1721 or 1722 he married Charity, daughter of John Bagnall, but she died shortly after the death of her infant son. Later he moved to another position on the east side of Francis Street. "There," says Mr. Le Fanu, "he built a house of three storeys and an attic with a gable facing the street, in the form common to many Georgian houses in Dublin." This house which was No. 15, is of peculiar interest, for it was here that John Wesley, to use his own words, first "found a home in this strange land," The house no longer exists, but it was still standing in April, 1807, when it was seen by William Lunell's son and grandson, both William Peter, on which occasion one of them made a sketch of the exterior. The accompanying illustration, prepared by Mr. S. J. Hurd, architect, is based on an outline of the sketch preserved in the Public Record Office and represents, as far as can be ascertained, the appearance of William Lunell's house. Huguenot houses of this type were formerly a characteristic feature of several districts in Dublin, but they have now largely disappeared.

William Lunell's second wife was Anne Grattan, daughter of John Grattan, of Clonmeen, Co. Kildare. She died on August 6, 1748, and Charles Wesley, who after shortly arrived in Dublin, wrote in his *Journal* on 14th of that month, "Mr. Lunel could not be satisfied without my lodging under his roof. I mourned with him that mourned under Ezekiel's trial, 'Son of man, behold, I take away the desire of thine eyes with a stroke.' Of her several children, only Martha, born in 1733, survived her mother. She was a girl of 14 when John Wesley was received in her father's house. From his letter of August 13, 1747, to Ebenezer Blackwell it would seem that Wesley was impressed with the charm and promise of her character,—a promise which was confirmed in later years.

In 1754 she was married to Anthony Grayson, son of a silk merchant in Mark's Alley, off Francis Street. She had a daughter named Anne Lunell Grayson. Mr. and Mr. Grayson were living in Derry in 1807. That Martha Grayson, as well as her father, retained a warm regard for the two Wesleys is evident from William Lunell's letter to Charles Wesley of July 10, 1760 (*Proc.* xvi, 15), where he refers to Martha's disappointment at not finding "her dear Mr. [Charles] Wesley" in London. The "Mr. Gratton" mentioned in that letter was obviously her mother's brother.

An interesting episode occurred on October 7, 1748, when John Frederick Lampe and his wife called at Mr. Lunell's house, and were overjoyed to meet Charles Wesley there. Would Lampe, on such an occasion, have been mindful of Charles Wesley's noble hymn entitled "The Musician's," and may one surmise that one or more of Lampe's tunes for *Hymns on the Great Festivals* (1746) would be sung in the little company?

When Whitefield visited Dublin in 1751, he wrote to the Countess of Huntingdon that Mr. Lunell had gladly received him into his house, and to another correspondent that he was staying at a banker's. The private banking firm of Lunell and Dickison commenced business on Upper Ormond Quay in March, 1742, but, consequent upon financial difficulties which followed the rising of the Pretender in 1745, the partnership was dissolved in 1746. The firm's solvency was, however, maintained, as repeated advertisement in *Faulkiner's Dublin Journal* intimated that their Notes would be paid on presentation, and 47 Dublin merchants agreed to accept such Notes-in payment of debts due or goods supplied (*Procs.* iv, 87).

Some years after the marriage of his daughter, Martha Grayson, William Lunell married his third wife, Rebecca Taylor, of Tullamore. For a time, apparently, they resided in Little Cuffe Street, finally retiring in 1766 to Bristol. Here he died in 1774. The Dublin *Freeman's Journal* of February 8, 1774, announcing his death, mentioned that he was equally eminent as a Merchant and a Banker.

"The Registers of the French Non-Conformist Churches, Dublin," edited by Mr. Le Fanu, comprising vol. 14 of the *Publications of the Huguenot Society of London*, contain the record of his death and burial, as under :—

1774.

GUILLAUME LUNEL. Guillaume Lunel, mort a Bristol en Janvier dernier (28th January, 1774) agé de 74 ans, a été enterré le 26e de Mai au Green.

"The Green" refers to the Huguenot Cemetery in Merrion Row at the north-east corner of Stephen's Green, Dublin. The archway entrance bears the date 1693, and the Cemetery belonged originally to the French Church in Lucy Lane, now Chancery Place on the north side of the city.

His widow, Rebecca Lunell, died in Bristol on March 10, 1807, aged 82 years, and was buried with her husband in the Huguenot Cemetery in Dublin. Their elder son, William Peter, settled in Bristol and his name is recorded as a merchant in Brunswick Square in 1785 and onward to 1843. He and two of his sons became members of the Guild of Merchant Venturers, who, mentions Mr. Le Fanu, still preserve his portrait painted in 1808. He took an active part in the anti-slavery Movement. Names of the Lunell family continued in the *Bristol Directory* up to 1880. It was while attending his mother's funeral in Dublin in 1807 that William Peter Lunell took occasion to visit his father's old home in Francis Street, when, apparently, he formed the filial purpose of making so complete a record of the family history as has become available, with advantage, to posterity.

In Dublin the banking tradition of the family was carried on by William's second son, George, a successful merchant, who was a Director of the Bank of Ireland, from 1793 to 1811, and who, in turn, was succeeded by his son, William Peter Lunell, Junior, who acted in a similar capacity from 1812 to 1842. The name of Lunell survived in Dublin up to as late as 1907.

D. B. BRADSHAW.

(Mr. Bradshaw calls attention to a difficulty arising from a statement in Charles Wesley's *Journal*.

> Sun. Aug. 14, 1748. At five I walked to the preaching-room, and gave them a welcome word of exhortation . . . . I met them again, and my brother, at S. Patrick's.

St. Patrick's is the Cathedral Church of Dublin. Who is meant by "my brother"? John Wesley, as seen in his *Journal*, was then in Newcastle-upon-Tyne. Samuel Wesley, junior, died in 1739. A brother after the Spirit must be intended. F.F.B.)

THE FIRST METHODIST SOCIETY.

THE DATE AND PLACE OF ITS ORIGIN.

The Centenary of Wesleyan Methodism was celebrated in 1839, the formation of the United Societies in 1739 determining the date. The bi-centenary celebrations held in 1938 have eommemorated an earlier event, the evangelical conversion of John and Charles Wesley. This change, as we pointed out last year, proved to be wisely conceived.

But it would be regrettable if that which was celebrated in 1839 should be forgotten; rather should steps be taken to secure the interest of all the wider fellowship established by Methodist Union.

To this end we are reprinting an article of great value, contributed by one of the most competent of the early members of the W.H.S. to the third volume of the *Proceedings*, 1902. In copying this article we have retained Mr. McCullagh's spelling of "Foundry," but Curnock, Telford, Tyerman and Simon all spell "Foundery."

By "the first Methodist Society" I mean the earliest ancestral Society of the Connexion which is now governed by the legally-constituted "Conference of the people called Methodists." The "Oxford Movement," begun by the Wesleys in 1729, educational, philanthropic, and religious, although intensely devout, earnest, self-denying and courageous, was limited to a class, and local in the sphere of its operations and influence. Besides, while its aim, the acquisition of holiness, was excellent, it failed to understand the evangelical means by which holiness could be attained. The small society which the elder Wesley formed in Georgia need scarcely be mentioned, as his own views of saving truth were then defective: and no adequate measures were taken by him for its perpetuation. It was not until May, 1738, when both brothers received correct views of God's methods of salvation, that, in the exercise of a faith which had in it the element of implicit, personal trust in Christ, they found rest to their souls, and became fully qualified for their great mission, spreading Scriptural holiness through the land.

The first of the Methodist societies, of which our twentieth century Methodism is an unbroken continuation, had its origin in 1739, an *annus mirabilis* in the life-story of the Wesleys. In that year they first resorted to open-air preaching, erected or purchased buildings for holding meetings, and preached, with their friend Whitefield, with an intensity of earnestness and power that made

men wonder. Under John's ministry that year occurred the most numerous and remarkable of those cases of physical prostration and shrieking outcries, which, before Wesley's time, and since, have occasionally, but rarely, marked the course of religious revivals. In 1739, too, began those itinerant labours of the brothers, which afterwards became so general and extensive. A quieter, and then less noticeable, event was the formation this same memorable year of the first of the "United Societies," as the Methodist societies were called during the early years of their existence.

When and where did the first Methodist society originate? is a question which ought not to be difficult to answer; and yet, while geographical explorers have risked their lives to find the sources of great rivers, some of the biographers of Wesley have taken but little, if any, pains in investigating the origin of Methodist societies. This is the more noticeable in the case of the most voluminous biography, a work which appears in the form of annals, a chapter being devoted to each year In the chapter on "1739," seventy-eight pages are given to the events of that year, but not a word to the "rise," as Wesley calls it, "of the United Society." In the chapter on "1740," an account is given of the secession of Wesley and several of his adherents from the Fetter Lane Society, the biographer adding: "The day following, the seceding society, numbering twenty-five men and fifty women, met for the first time at the Foundry instead of Fetter Lane; and so the *Methodist Society was founded on July 23, 1740.*" The writer overlooks that for seven months previously to July 23, 1740, a society existed at the Foundry contemporaneously with the one at Fetter Lane.

The origin of the first Methodist society is given in the preamble to the "Rules," a copy of which should be handed to every new member. These Rules, signed John Wesley, Charles Wesley, were first published in 1743, and are included in Wesley's collected Works, Vol. viii. The preamble begins: "In the latter end of the year 1739, eight or ten persons came to me in London, who appeared to be deeply convinced of sin and earnestly groaning for redemption. They desired (as did two or three more the next day) that I would spend some time with them in prayer and advise them how to flee from the wrath to come. . . . . I appointed a day when they might all come together, which from thence forward they did every week, namely on Thursday, in the evening . . . . their number increased daily . . . . This was the rise of the United Society, first in London, then in other places."

From these dates it is possible, by ascertaining in Wesley's *Journal*, when, at the "latter end of 1739," he was in London, to fix the exact date of the first meeting which the new society held. Wesley left London on November 12, and did not return until Wednesday, December 19. That was the earliest day the "eight or ten persons" could come to him, and the "two or three more the next day" could not consult him before Thursday, 20. It was then fixed that a Thursday "thenceforward" should be their weekly meeting day. There was only one Thursday left before the year ended, from which it follows conclusively that the first United Society held its first meeting on the evening of December 27, 1739.

Our next question is, *Where* did this parent society of the Methodist Connexion hold its meetings? I answer, without a doubt, in the Fonndry. In Wesley's "Earnest Appeal" (Works, Vol. viii), he tells how he acquired and altered the Foundry, rather reluctantly; and Whitehead shows by an extract from Wesley's unprinted journal that he preached "in a place called the Foundry" (evidently outside), on November 11, 1739. In the "Earnest Appeal," he says, "The united society began a little after," a remark, I think, suggesting that the soeiety met in the buildings.

During seven months (December 27, 1739 to July 20, 1740) the Wesleys were concurrently connected with Fetter Lane society aud the society at the Foundry. At least two of the extracts in John's published Journal refer unmistakably to the new society at the Foundry. More entries may be found in the Journal of Charles, which was not intended for publication, relating to the Foundry society. On April 3, 1740, Charles Wesley returned to London after a considerable absence, and wrote: "I reached London by two . . . . At the Foundry I preached . . . . We joined to meet in the name of Jesus. My heart was enlarged in prayer for the *infant society*. I talked with poor perverted Mr. Simpson. The still ones have carried their point . . . . I asked him if he were *still* in the means of grace or out of them. 'Means of grace!' he answered, there are none.' . . . . I then said little, but thought, 'Ah, my brother, you have set the wolf to keep the sheep!'" Mr. Simpson was a clergyman, known to the Wesleys, probably attracted to London by reports of the great spiritual work in progress there. John Wesley, it appears from the above, had placed him in charge of the society at the Foundry, during his own and his brother's absence. On his

return Charles found Simpson "perverted" to the Molther quietism by attending the meetings at Fetter Lane, as well as those at the Foundry.

The following from Charles Wesley's Journal, April 9, 1740, also refers to the Uuited society at the Foundry: . . . . "I finished Isaiah i, at the Foundry. . . . . I am astonished at the divine goodness; how seasonably did it bring us hither, and lead us since! . . . . The true light shone in our darkness Several saw His glory; some testified it in the society. . . . . Bell was present. 'Christ commands me to say,' said Bell, 'that the ordinances are no commands.' I forbad all disputes, telling him, ... in Fetter Lane none durst speak for them; here none should speak against them. If he could forbear, he should be welcome here; otherwise not." Bell was a prominent member of the Fetter Lane society.

On May 4, 1740, Howel Harris "blundered to the Foundry," although directed to go and hear Viney preach elsewhere by James Hutton; and on May 8, Harris bore a noble testimony for the "ordinances" (i e., public worship, private prayer, searching the Scriptures, receiving the Lord's supper, etc.), which greatly delighted Charles Wesley. "Poor Simpson," Charles writes, "stood by, hardening his heart. . . . . Scarce any from Fetter Lane were present, too good care had been taken to prevent them."

The following is from John Wesley's Journal (June 19, 1740), only a month before he seceded from the Fetter Lane Society. "Mr. Acourt complained that Mr. Nowers had hindered his going into our society. Mr. Nowers answered 'It was by Mr. C. Wesley's order.' 'What,' said Mr. Acourt, 'Do you refuse admitting a person into your society only because he differs from you in opinion? . . . . . I hold a certain number is elected from eternity, and these must and shall be saved, and the rest of mankind must and shall be damned. And many of your society hold the same.' I replied, 'I never asked whether they hold it or no; only let them not trouhle others by disputing about it.' He said, 'Nay, but I will dispute about it . . . because you are all wrong, and I am resolved to set you all right.' 'I fear your coming with this view would neither profit you nor us.' He concluded, 'Then I will go and tell all the world that you and your brother are false prophets.'" This has often been quoted by writers as the first indication of the coming Calvinistic troubles. I cite it to show that the society referred to is not that of Fetter Lane (of which Wesley's Journal at the time was very full) but the "United"

or Methodist society at the Foundry. Charles Wesley had no power to set anyone to guard admission to the Fetter Lane society, nor did he seek it. Besides, Nowers was especially obnoxious to the pro-Moravian members, as he had but recently returned from the Moravian establishment of Herrnhaag, in Germany, with disapproval of the system in operation there. In March, 1740, Hutton wrote to Zinzendorff: "Charles Wesley had determined to go to Germany, but now he will not since he has seen Nowers. John Wesley has carried Nowers wherever he could, speaking against the Brethren. I told Nowers he should smart for speaking against us, I mean the Herrndyk Brethren, who are part of my herd" (Benham's Memoirs of James Hutton, page 47). At the Foundry the Wesleys were pastors of the society, and as such refused admission to one whose avowed and even boasted object was to make disturbance and division.

Some persons, reading in the preamble to the Rules that the "rise of the United Society" (i.e. Methodist Society), in "the latter end of the year 1739," was "first in London and then in other places;" and then reading in Wesley's Journal that a new room was erected by Wesley in Bristol, in May and June, 1739, and that he ministered to society meetings there before "the latter end of 1739," are, no doubt, somewhat puzzled. The solution respectfully offered to those who need it, is that the societies at Bristol, ministered to by the Wesleys in 1739 and some time after, belonged to the old historic "Religious Societies," of which Dr. Woodward wrote an account; and that the New Room was built by Wesley for the better accommodation of two of those societies. Wesley came to Bristol for the first time on March 31, 1739, to follow up the work of Whitefield.

Next Day (April 1) Wesley began expounding our Lord's Sermon on the Mount "to a little society which was accustomed to meet once or twice a week in Nicholas Street." The following day he "submitted to be more vile" by preaching in the open-air at four o'clock. "At seven," he writes, "I began expounding the Acts of the Apostles to a society meeting in Baldwin Street." These two were probably the principal societies, but there were others to which he sometimes ministered, at Gloucester Lane, Castle Street and Back Lane. These societies gladly opened their doors to Whitefield and the Wesley as ministers of their own church,—for the members were not Dissenters,—and as they were generally earnest and devout. they were to some extent a people prepared of the Lord.

So far as having an organised society under his own control was concerned, Wesley throughout 1739 was himself in a transition state. He was one of the founders of the Fetter Lane society, to whom, as a leading clergyman, precedence was conceded when present at the meetings, but this was more of courtesy than right. Two of the institutions of that society,—lovefeasts and bands,—he introduced at Bristol into the religious societies, with which he soon acquired influence, or wherever he could. Of April 4, 1739, he writes: "At Baptist Mills (a sort of suburb or village about half a mile from Bristol) I offered the grace of God to about fifteen hundred persons. . . . . In the evening three women agreed to meet together, with the same intention as those in London, viz., to confess their faults one to another, and to pray one for another that they may be healed. At eight four young men agreed to meet in pursuance of the same design." "Those in London" were the Fetter Lane society, whose Rules or "Orders" are given in Wesley's *Journal* (May 1, 1738. The first rule contained this "command of God by St. James," on mutual confession and prayer. In December, 1738, Wesley drew up the "Rules of the Band Societies" (see his *Works*, vol. viii). Another of the institutions of Fetter Lane Society—love-feasts,—(called in Wesley's New Testament, Jude v, 12, "feasts of love," in the Revised Version, "love-feasts," and in the Authorised Version, "feasts of charity"), Wesley induced the Baldwin Street religious society to adopt. On April 28,—four weeks from the commencement of his ministry in Bristol,—he preached in the open air in three different places, to four thousand, three thousand and seven thousand persons; also in Clifton Church to a crowded congregation; attended the Gloucester-lane society, and closes the amazing record with the quiet remark, "After which was our first love-feast in Baldwin Street." That first love-feast shows us that a transition-state had commenced in that society.

To shew that the New Room was not erected for a Methodist society (of which then there was none), but for the pre-existing "religious societies at Nicholas Street and Baldwin Street, I need only cite Wesley's own words in his Journal, Wednesday, May 9, 1739: "We took possession of a piece of ground near St. James's church-yard, in the Horse Fair, where it was designed to build a room, large enough to contain both the societies of Nicholas and Baldwin Street, and such of their acquaintance as might desire to be present with them at such times as the Scripture was expounded. And on Saturday, 12, the first stone was laid with the voice of praise and thanksgiving."

Notwithstanding this decisive statement many writers on Wesley and Methodism have persistently called the new room in Bristol "the first Methodist preaching-house," or chapel. Myles in his "Chronological History of the people called Methodists," apparently to harmonise any conflicting claims to priority in the matter of Methodist preaching-houses between London and Bristol, writes: "If the first preaching-house was *built* in Bristol, the first which was *opened* was in London." He gives, as the date of the opening of the Foundry, November 11, 1739. Where Myles found, or thought he found, a later date than this for the opening of the New Room, I cannot tell. This I read in Wesley's Journal, June 3, 1739: "Not being permitted to meet in Baldwin Street, we met in the shell of our new society-room." That was a premature opening of this unfinished and humble structure. But what concerns us in this paper is not so much the building,— its cost, and how Wesley had to take it into his own hands,—as the society for which it was erected. Did that society become an "United" or Methodist society, like the one at the Foundry? It did, and for full proof of this I refer to Wesley's Journal, February 24, 1741: "The bands meeting at Bristol, I read over the names of the United Society, being determined that no disorderly walker should remain therein. Accordingly I took an account of every person, (1.) to whom any objection was made; (2.) who was not known to and recommended by some on whose veracity I could depend. To those who were recommended tickets were given on the following days. Most of the rest I had face to face with their accusers, and such as either appeared innocent, or confessed their faults and promised better behaviour, were then received into the society. The others were put upon trial again, unless they voluntarily expelled themselves. About forty were by this means separated from us, I trust only for a season."

Here then we see the transition state of the religious societies at Nicholas Street and Baldwin Street, Bristol, ended, and a newer and better state of things established. And here we see Wesley, not as a mere member of a flock, but as a Christian pastor and teacher, bearing the responsibilities and exercising the functions of the pastoral office. The glorious issues of the rise of the United Society, first in London and then in other places, justifies, I hope, the pains taken to ascertain the exact date and place of its origin.

T. McCULLAGH.

(Dr. Simon, in his first volume on Wesley, entitled *John Wesley and the Religious Societies* introduces towards the end some information which really belongs to the second volume, entitled *John Wesley and the Methodist Societies*. He refers to this article by Mr. McCullagh in which, as appears above, the opinion is expressed that the first meeting of the new Society was held at the Foundery in the evening of Thursday December 27, 1739. "He was a careful investigator, and his judgment commands respect. He seems, however, to have overlooked the entry in the *Journal* on December 24." In this significant entry, Dr. Simon says, "Wesley tells us that, after spending part of the night at Fetter Lane, he went to a smaller company of people. Those who were assembled occupied the time in exhorting one another with hymns and spiritual songs and in prayer. We have no information as to the place of meeting nor any other particulars, but the reference to this little company gathered together on Christmas Eve warrants the suggestion that, at this point, we catch sight of a new Society which was undoubtedly formed at the close of 1739. . . . . It was formed on lines differing essentially from those on which the Religious Societies were based. . . . . Consciously or unconsciously, Wesley had entered on a new path which diverged from the way in which he had walked with old companions, and led him towards the extraordinary successes of his work as an evangelist.")

TURNPIKES AND TOLLS.

For some time I have been interested in the complicated question of Turnpikes and tolls, and in view of the query (No. 789) by the Rev. R. Lee Cole in *Proceedings* xxii, p. 45, the time seems opportune for a brief statement of the position as it affected Wesley and the Methodist preachers.

The state of English roads in the eighteenth century is too well known to need further description.[1] The turnpike system originated in a recognition of the principle that "every person ought to contribute to the repair of roads in proportion to the use they make of, or the convenience they derive from them." The system had its beginning in 1663, when the Justices of the Peace for Hertfordshire were authorised in a special Act of Parliament to erect toll-gates and levy tolls of passengers at Wadesmill, and to expend the proceeds on road maintenance. For thirty years this toll-bar remained unique. Then similar powers were given to the Justices of some other counties.[2]

The Turnpike Trusts came into being in 1706. In that year a new statutory body was created for the maintenance of the road

1. See J. H. Whiteley's *Wesley's England*, p. 64.
2. The Act authorising toll-bars on the Harwich Road, Essex, in 1695, contains the first statutory mention of the word "turnpike."

between Fornhill in Bedfordshire and Stony Stratford in Buckinghamshire. This Act was the first of what proved to be a long series of statutes creating special bodies of Turnpike Trustees, each consisting of so many named persons, empowered to levy tolls on specified lengths of road, and to fill vacancies in their number by co-option. The power of these Trusts was limited to a stated term of years (usually twenty-one) but was renewable on expiration.

The system spread very rapidly. For the first fifty years it was regarded as a temporary device, but in 1838 there had been passed by Parliament no fewer than 3800 separate Turnpike Acts creating or renewing 1116 Trusts.[3] These Trusts administered 23,000 miles of road with 7,796 toll gates, levied an annual income of more than 1½ millions sterling, and eventually accumulated a debt of seven million pounds.[4]

The operations of the Turnpike Trusts, however, were not so extensive as they appear at first sight. In 1820, for example, the total length of recognised highway was about 125,000 miles, but only 20,875 miles (just over one-sixth) was under the Trusts and liable to toll. The road from Glasgow to London in 1739 had no toll-bar until Grantham was reached.[5] In 1815 Cornwall had only 7½% of its total road mileage under the Turnpike Trusts, Cumberland 8%, Suffolk and Essex 10% Lincoln 11%, Monmouth and Staffordshire 25%.[6] These facts have an important bearing on the extent of John Wesley's liability to pay tolls on his travels.

We now turn to the legal question of the payment of tolls on the turnpike roads and exemption therefrom.[7] There are many difficulties to face. Not the least of these is the fact that for the

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3. Sidney and Beatrice Webb's *English Local Government: Statutory Authorities for Special Purposes*, p. 175. In *The Development of Transportation in Modern England*, by W. T. Jackman, p 743. there is an interesting chart, showing the growth of the Turnpike Trusts through successive periods of twenty years throughout the 18th and 19th centuries.

4. *English Local Government: Statutory Authorities for Special Purposes*, p. 152.

5. Cleland's *Statistical Account of Glasgow.*

6. Sidney and Beatrice Webb's *Story of the King's Highway*, p. 225.

7. "Turnpike—from the adoption of the horizontal tapering bars of iron or wood suspended upon a rigid, perpendicular pillar, around which, as an axis, they revolved. A turnpike road means a road having toll-gates or bars on it, which were originally called turns.' The distinctive mark of a turnpike road is the right of turning back anyone who refuses to pay toll." Webb's *Statutory Authorities for Special Purposes*, p. 157.

greater part of the eighteenth century the Turnpike Acts creating such large numbers of Trusts were regarded as "local" Acts, and are therefore not to be found in the usual collections of "Statutes of the Realm." Most were not printed at all, and the only copies that exist are hidden away in solicitors' offices or the archives of County Councils. This means that it is now almost impossible to discover all the provisions which govern the operations of these eleven hundred Trusts. These provisions differed widely. There were, for example, both "general" and "local" exemptions from payment of tolls. The mails, military horses and the carriages of persons going to elections were among the "general" exemptions, but whether persons going to Church were *generally* exempt, or only *locally* exempt, is not clear. One writer is emphatic in the statement that this was a *general* exemption.[8]

But even more important is the fact that the wording of the phrases relating to exemptions, and the construction put upon them, differed considerably in the various Acts. For example, the Ludlow Turnpike Act, 1750, lays down that "no toll shall be taken for any person residing in the townships, passing to and from Church."[9] Again in a case tried at Suffolk Assizes in 1809, in which a Protestant Dissenter sought to recover toll paid at Halesworth, the local Act is quoted as exempting "persons going to their proper parochial Church, Chapel, or other places of public worship."[10]

This wording appears in another case, which is especially important as being the only case of a claim for exemption from toll on the grounds of Church attendance being carried to the High Court prior to the passing of the General Turnpike Act in 1822.

At the Wiltshire Assizes in 1818, a farmer named Lewis, residing in the parish of Rowde, near Devizes, sued the toll-keeper at the Seend toll-gate for the sum of tenpence, paid on Sunday, April 13, 1818, when proceeding with his family in a cart drawn by two horses to a place of worship of Protestant Dissenters in Devizes.[11] The local Act contained a clause that no toll should be "demanded or taken for the passage of any person or persons residing in the township or parish in which the roads lay, going to

8. *The Turnpike Roads of Nottinghamshire*, by Arthur Cossons, p. 23 (Historical Association Leaflet No. 97). This is a most interesting little booklet.

9. Webb's *Story of the King's Highway*, p. 158.

10. *Methodist Magazine*, 1810, p. 167.

11. Double tolls were charged on Sundays.

and returning from their proper parochial Church, Chapel, or other place of religious worship on Sundays." The jury found that the congregation of Protestant Dissenters, of which the plaintiff was a member, was his "proper place of religious worship," and a verdict for the plaintiff was recorded, with damages of tenpence and costs.[12]

An appeal was lodged with the High Court, and heard before Chief Justice Abbott in the Michaelmas Term, 1818. The learned judge reversed the decision of the lower court, and gave a verdict in favour of the toll-keeper. The judgment is of considerable interest.[13] "This exception does not attend generally to all persons going to or returning from a place of religious worship, nor even to all persons going to or returning from their *proper* place of religious worship. The words 'church, chapel or other place of religious worship' are to be understood with reference to the epithet 'parochial,' as well as the epithet 'proper'." In other words, exemption from toll could only be claimed by a person proceeding on Sundays to his proper place of worship so long as it was situated in the parish in which he resided.

From the foregoing considerations, it would appear to me that Wesley would be liable to pay tolls whenever he travelled on a turnpike road. In any case, exemption could only be claimed *on Sundays*, and even then, I think, his status as a clergyman would not save him. The point of real interest is whether Wesley chose always to pay, or sometimes preferred to take an alternative route which would avoid the turnpike roads. But this is a question which can never be answered!

We turn now to the nineteenth century, for its turnpike legislation immediately concerned the Methodist preachers. In 1822 the General Turnpike Act became law.[14] The 32nd section of this Act is important for our present purpose:

> "And be it further enacted, that no toll shall be demanded or taken by virtue of this or any other Act or Acts of Parliament, on any Turnpike Road, of or from any person or persons going to or returning from his, her, or their proper parochial Church, or Chapel, or of or from any other

12. *Methodist Magazine*, 1818, p. 386.

13. I have read the case in Barnewell and Alderson's Reports (King's Bench), vol. ii, pp. 206 ff, *Lewis v Hammond*.

14. An Act to Amend the General Laws now in being for regulating Turnpike Roads in that Part of Great Britain called England. (3 Geo. iv. c. 126).

person or persons *going to or returning from his, her, or their usual place of Religious Worship, tolerated by Law,*[15] on Sundays, or any day on which Divine service is by authority ordered to be celebrated,[16] or of or from any Inhabitant of any Parish, Township, or place, going to, or returning from attending, the Funeral of any person who shall die, and be buried, in the Parish, Township or Hamlet, in which any Turnpike Road shall lie; or from any Rector, Vicar or Curate, going to or returning from visiting any sick Parishioner, or on other his parochial duty within his Parish."[17]

It may further be noted that by section 33, exemption could not be claimed at any turnpike gate within five miles of the Royal Exchange in the City of London, or within five miles of Westminster Hall in the City of Westminster. Sections 149 and 150 also excluded the Commercial Road and its branches, in the east of London, and Telford's new road from Glasgow to Carlisle.

The words italicised above indicate the relief that this Act intended to be given to Dissenters generally. Exemption from payment of tolls could now be claimed by any person proceeding to his *usual* place of worship on Sundays, whether it was within or without the parish in which he resided. But whatever the intention of the Act, its application by toll-keepers, Trustees, and often magistrates, inflicted considerable inconvenience and sometimes hardship upon the Methodist preachers, both local and itinerant. Everything hinged upon the meaning of the word "usual."

The early files of the *Watchman* and the *Methodist Recorder* contain numerous reports of cases in which Methodist preachers resorted to law in order to recover tolls illegally exacted from them and paid under protest. The following instances will serve as illustrations:

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15. The italics are mine. In considering the phrase "tolerated by law," we must remember that the Places of Religious Worship Act (which finally relieved dissenters from the penalties of the Toleration Act) had been passed in 1812.

16. That is, the holy days of the Church, such as Good Friday and Christmas Day, and the fixed or occasional State holy days such as Accession Day.

17. At the Abergavenny Police Court in 1876 this latter clause was held not to apply to a Roman Catholic clergyman. (News cutting from *Cardiff Times*, November 25, 1876). By implication one imagines it would not apply to a Methodist preacher.

1. Rev. J. Fowler at Halton Dial Turnpike in the borough of Leeds, in 1835.[18]
2. Mr. Richard Langdale, of Kirby Wiske, Newsham toll-bar. Case heard at Thirsk, 1835.[19]
3. Rev. H. J. Thomas at Weybridge Gate, Hereford, in 1839.[20]
4. Rev. P. Prescott at Fens Bar. Case heard at Overton Petty Sessions, Flintshire, 1845.[21]

In all these cases the preachers were successful in the courts.[22] On the other hand, at Knaresborough in 1840, the toll-keeper at Harrogate bar succeeded against Mr. W. Stables, a local preacher of Kirkby Overblow.[23] Such cases were regularly being heard in the courts until as late as 1870. The toll-keepers took the not unreasonable attitude that they would be at the mercy of any persons who fraudulently professed to be a preacher, if the Methodist preachers were to be given indiscriminate exemption when travelling to distant places to preach, under the guise of a "usual place of worship." Preachers adopted the custom of producing their Circuit Plans for the inspection of the toll-keeper in order to prove the validity of their claim, but a Methodist Plan was often beyond the comprehension of unlettered and hopelessly biased employees of the Turnpike Trustees.

The Wesleyan Conference obtained legal opinion on the question. A distinguished counsel, Mr. R. Matthews, gave his opinion in favour of exemption for the Methodist preachers, as also did Mr. Fitzroy Kelly, M.P., Q.C.[24] In 1829, the Protestant Society for the Protection of Religious Liberty stated a case for the opinion of Sir N. C. Tindal, then Solicitor General and afterwards Chief Justice of the Court of Common Pleas. The case presented and the opinion given are set out in the *Methodist Magazine*, 1841, pp 377-8. Once again, legal opinion was in favour of the preachers' claims, and these opinions were widely quoted in courts.

It was not until 1870, however. that the question of exemption was tested in the High Court. On Sunday, March 6, 1870

18. *Watchman*, 1835, p. 22.
19. *Watchman*, 1835, p. 261.
20. *Ibid.*, 1839, p 427
21. *Ibid.*, 1845, p. 150.
22. Other cases are reported in *Methodist Magazine*, 1847, p. 193 and 1848, p. 1241 ff.
23. *Watchman*, September 16, 1840.
24. The opinions are given in *Methodist Magazine*, 1841, p. 375.

a Primitive Methodist minister was on his way to preach at a hamlet named Filkins, on the borders of Oxfordshire and Gloucestershire, and claimed exemption at a toll-bar by reason of his office. He produced his Plan and refused to pay. He was duly summoned by the toll-keeper and convicted by the magistrates. His appeal was heard by Justices Blackburn and Mellor in the Queen's Bench Division, on November 24, 1870. The court held "that in going to Filkins on the Sundays indicated in the Plan, to conduct the services there, the minister was going to 'his usual place of religious worship' and was therefore exempt from liability to pay tolls." The conviction was therefore quashed.[25]

And so this question was finally laid to rest, though in later years a protracted correspondence took place in the *Methodist Recorder* on the liability of local preachers who supplied appointments for their brethren at short notice, and who therefore could not show their names as appearing on the Plan for such services. In view of a decision in 1868, in the case of *Brunskill v Watson*, however, the legal claims of such supplies seem a little shaky, for in the case mentioned it was held that a curate of one parish was not exempt from toll while going to officiate temporarily, without the licence or permission of the bishop, in another neighbouring parish during the absence of the incumbent.[26] It would appear, also, that in later years there was no insistence upon the strict letter of the law and that exemption was given to preachers on weekdays as well as Sundays.

But the evil system of the Turnpike Trusts had nearly run its course. A Select Committee of the House of Commons in 1864 had denounced the whole system of tolls as "unequal in pressure, costly in collection, inconvenient to the public, and injurious, as causing a serious impediment to intercourse and traffic." For once the House adopted the advice of a Select Committee, and thereafter refused to renew the terms of many of the Trusts as they expired. Gradually the management of the roads was transferred to new district and county authorities, until on November 1, 1895, the last toll was taken on the public roads of England and Wales[27] and the last of the Turnpike Trusts came to an end.

25. *Smith v Barnett*, Law Reports, 6 Queen's Bench, p. 34.
26. *Brunskill v Watson*, Law Reports, 3 Queen's Bench, p. 418.
27. On the Anglesey portion of the Holyhead Road.

We still continue to pay (a) tolls on bridges, either under local or private Acts (e.g. the Conway Suspension Bridge) or merely as private property (e.g. Lord St. Levan's bridge between Plymouth and Devonport); and (b) in a few cases, tolls on roads constructed and owned by individuals.

And so we may conclude with the words of a song composed for and sung on the occasion of the opening of the new London Bridge in 1831:

"And God save the King, shouted many a poor soul'
Who opens the bridge where we shan't pay a toll."

WESLEY F. SWIFT.

ANNUAL MEETING OF THE W.H.S.

The Annual Meeting of the W.H.S. was held at Trinity Methodist Church, Southport, on Friday, July 21, 1939. Mr. and Mrs. Duncan Coomer entertained the members to tea. The Rev. Dr. J. Ernest Rattenbury presided.

The President, Mr. E. S. Lamplough, was re-elected, and deep sympathy was extended to him in his long illness. The Auditor, Mr. H. Ward, who has carefully supervised the Society's accounts for many years, desired to retire. His resignation was accepted with many thanks for his services; Mr. Duncan Coomer was appointed in his place. The other officers of the Society were re-appointed as printed on the cover of the *Proceedings*.

The Treasurer's statement showed a very sound position.

The Secretary reported that during the year 26 new members had been enrolled, 7 had died, 10 had retired or lapsed. There were 13 Life Members living, 319 Honorary and Working Members, 49 Libraries and kindred Societies received the *Proceedings*, making the total strength of the Society 381 (exclusive of the Branches), a nett gain on the year of 9.

The Editorial Council, consisting of the Secretary, Rev. Dr. Harrison, Dr. T. B. Shepherd, and Mr. Leslie T. Daw, M.A., B.Sc. was re-appointed. Mr. Daw was thanked for his patient skill in in preparing the Index to the recently completed vol. xxi, of the *Proceedings*.

An invitation was accepted for the next Annual Meeting and Lecture to be held at Scotland Street Methodist Church, Sheffield, at the time of the Conference.

The Secretary was asked to ascertain what support would be forthcoming if an attempt were made to revive the circulation of the Manuscript Journal of the Society. This was a most useful feature of the Society's work for a long period, but lapsed some years ago.

Dr. Whiteley's Lecture, which followed the Meeting, was noticed in our last issue.

THE IRISH BRANCH.

The President is Mr. F. J. Cole, and the Secretary Rev. R. C. P. Crawford, with Rev. R. Wesley Olver as Treasurer and Curator.

There has been considerably activity during the year, especially in the Historical Room at the Edgehill College. Since last Conference about 100 volumes have been added to the Library, including a set of Primitive Wesleyan Methodist Magazines, and a set of Primitive Wesleyan Methodist Minutes.

The books have been arranged, all letters and documents have been classified and filed, and the whole is in process of being indexed. A complete set of Class Tickets has been gathered from 1800, with the exception of one, for September, 1820; also quite a number of the Band Tickets, though these are more difficult to obtain. A large number of very interesting articles have been contributed, including a Wesley letter; a Hymn Book used by John Wesley in the old Church, Limerick; a pair of pewter collection plates, Limerick, 1793; and, by the courtesy of the Presbyterian Historical Society, a Sacramental Token, "Wesleyan Chapel, Dumfries, 1787." An authenticated lock of Charles Wesley's hair also came to light.

The Room will become of increasing interest and use; during the year the Curator has received numerous requests for information for the writing of books and articles.

Irish membership stands at 60, but it is hoped that as the interest and usefulness grows, more will join. R.W.O.

THE NEW ZEALAND BRANCH.

This Branch, in which the actual membership is now about fifty, is contending with great difficulties. It has been found necessary to discontinue the local matter which for nearly a decade has, either as cover or inset, accompanied the *Proceedings* when despatched to the N.Z. members.

The problem of exchange is acute.

The Rev. Dr. C. H. Laws, of Auckland, is President The Rev. John D. Grocott, who has been acting as Secretary and Treasurer, has resigned, being thanked for his services, and his duties have been taken over by the Rev. George Frost, of Auckland. We wish him and his collaborators every success.

One of the last of the New Zealand insets contained several Wesley letters which shall receive our further attention.

THE AUSTRALASIAN METHODIST HISTORICAL SOCIETY. SYDNEY.

We have to acknowledge a gift of a bound book of the *Journal and Proceedings* including volumes i—v, and the first two parts of volume vi. The dates are January, 1933, to January, 1938. We have referred to this useful publication before, and have great pleasure in receiving this permanent copy. It was handed over in London, by Mr. George B. Minns, acting on behalf of the Rev. F. R. Swynny. Mr. Minns visited Westminster College to take the book to Dr. Harrsion, and afterwards saw the Secretary of the W.H.S.

In part 17 of the *Journal*, Miss E. G. Pickering, the research secretary and librarian, gives an interesting account of the Museum which is being built up by the Society at Sydney. In addition to a number of items illustrative of Methodist history in Australia, are two letters of John Wesley, and some very early editions of Wesley's hymns, one so rare that only three others of it are known to exist. (We should welcome particulars of these letters and of the rare hymnbook). Part 18 details the story of Rotuma and its Methodism, and a digest of the South Australian Methodist Centenary booklet written by Rev. W. T. Shapley. Part 19 prints a long and important paper read before the Society by the Rev. Dr. Prescott, of Sydney, on the subject, "Wesley and the Germans." This essay, read in May, 1938, formed part of the Wesley bi-centenary celebration. The same number contains a history of Queensland Methodism by the Rev. W. Henry Howard.

It is evident that our antipodean friends are pursuing their work with skill and enthusiasm.

THE ASSOCIATION OF METHODIST HISTORICAL SOCIETIES, U.S.A.

The Fourteenth Annual Meeting of the Association was held in Kansas City, the seat of the Uniting Conference, on May 3, 1939. Representatives from the Historical Societies of fifteen Conferences were present. The constitution, it is interesting to note, has now been amended to permit individuals to membership on the payment of one dollar per annum.

Dr. James R. Joy, of New York, is the President, Mr. Charles F. Eggleston, of Philadelphia, Secretary and Treasurer. There are three Vice-Presidents: Dr. E. C. Hallman, Dr. Paul N. Garber and Dr. R. L. Shipley.

At the Uniting Conference an "Aisle of History" was arranged. Contributions from the three uniting Churches (whose names appeared in *Proceedings*, xxi, 190) were shown, including portraits, manuscripts, periodicals, medals, relating to Methodist history in England and in America. Mrs. Onstott has kindly sent us an illustrated booklet entitled: *The Highroad of Methodism; the Heights of Separation and Union*, by Dr. H. E. Woolever, Secretary of the Joint Commission on Methodist Union. Herein is skilfully told the stirring story of what is called "the greatest event in American religious life."

We have received numbers 6 and 8 of the Bulletin issued by the Association, dated November, 1938, and July, 1939. It is good to read of activities carried on by the constituent Societies. The Pittsburg Conference Historical Society aarranged a fine programme in celebration of the Sesqui-Contennial of the first Methodist preaching in its territory. They have also published the story of the founding of Methodism in Western Pennsylvania by Dr. J. S. Payton. The Wisconsin Conference Historical Society have published the first part of a history of their Conference by Elizabeth Wilson.

The Moravian College at Bethlehem, Pa., has a handsome colonial archivist building in which are stored many valuable books and manuscripts. Dr. Sweitzer, President of the College, produced to visitors from the Philadelphia Society the manuscript

journal of Bishop David Nitschmann, and translated for them part of the German text in which particulars are given of the voyage to Georgia by John and Charles Wesley. Moravian settlers, it is well-known, accompanied them, Bishop Nitschmann being in charge of their party. The writer said John Wesley was quite friendly, and started to learn German and at the same time began to teach them English. It is stated that when they arrived in Georgia, the former rector was in possession of the Rectory, so that John Wesley lived in the Brotherhood house for over three weeks, and while there began the translation of some of their German hymns. We should welcome a detailed account of anything in the manuscript which throws additional light on the Wesleys' Georgia period.

WESLEYANA IN U.S.A.

A letter has reached us from the Librarian of the Emory University, Georgia, in which interest is expressed in our notes on this subject in *N. & Q.*, 790. The writer thinks we may be interested to learn of a collection in the deep Southern part of the States.

Emory University, through the efforts of Bishop Warren A. Candler, secured some years ago, the Wesleyana collected by Mr. Thursfield Smith, of Whitchurch, Salop. The older members will recall the enthusiasm of Mr. Smith in pursuit of a hobby which he took up somewhat late in life, and the kindness with which he helped fellow workers. The Osborn Collection and many individual items have been added to this, and the whole has been placed in a special Wesleyan room. Among the manuscripts are 62 original letters of Wesley. In the preface to the first volume of *Standard Letters*, Mr. Telford refers to 48 Wesley letters at Emory. We should be grateful if we could be supplied with particulars about these letters, and permitted to publish for the benefit of our members any that have not yet been printed.

The room contains also 200 letters by members of the Wesley family, and 87 by such prominent figures in the Evangelical Revival as John Bennet, Dr. Coke, John and Mary Fletcher, George Whitefield and the Countess of Huntingdon. The books and pamphlets in the room amount to 2608, of varied biographical and historical interest.

INTERNATIONAL METHODIST HISTORICAL UNION
(EASTERN SECTION).

The Liverpool Conference re-appointed this Committee, the following being the names: Revs. George Ayre, Percy J. Boyling, F. F. Bretherton, B.A., Leslie F. Church, B.A., Ph.D., James Ellis, Joseph Johnson, W. Hodson Smith, Edgar W. Thompson, M.A., Jacob Walton; Messrs. Edmund Austen, A. W. Edwards, Charles W. Hodgson, H. W. Mansfield, T. B. Shepherd, Ph.D., Stanley Sowton; with Rev. E. C. Barton as Treasurer, and the Rev. Dr. Harrison, Secretary and Convener.

Nearly all these are members of the W.H.S. It is desirable that there should be hearty co-operation between the Union and the Society, though the distinction between them should be borne in mind. The Union has no literary organ, and it has been our privilege from time to time to record its activities in our *Proceedings*.

Under the auspices of the Union Wesley Day was celebrated by a Commemoration at Wesley's Chapel. Tea was kindly provided by Mr. Harry Dawson, J.P., of Huddersfield. Mr. Sydney Walton presided, and short addresses were given by Mrs. G. Elsie Harrison, Rev. F. F. Bretherton, Dr. Harrison, and Mr. Stanley Sowton. The Right Hon. Lord Rochester, C.M.G., presided over a public meeting in the chapel, and the Rev. R. Scott Frayn gave an address which proved an appropriate prelude to the rendering of a programme with the title "Methodism makes Music." To name this performance, arranged by Mrs. Boyling, is not easy: Americans might call it a Choralogue; to call it a Service of Song would probably convey a fairly correct idea to most people. The choir and speakers gathered round the organ console; six speaking voices gave the historical setting to hymns and tunes which John Wesley actually sang, and the choir rendered psalms and hymns that were at the heart of Wesley's life story. A deep impression was made, especially when all bowed in sweet stillness at the end.

It will be our endeavour to carry on with the work of this Society so far as the conditions of wartime may allow. A good deal of useful material is ready or in sight: indeed we must apologise to some of our members for the fact that it has been necessary to hold over their contributions till March.