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NOTES FROM CITY ROAD MINUTE BOOKS

A CHARTIST AT WESLEY'S CHAPEL

John Richard Green in his *History of the English People* gives the following six planks of "The People's Charter": Universal suffrage, vote by ballot, annual parliaments, equal electoral districts, abolition of all property qualifications, payment for services. A hundred years later these seem to us commonplaces, but they appeared far different to the members of the Leaders' Meeting at Wesley's Chapel, City Road, in 1840. From the minutes of Leaders' Meetings held on Jan. 7 and Jan. 21, 1840, the Rev. Edward Grindrod in the chair, we extract the following entries.

James Ardrey having openly declared in the Love Feast at City Road, Dec. 22, 1839, that he had joined himself to the "Chartist Association" was summoned to appear before the Leaders Meeting, Jan. 7, 1840, at which time he fully acknowledged the truth of his public declaration. After several ineffectual attempts on the part of the Ministers and Leaders present to convince him of the sin and folly of the step which in this instance he had taken it was resolved unanimously "that this meeting regards the principles and practices of the Chartists as being directly contrary to the precepts of the Word of God and the rules of the Wesleyan Methodist Society, and that the said James Audrey by connecting himself with that Society has rendered himself unworthy of membership with us."

Upon the passing of this resolution Mr. Grindrod, the superintendent, reminded the Leaders that as a regulation of the Conference required that no expulsion should take place at the meeting at which the accused party was found guilty he must, of course, delay the sentence until a subsequent period.

The expulsion took place a fortnight later on Jan. 21, and the following is the minute.

"The superintendent being in his place stated that he had since the last meeting seriously considered the case of James Ardrey, that he entirely agreed with the "finding" of the Leaders Meeting in that case and that in the exercise of the power entrusted to him he felt it his painful duty to expel

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James Ardrey from Christian fellowship with this Society, and did therefore accordingly declare him to be so expelled."

The minutes were signed by Ed. Grindrod, and indeed the whole of the entry would appear to be in his handwriting.

C. POLLARD.

Those who wish to pursue the interesting subject of Methodism and Chartism can find much valuable material in the following books : Dr. Maldwyn Edwards, *This Methodism* ; Dr. Robert F. Wearmouth, *Methodism and the Working-class Movements of England, 1800-1850* ; E. R. Taylor, *Methodism and Politics, 1791-1851*.

F.F.B.

THE CITY ROAD "READER."

In the April number of *Wesley's Chapel Magazine* Mr. Pollard has written an important article on what he rightly calls "a forgotten appointment."

At the time of Wesley's death there were four clergymen of the Church of England who served the Chapel, only episcopally ordained clergymen being permitted to assist in the administration of the Sacrament. Their names were : John Richardson, James Creighton, Peard Dickinson and Thomas Vasey. Richardson died in 1792, Dickinson in 1802, and Creighton in 1819. Vasey itinerated for several years and in 1811 he was appointed "Reader" at the Chapel, to perform the liturgical service, a duty which he carried out for fifteen years. When, at the end of 1825, he gave notice of his intention to retire, the Trustees decided to make inquiry for a regularly ordained clergyman to fill his place. When the Trustees met on 20th February, 1826, it was reported that no clergyman of the Church of England belonging to the Methodist Society had been found to take Mr. Vasey's place.

The Conference was "respectfully requested to appoint a suitable preacher to succeed the Rev. Thomas Vasey to read the Church Service, to administer the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper in this Chapel as heretofore and to read the funeral service and that such preacher shall not exceed 60 years of age and be competent to perform the said duties in an efficient and acceptable manner. That the person so appointed shall be allowed £120 per annum, the usual surplice fees and the house formerly occupied by Mr. Vasey free of rent and taxes and furnished."

In response the Rev. Joseph Taylor was appointed.

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This was not acceptable to the Rev. Henry Moore then aged 75, who was appointed Superintendent of the London North Circuit by the Conference of 1824 and 1825, and resided in Wesley's house. The 1826 Conference put him down as a supernumerary in the same Circuit.

Mr. Pollard thinks it likely that he wanted to have Mr. Vasey's post himself. He was unwilling to vacate Wesley's house and acting upon his interpretation of certain provisions in Wesley's will he challenged the action of the Conference and the Trustees, using the services of a solicitor named Sutcliffe. Fifteen questions were submitted to a Counsel, Mr. Bell, on the part of the Trustees. The case submitted is a document of great interest showing how involved were the matters concerned—It recounts the salient items of the original trust deeds, of Wesley's will, of the Deed of Declaration, of the Plan of Pacification ; it sketches also the growth of Conference and its powers, and reviews certain disputes amongst the Trustees in 1792. Mr. Bell's considered opinion expressed in seventy folios which are preserved at City Road, was that Mr. Moore had no case at all.

Mr. Taylor was Reader for one year only ; and the Rev. A. E. Farrar who was also a preacher in the Circuit, was appointed at the Conference in 1827.

A Reader was appointed year by year till the middle of the nineteenth century. In 1850 financial difficulties caused the Trustees to seek relief by abolishing the office, the duties of which were to be performed by the Circuit ministers.

In a letter on the subject of this article Mr. Pollard says that though much has been written about the dispute between the executors of Wesley's will and the legatees of his manuscripts etc, (Coke, Whitehead, and Moore) he has not come across anything in Smith or Stevens about the lawsuit referred to above. He feels sure that the litigation concerned has more to do with the City Road Trust dispute than with the wider matter. He proposes to give some further particulars.

F.F.B.

SOURCES OF WESLEY'S REVISION OF THE PRAYER BOOK IN 1784-8

In 1784 John Wesley issued a revision of the Book of Common Prayer for use among American Methodists.

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Tyerman says that in 1788 Wesley published *The Sunday Service of the Methodists*, for use in this country. Green's *Wesley Bibliography* § 390 records the first edition published in 1786, a copy of which is in the Rylands Library, Manchester. Dr. Bett says that Wesley's revisions were such as an Evangelical dissenter would make today. Dr. Rattenbury says that some of Wesley's revisions were found in the proposed Prayer Book thrown out of the Commons in 1928 because of its alleged Romanizing tendencies. (Bett, *The Spirit of Methodism*, pp. 67-8; Rattenbury, *The Conversion of the Wesleys*, pp. 215-6). Procter and Frere make no reference at all to Wesley's revision in *A New History of the Book of Common Prayer*, even though they refer to alterations in the American Prayer Book from 1785 onwards, which appear to have been influenced by the Methodist revision. An attempt to discover the inspiration of Wesley's revisions appears to be needed.

The claim I wish to make is that Wesley's revision was chiefly inspired by suggestions which were made by the Presbyterians at the Savoy Conference in 1661. At the Restoration the Presbyterians appealed to Charles II for such a revision of the Book of Common Prayer as would satisfy them. Charles arranged for the Savoy Conference to be held, 12 Bishops and 12 Presbyterian divines being appointed. The Presbyterians presented their objections to the Prayer Book and practically all were rejected by the Bishops. No reconciliation had been effected by July 1661, the end of the four months specified as the limit of the Conference. When the Book of Common Prayer was issued in 1662 it therefore led to the ejection of approaching 2,000 Nonconformist ministers, the majority being Presbyterians.

After the settlement of William and Mary on the throne in 1689, a Commission of 10 Bishops and 20 divines suggested various alterations of the Prayer Book intended to assist comprehension of Nonconformists in the Church of England. These suggestions were rejected by the C. of E. authorities. A close examination has shown that where the suggestions meet the demands made by the Presbyterians in 1661, Wesley follows them, but where they depart from those demands, Wesley does not follow them.

Let us now compare Wesley's Revision with the suggestions made by the Presbyterians at the Savoy Conference in 1661.

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A. *Revisions mentioned in Wesley's Preface.*

In his Preface to his revised Prayer-book, dated September 9th, 1784, after praising the Common Prayer, he says his alterations are—

1. Most of the holy-days (so-called) are omitted, as at present answering no valuable end.
2. The Service of the Lord's Day, the length of which has been often complained of, is considerably shortened.
3. Some sentences in the offices of Baptism, and for the Burial of the Dead, are omitted—And,
4. Many Psalms left out, and many parts of the others, as being highly improper for the mouths of a Christian Congregation.

John Wesley.

For a reason which will be explained later, I will use as my authority regarding the Presbyterian suggestions of 1661, Calamy's *Abridgement of Mr. Baxter's History of His Life and Times*. Edmund Calamy, D.D., was a Presbyterian minister (1671-1732), a first-rate authority on Nonconformity in the reign of Charles II.

i / *Holy Days.* Calamy tells us that the Presbyterians suggested at the Savoy Conference in 1661, "That the religious observation of Saints Days and Vigils be omitted." (Calamy, *ibid*, 1713 edition, pp. 153-8)

ii / *Office of Baptism.* Calamy says that the Presbyterians in 1661 objected "against that expression in the first prayer, of sanctifying Jordan and all waters, by Christ's baptism; against the promising and answering of Sureties in the name of the Infant; against the expression in the second Prayer of receiving Remission of Sins by a Spiritual Regeneration; against that expression in the Prayer after Baptism, which insinuates as if every child that is baptized was regenerated by God's Holy Spirit; and against the Cross." (Calamy, *ibid*, 1713 edn., pp. 153-8). The last objection is explained more fully—the Presbyterians objected "to sign the Infants in the Administration of Baptism with the transient sign of the Cross." (*ibid*, 1702 edn. p. 511).

A 1642 edition of the Common Prayer, in the first prayer says, "didst sanctifie the flood Jordan and all other waters to the mystical washing away of sin." The Presbyterians objected "to the notion of the sanctification of Jordan, or any other waters, to a sacramental use by Christ's being baptized." (Procter and Frere, book quoted. p. 181) Wesley's revision says, "Jesus Christ in the river Jordan didst sanctify water for this holy sacrament." The omission of "all other waters"

may have been a concession to the Presbyterian objection. The 1689 proposed alteration was "didst appoint water" but Wesley does not go so far. A 1776 edition of the Common Prayer reads, "didst sanctify water to the mystical washing away of sin," so it would appear that an alteration had already been made in this prayer. There is therefore some doubt whether Wesley was influenced here by the Presbyterian objection.

With regard to Sureties, Calamy says elsewhere that the Presbyterians refused to conform to "the use of Godfathers or Godmothers in Baptism, to the exclusion of parents," and because the Common Prayer would have made ministers refuse to baptize those without sponsors. (Calyam, *ibid*, 1702 edn. pp. 507-9). In Wesley's revision, no reference is made to Godfathers or Godmothers. The minister asks "the friends of the child" not the godparents, for the name of the child.

Wesley omits the expression in the second prayer about receiving forgiveness by a spiritual regeneration. He also omits from the prayer after the Baptism, the phrase, "it hath pleased God to regenerate this infant with His Holy Spirit."

Calamy says the Presbyterians of the Restoration period refused to conform, because "Subscription would take in the Doctrine of Baptismal Regeneration, and certain Salvation consequent thereon," because of the "Rubrick at the end of the Publick Service for Baptism where 'tis said, it is certain by God's Word that children which are baptized dying before they commit actual sin, are undoubtedly saved." (Calyam, *ibid*, 1702 edn., p. 505). This Rubric was inserted in the 1662 edition of the Prayer Book. (Procter and Frere, *ibid*, p. 198) Wesley omits the Rubric. Wesley's service is therefore a form of admission into the Church with prayer for the future of the child, rather than a service implying regeneration.

Wesley also omitted the signing of the Cross on the forehead.

iii / Office of the Burial of the Dead.

In Calamy's summary of the alterations to the Liturgy suggested at the Savoy Conference in 1661, he says, "In the office of Burial, they excepted against the Ministers being obliged to meet the corps (sic); against the common use of that expression of God's taking to himself the souls of all that are offered to Burial, which is not true of Persons living and dying in open and notorious Sins. Against giving God hearty

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thanks for delivering all that are offered to Burial out of the Miseries of this sinful world, &c, which may harden the wicked, and is inconsistent with the largest rational charity; and against hoping that those rest in God, who have not by their actual repentance given any ground for the hope of their blessed estate, &c." (Calamy, 1713 edn., pp. 153-8).

Wesley had no objection to meeting the corpse, for he prints, "The Minister meeting the corpse, and going before it." But he entirely omits the Committal Sentence, "Forasmuch as it hath pleased . . . to take unto himself the soul of our dear Brother here departed." He also omits the prayer which includes the appeal "to deliver this our brother," and also the phrase "as our hope is, this our Brother doth."

iv / *Psalms*.

Calamy says the Presbyterians objected to the Common Prayer, in which "they must consent to the mistranslation of the Psalter." (ibid, p. 521). Psalm 105, v. 28 is specially mentioned, so that it is significant that Wesley omitted the whole of this Psalm. But Wesley appears to have taken a new and independent line in cutting out those passages in the Psalms which appeared to him to be unfit for Christian lips.

The parallels between the revision which Wesley mentions in his Preface and those suggested by the Presbyterians in 1661, or objected to by them in the following year, are sufficiently numerous to justify the conclusion that Wesley was inspired by the attitude of the Presbyterians of the Restoration.

B. *Revisions not mentioned in Wesley's Preface*

For some reason Wesley left many important alterations unmentioned. Here again we find the Presbyterian influence at work.

i / *Communion Service*.

It is interesting to notice that Wesley commences the Preparation for Communion with "Ye therefore that do truly and earnestly repent," and not, "Dearly beloved in the Lord," an abbreviation which was made in the 1662 service for the Communion for the Sick. (Procter and Frere, ibid p. 198).

At the Savoy Conference, the Presbyterians "excepted against the prayer at the Consecration, as not sufficiently explicit and distinct, the breaking of bread, not being so much as mentioned." (Calamy, 1713 edn., pp. 153-8). The Rubric, parallel to the Scripture passage, about taking the Paten,

breaking the bread, laying the hand on the bread, taking the cup, and laying the hand on the cup, was not included in the 1642 edition of the Prayer Book. It was added in the 1662 edition. (Procter and Frere, *ibid*, p. 197). The Rubric is to be found in Wesley's edition, but he was only indirectly indebted to the suggestions of the Savoy Conference. These instructions have since then dropped out of the Methodist edition of this service.

The Presbyterians in 1661 also "excepted against the obliging all to kneel." (Calamy, *ibid* 153-8). The instruction in the Common Prayer says, "all meekly kneeling." The Presbyterians rejected this because it "would oblige them to reject all such from the communion as would not receive it kneeling." (Calamy, *ibid*, 1702 edn. pp. 513-4). This Rubric was supported by the 27th Canon, to which they objected. (*ibid*, 1713 edn. p. 245). Wesley did not require Dissenters to kneel at the Tabernacle, Norwich, in 1759. He preferred the practice, but would not enforce it. (*Journal*, iv., p. 302). In his revision he omits the phrase, "all meekly kneeling."

The Presbyterians also objected at Savoy, to the rubric which obliged "every parishioner to receive three times a year." (Calamy, *ibid*, 1713 edn. pp. 153-8). Wesley does not print this requirement. On the other hand, his desire for constant communion asserted itself in his letter of Sept. 10, 1784, to "Our Brethren in America," in which he said, "I ... advise the elders to administer the Supper of the Lord on every Lord's Day." (*Letters* vii., p. 239). In this he was hardly under Presbyterian influence.

ii / Confirmation.

The Presbyterians refuse to "assent and consent to this Rubrick at the end of the Office for Confirmation that none shall be admitted into the Holy Communion until such time as he be confirmed, or be ready and desirous to be confirmed." (Calamy, *ibid*, 1702 edn., p. 522). Some of the Presbyterians wanted to have confirmation restored, but they did not think that those who were willing "to own their Baptismal Covenant understandingly and seriously" should be excluded from Communion. This of course would have made Confirmation unnecessary. Wesley omits the Office for Confirmation. He did not do this because the Office had fallen into disuse in the C. of E. (See N. Sykes' *Life of Edmund Gibson*, for high figures for confirmations for first half of 18th century).

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Admission to the Methodist Societies was on a different basis. Possibly Wesley omitted it partly under Presbyterian influence.

iii / *Office of Matrimony.*

At the Savoy Conference the Presbyterians, "in Matrimony . . . excepted against the necessary use of the ring; against that expression, with my body I thee worship, &c." (Calamy, *ibid.* 1713 edn. pp. 154-8). Wesley excludes all reference to the ring, and omits the offending phrase from his revision.

iv / *Order for the Visitation of the Sick.*

According to Procter and Frere, the Presbyterians desired a greater liberty in the prayer and exhortation, and that the form of the Absolution be declarative and conditional. (*ibid.* p. 186). Tyerman comments on the fact that Wesley omitted this service from his revision, involving the exclusion of the absolution, "by His (Christ's) authority committed to me, I absolve thee from all thy sins, in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. Amen." (Tyerman, "*Life of Wesley*, vol. iii. pp. 54-8). The omission would have commended itself to the Presbyterians of 1661.

v / *Lessons from the Apocrypha.*

The Presbyterians did not like the Common Prayer because it included lessons from the Apocrypha to be read in Public Churches, on the grounds that it included fabulous legends, described as Holy Scripture. (Calamy, *ibid.* 1802 edn. p. 520). Wesley omitted the Apocrypha from his table of lessons.

vi / *Lent.*

At Savoy the Presbyterians proposed "That there be nothing in the Liturgy countenancing the observance of Lent as a Religious Fast." (Calamy, 1713 edn. pp. 153-8). Wesley gives all the Fridays of the year, except Christmas-Day, as Days of Fasting and Abstinence, but there is no mention of Lent, in spite of Wesley's personal approval and practice of fasting.

vii / *The Creed of Athanasius.*

The Presbyterians also objected that "they must assent and consent to St. Athanasius his creed." (Calamy, *ibid.* p. 521). They disliked the harsh damnatory clause, "which faith except everyone do keep whole and undefiled, without doubt he shall perish everlastinglly." This creed disappears under Wesley's revision.

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viii / *Exclusion of Names "priest" and "curate," and of "Bishops, Priests and Deacons," and the theory of the Divine appointment of the Threefold Order.*

At the Savoy Conference, the Presbyterians proposed that the word Priest and Curate throughout the book be turned into that of Minister." (Calamy, 1713 ed. pp. 153-8). In Wesley's revised book, the word "minister" is substituted for the word "priest" except in the communion service, where the word "elder" is used.

Calamy says that the Presbyterians would not conform, because it would "be an Allowance and Approbation of that Assertion that Bishops, Priests and Deacons are Three distinct Orders in the Church of Divine Appointment." (Calamy, ibid 1702 edn. p. 515 . Similarly he quotes among Canons disapproved by them, the 8th Canon which excommunicates all who say the forms for the ordination of Bishops, Presbyters and Deacons contain anything repugnant to the word of God. We are therefore not surprised to find that the three Orders are excluded from Wesley's revision. Instead he inserted "The Form and Manner of Making and Ordaining of Superintendents, Elders and Deacons." The origin of the Methodist "Superintendent" is a complicated question with which the present writer may deal later, but Wesley certainly had other authorities than Calamy in making that appointment.

ix / *The Thirty-nine Articles.*

The broad distinction between Articles and Canons is that the former dealt with the faith of the Church of England and the latter with its laws, and administration. The Articles were drawn up in the years following the Reformation, owing to the uncertainty of doctrine, and following the example of the Continental Reformers commenced by the Augsburg Confession. The Articles evolved from those drawn up under Henry VIII, and by Cranmer, to those formulated by Archbishop Parker in 1562. They reached their final form in the Thirty-nine, subscribed in 1571 by both Houses of Convocation and ratified by both Houses of Parliament. (*Notes on the Articles*, by G. F. Maclear, D.D., in F. E. Warren's *Prayer-Book Commentary*, 1927, p. 191 f.) The Canons were rules or laws for the administration of the Church, and were concerned mainly with the ordering of services, and the status and work of the clergy. In 1603 Convocation adopted the

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Book of Canons, but additions have been made since the issue of that notorious book.

Among the Canons to which the Presbyterians objected was the 5th, which would excommunicate all who affirm that any of the 39 Articles of 1562 are erroneous. The Presbyterians could not accept all the Articles, and saw that many others in the Church of England did not do so. The enforcement of this Canon would split the Church. (Calamy, 1713 edn., p. 241). Wesley abridged the Thirty-nine Articles and reduced them to Twenty-five. He took out of the Article on Baptism all reference to any impartation of grace, and made it affirm that baptism is a sign of the Christian profession and "a sign of regeneration or the new birth."

x / *Extempore Prayer.*

The Presbyterians proposed at Savoy "That the Liturgy be not so imposed, as totally to exclude the Gift of Prayer in any part of the Publick Worship." (Calamy, 1713 edn. pp. 153-8). In his letter of Sept. 10, 1784, to "Our Brethren in America," Wesley advised "all the travelling preachers to use (the Liturgy) on the Lord's Day, in all the congregations, reading the Litany only on Wednesdays and Fridays, and praying extempore on all other days." (Letters, vii. p. 239).

An examination of the revisions unmentioned by Wesley in his Preface, confirms the conclusion based on revisions referred to in the Preface. The parallels with the revisions proposed by the Presbyterians in 1661 are numerous enough to prove that Wesley was inspired by the Presbyterians of the Restoration.

WESLEY'S INDEBTEDNESS TO CALAMY'S BOOK.

In September 1755, Wesley wrote to Rev. Samuel Walker of Truro, telling of the various objections raised by himself, but even more, by his preachers, to the Liturgy. He said that some of his preachers felt that they ought to separate from the Established Church, for the following reasons:— "Though the Liturgy is, in general, possessed of rare excellence, it is both absurd and sinful, to declare such an assent and consent as is required, to any merely human composition." 2. Though they did not "object to the use of forms," they durst "not confine themselves to them." 3. Because they considered the decretals of the Church as "the very dregs of popery," and "many of the canons as grossly wicked as absurd.

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The spirit which they breathe is throughout popish and anti-christian. Nothing can be more diabolical than the ipso facto excommunications so often denounced therein; while the whole method of executing these canons, in our spiritual courts, is too bad to be tolerated, not in a Christian, but in a Mahomedan or pagan nation." (Tyerman, *Life of Wesley*, ii. p. 208).

He wrote, "1. Those ministers who truly feared God near an hundred years ago, had undoubtedly much the same objections to the liturgy, which some (who never read their works) have now. And I myself so far allow the force of several of those objections that I should not dare to declare my Assent and Consent to that book in the terms prescribed. Indeed, they are so strong, that I think they cannot safely be used with regard to any book but the Bible. Neither dare I confine myself wholly to Forms of Prayer, not even in the Church. I use indeed all the Forms; but I frequently add extemporary Prayer, either before or after Sermon. 2. In behalf of many of the Canons, I can say little; of the Spiritual Courts nothing at all. I dare not, therefore, allow the authority of the former or the jurisdiction of the latter." (*Letters*, III, p. 152).

This is practically a summary of Chapter 10 of Calamy's *Abridgment of Mr. Baxter's History of His Life and Times*, which Wesley read in April 1754. (*Journal* iv. p. 93). That chapter deals with "The grounds of the Nonconformity of the Ministers who were ejected," at the Restoration, i e. about a hundred years before Wesley wrote. They refused to "declare their unfeigned Assent and Consent to all and everything contained and prescribed in and by the Book entitled, the Book of Common Prayer." (Calyam, p. 501, 1702 edn.) Another "ground of their Nonconformity" is given—"They were also required to take the Oath of Canonical Obedience, and swear Subjection to their Ordinary according to the Canons of the Church." (ibid, p. 283, 1713 edn.) Then follows a criticism of many of the Canons. The ejected ministers also scrupled to take the oath, says Calamy, because Episcopal Government was managed by Chancellors' Courts, where laymen exercised excommunication and absolution. (ibid p. 257). Thus we see that Wesley's statement was practically a summary of this chapter. This confirms our belief that Wesley formulated his revision of the Prayer Book in 1784, with Calamy's book before him.

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We can therefore trace the commencement of this influence to April 1754, when Wesley read Calamy's *Abridgement of Mr. Baxter's Life*, and commented, "In spite of all the prejudices of education, I could not but see that the poor Nonconformists had been used without either justice or mercy; and that many of the Protestant Bishops of King Charles had neither more religion, nor humanity, than the Popish Bishops of Queen Mary." We conclude that it was in this book that Wesley familiarised himself with the position of his Presbyterian ancestors of the Restoration period in respect to the Prayer Book. His revisions were dictated by love of that "Baxterian" Church of England, which would have comprehended at least his Presbyterian and perhaps also his Congregational ancestors.

FREDERICK HUNTER.

THE BELSHAW PAPERS AND WESLEY

(Concluded)

J. F. TO MISS C. FREEMAN, 20 WHITE FRIAR ST., DUBLIN.

London. February 5, 1790.

As I believe Society news from London will not be unacceptable I shall mention it first. A few Sundays ago Mr. Wesley preached a funeral sermon over the body of one of the members of the Society who was wife to an eminent wine merchant who keeps his chariot, the corpse was brought into the Chapel, afterwards it was brought out and Mr. Wesley walked before in his white surplice to the burying place adjoining the Artillery ground. He then read prayers and afterwards gave out to the Father, Son and Holy Ghost, &c. &c., and then sang a funeral hymn. There was a vast concourse of people and behaved with great solemnity. In the afternoon Mr. Wesley preached a charity sermon in St. Hellen's Church to a large congregation. His text was "It is appointed unto man once to die." The people seemed a little surprised at the beginning but before the conclusion he brought in the subject of charity very beautifully. The Sunday before last was the annual Love feast at the New Chapel; there were several spoke who profest perfect love,

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among the number was George Clarke whose experience is in the *Magazine*, he seems to be a man of deep experience in the ways of God. Mr. Dickinson, one of our clergymen also spoke very beautifully; I think it was the liveliest meeting I have been at since I came to London. Dr. Coke very shortly sets out for Ireland so that you will probably see him soon. I heard him this morning at 5 o'clock in the morning Chapel and afterwards Mr. Wesley met our class for their tickets in the Vestry.

J. F. TO MISS C. FREEMAN, 20 WHITE FRIAR ST., DUBLIN.

London. May 3, 1790.

The other Sunday I heard the Bishop of London preach in St. Paul's, and the Sunday after heard a sermon preached there before the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, Sheriffs, Lord Chief Justice, Judges, Serjeants at law, &c. It was preached by the Rev. C. D. Cottigan, the Lord Mayor's Chaplain, he is a real gospel minister and a very great orator, he to be sure as well as all the other enlightened clergymen in London (of which there are a great number) is a Calvinist, but I could perceive nothing of it in his discourse. Last night I supped at the Chapel house in company with Mrs. Hall, Mr. Wesley's sister, as also with Miss Wesley, only daughter to the late Mr. Charles Wesley, she indeed appears to be a conversible accomplished and perfectly well bred young lady, she does not dress any way like a Methodist but quite fashionable. There is a report in the London Newspapers of Mr. Wesley's being near drowned coming from the Isle of Wight to Portsmouth, perhaps this report has reached Dublin also, but I can assure you from the best authority it is entirely false, he being quite at an extreme end of the Kingdom. Sunday week he preached in Manchester and yesterday was to preach in York. Since I wrote last I for the first time saw their royal highnesses the Dukes of York and Clarence, the King's sons. I cannot say I think much about them. Next week the Classes begin to be met for the ensuing quarter.

J. F. TO MISS C. FREEMAN, 20 WHITE FRIAR ST., DUBLIN.

London. June 21, 1790.

I write a few lines now lest you should be uneasy were I to exceed my time a day or two. The Rev. Mr. Collins who I had a great desire to hear is to be in town this week, and to

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preach in the New Chapel on Thursday evening, the very day I intended leaving London; on this account I postpone my journey one day so that instead of Thursday I leave London for certain on Friday morning next, and reach Liverpool on Sunday morning. I still hope to be in Dublin on Wednesday the 30th inst., or Thursday the 1st July. I would just mention that it is really surprising the vast number of field preaching there is in and about London at present, more especially in Moorfields, where I suppose of a Sunday there is not much less than 9 or 10 sermons preached by people of various denominations. Mr. Wesley's preachers preach twice every Sunday there, at 7 in the morning and 7 in the evening and large congregations attend and behave I may say with as much solemnity as if they were in a Chapel.

(Miss Freeman adds a note to say that this was posted in London on 21st inst., and she received it in Dublin 24th inst.)

F. J. COLE.

WESLEYANA AT KEIGHLEY

Part II

D. *In a small square box in strong-room.*

7. "Account of Kighley Round: Taken Nov 1762/3. W. F." (= William Fugill.) 4to Volume bound in vellum, containing different items bound together. (a) It commences with details of the quarterly collections at the various places, from 1764-1775. (b) Then follows a Class-Book, or rather a Roll-Book for the whole Circuit, with some pages missing at the beginning. This second section consists of 56 pages, each ruled with four narrow columns (probably to record details of the quarterly tickets), and then wider column for the names of members under their respective societies, whether "M"(arried or "u"(unmarried), their "Occupation", and their "Residence." the societies whose members are thus recorded are in the following order and spelling: Roughlee: Padiam continued: Bentley Wood Green: Burnley: Padiam: Cockshott House: Brimicroft: Haslington: Millend: Bacup Society: Dunackshaw: Faicot: Bewersall: Gaukesholm: Rodill End: Horrocklee: New Mill: Carr Society: Heptonstall: Booth Society: Mixenden: Elland: Benroyd: Blackmires: Oakes Society: Welsden Hill: Binley Society: Bailden: Guiesley

Society: Otley Society: Askwith Society: Burley Society: Adingham: Haworth Society: Denbom Society: Holme House: Sutton Society: Kighley Society: Fewstone Society: Greanah Hill: Pately Bridge: Lofthouse Society: Skythorn Society: Guesborn Society: Holden House Society: Wigglesworth Society: Lupton Soceity: Black Burton: Kendal Scceity: Longpreston: Meneth Hill Soceity: Skipton Soceity: Redshaw Soceity: Rathmill Society: Kighley (continued): Whitehaven Society: Cockermouth: Workington: Lorton Society: Branthwaite Society: Coldbeck Society: Braken Hill Socitey: Wigton Society.

This list is undated, but is certainly prior to 1769, as in that year the Whitehaven section became a separate circuit. It seems probable that the title given to the book by William Fugill in 1763 refers to this section, and that the quarterly collections, 1764-1775, have been interpolated. This is the conclusion to which J. W. Laycock apparently came, for the appendix to his *Methodist Heroes* uses entry in this list as implying that the society named was in existence in 1763. Another possibility is that the first half of the book was left blank for some reason, and afterwards utilised for the quarterly collections. The paper throughout the book is exactly the same, watermarked with a crown and GR, but with no date; the crown is placed over an oval panel showing Britannia.

The Bacup section of the list has recently been reprinted as Appendix III to the *Centenary Souvenir of Mount Pleasant Methodist Church, Bacup*, by Wm. J. H. Ogden.

(c) The remaining few sheets, after Fugill's "Account", are occupied with "An Acc't of the N^s in each Society in Haworth Circuit. Taken by Tho^s Johnson. July 1774" and a similar account for 1775. In 1774 there were 1213 members, and in 1775 1344.

(For the 1777-1782 Roll-Book see No. 4).

8. "The Register of Societies in the Keighley Circuit. 1787." This shows that there were 42 societies, with 1240 members. It is signed on July 21 by "Jos. Bradford." In 1788 there were 1312 members; in 1789, 1340; in 1790, 1487; in 1792, 1027; in 1793, 1024; in 1795 the entry is "I think you will find 1360 good members."; in 1796 there were 1420; in 1797, 1402; in 1798, 1294 . . . This is a quarto volume, and the entries are usually divided into two columns.

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9. "The Register Book of the Keighley Circuit. 1799." This continues down to 1820 similar lists to those in the last item, and also gives some details of circuit collections from 1819 to 1822. It is again a quarto volume.

10. "A Register containing Abstracts of the Chapel Deeds in Keighley Circuit. 1809." This Register is revised to July 1842, and is signed "James Allen Minister. John Laycock Circt. Stewd."

11. The Journal of Allen Edmundson. 4to. This is little more than a register of the texts of sermons heard by Edmundson, who seems to have been, like many of his zealous contemporaries, something of a spiritual gipsy. He travelled all round the West Riding of Yorkshire, recording the texts, and sometimes giving the outlines, of sermons preached both by the famous and the obscure. In *Proc.* ix : 135-8, 191-4, under the title of "A Methodist Sermon Register of the Eighteenth Century" extracts were given from Edmundson's Journal for 1784 and 1785, and it is stated "It is the continuation of an earlier book of the same kind which has been lost." The volume now described is the lost book, covering the years 1779 to 1783. Various items show that Mr. J. W. Laycock did not use it in his *Methodist Heroes in the Great Haworth Round* (see especially his reference on p. 355 to possible visits of Wesley to Keighley in 1781, definitely proved by Edmundson's entries for that year).

Strangely enough, whilst this volume of Edmundson's Journal, which Mr. Laycock announced as lost, now appears amongst his mss., the volume from which he published extracts in the *Proc.*, is missing! Perhaps someone is able to trace its whereabouts?

The following extracts include all the references to Wesley in Edmundson's Journal.

Edmundson begins:

Thursday, August 19, 1779.

Mr. James Hindmarsh preached at Kighley from the XII Chapter of Hebrews, Verse 15.

Sattarday April 22th, the Rev^d. Mr. John Wesley preach'd at Kighley from the LIX. Chap of Isaiah, the 1 & 2 Verses, Behold, the Lords hand is not shortned... Sunday April 23, in the morning Mr. Jospth Bradford pread in Bingley Church from Acts. the XX chapter verse, the 27, I have not shunned to declare unto you all the Counsel of God—he had only one head, which was to shew, what was all the Counsel of God, he devided it into four perticklers, Repent, Believe, Love, and Obey,

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Again at one o'clock Mr. Bradford pre^d at Bingley from Colossians the III Chap. verse the 4 . . .

Again in the afternoon Mr. Wesley, pre^d in this Church at Bingley from the VII Chap. of S. Matthew Verce the 24 to the 28.

Again at night M^r Wesley preach't at Kighley from the XIV, chapter of S. John. verse the 23 . . .

Monday April 24. at five in the morning M^r Wesley pre^d from the second general of PETER. the II, chap. the 9 verse . . . ” 1781. “Sattarday July the 21, 1781, the Rev'd Mr. Wesley preach't at Kighley from the XXIV. chapter of Joshua and part of the 15, verse, but as for me and my house, we will serve the LORD.

Sunday the 22 in the fornoon Mr. Wesley preach't in Bingley Church from the V. chapter of S. Matthew verse the 20 . . .

In the Afternoon Mr. Wesley preach't again in the Church from the XVI. chapter of S. Mark. and the 16 vers, . . . he preach't at Kighley in the Evening.

Monday the 23, In the Morning at five, Mr. Wesley preach't at Kighley from the II. chapter of the Book of Habakkuk vers 14. For the Earth shall be filled with the knowlege of the glory of the LORD, as the waters cover the sea. he shew'd the most probable time when and how this great work would begin and be carried on; It appeared that this Reformation would begin in England 2ly in the other Reform'd Churches, and 3ly the papists. and 4ly the Jews. 5ly the Mahometans, 6ly and lastly the Pagans.

Sunday July 29th. Mr. Wesley preach't in the Evening at the New markit. Bradford from VI. chapter of Romans. verse the 23 . . .

August 13 Monday at 5 in the morning, the Rev. Mr. Wesley preach't at Leeds from the X. chapter of the I Corinthians vers the 13 . . . ”

1782. “Sunday April 21. 1782. Ye Revrd Mr. Wesley, preach'd at Coln in the morning from the VII. chap of St. Matt. and the 24 and 25 ver . . . He divided the text into two heads. first he shew'd the opposite, what it was not to be built upon a rock. Secondly what it was to be built upon a rock.

At noon Mr. Wesley preach'd again at Coln from the XVIII. chap. of Acts. and part of the 17, ver. And Gallio cared for none of those things. He divided the tex into two heads. First hee shew'd What the things were that Gallio car'd not for: Secondly he inquired whither it was his wisdom, or folly in not careing for those things.

Again at 4 in the Evening Mr. Wesley pre^d at the same place from the V. chap. of the I. of Peter and ver. 8 . . .

Satterday April 27, the Revd. Mr. Wesley preach'd at Keighley from the XVIII. Chap. and part of the 32. ver . . .

Sunday April the 28 1782 Mr. Wesley preach'd at Bingley Church in the forenoon from the VII. chap of St. Matt. and the 24 & 25 verses . . . ” (the same sermon, and the same divisions, as on April 21st at Colne).

1783. “Sunday September the 7. 1783, at 7 o'clock in the Morning the Rev. Mr. Jno. Wesley preach'd at Leeds. from the first chapter of Philippians. & 21 verse. For to me to live is Christ, and to die is gain. He shew'd what was implied in the two heads the words

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naturally divid'd themselves into viz. First. For to me to live is Christ. Secondly To die is gain . . .

Again at 1 o'clock Mr. Wesley preacht at Birstal from Matt. viii. & 3 of the first verses . . . First he she'd the historical or literal meaning of the words. Secondly, the inward or spiritual meaning . . ."

(These interesting notes add several things to our knowledge of Wesley's activities during this period when neither diary nor sermon register are available to us).

12. Various letters and notes forming background of *Methodist Heroes*. These include *Wesleyan Methodism in the Keighley Circuit*. Biography. C. D. Hardcastle, 4 College Street, Keighley, which is the title-page to a 16 page manuscript dealing chiefly with Thomas Colbeck: two letters from Mr. Stott, of Haslingden, one discussing various details of early Methodism in the neighbourhood of Haslingden, the other speaking of Laycock's projected book; Stott mentions his own "Notices" of Methodism in Haslingden, and says "I think I had 350 copies printed and fancy they cost me 2/6 each—but expense was quite a secondary consideration—I wanted to give a nicely got-up book"—this book he speaks of as "A little gift to my fellow worshippers."

E. In tin trunk in strong-room.

13. Various letters, cuttings, &c, relating chiefly to the controversy centring on Methodism's attitude towards the higher criticism at the beginning of this century. There is an enormous amount of material, in 21 pamphlet cases and two boxes, not to speak of much that is loose. It is all prepared by J. W. Laycock, showing his industrious habit of cutting or copying out everything relevant to the subject in which he was interested, and on which he was to speak in Conference.

FRANK BAKER.

CIRCUIT FINANCE IN EARLY METHODISM

Part IV.

The last chapter ended an account of early Methodist finance in the Wakefield Circuit; payment for Wig-washing was the last matter referred to.

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Now it happens that we can very definitely call up the picture of the very man who washed the bushy or cauliflower wigs of the period. This was Joseph Wright, for many years an industrious periuke maker and hairdresser in Kirkgate, Wakefield. He retired from business in 1816 and died at the age of 83 in 1826. From these papers we also learn that he was an original Methodist, that he married a sister of 'Franky' and John Scott, the first Local Preachers.

The *Wakefield Journal* said about him at his death :—

Since his retirement he has lived alone in a small house, in the most penurious manner. A pennyworth of milk with a couple of potatoes formed the principal part of the daily food of himself and a wretched dog, his only inmate. To these necessaries he occasionally added as a luxury a pound of meat which served him a week or ten days, and about once a fortnight he indulged himself with a half-penny worth of small beer. Latterly he has been nearly helpless and almost lost in dirt, seldom washing himself, or suffering any one else to do it for him. For nearly 12 months he had not slept in a bed but taken his rest on two or three chairs before the fire, during which time he had had but two clean shirts. The first he wore so long that when taken off it was obliged to be thrown into the fire. His house was a singular scene of dirt and confusion, as he would not suffer anyone to clean it or put it in order.

When told by Mr. Slatter, the medical gentleman that attended him in his last illness that he had had some wine, he with eagerness exclaimed "Wine, How much?" "A Bottle," was the reply. "A Bottle" he re-echoed with apprehension, "A Bottle! Who is to pay for it?" On searching his house after his death there were found in different places little parcels of money, gold and silver coins of various names and coinages, and some notes to the value of £627: 6: 6. Besides this he had four houses, in one of which he lived . . . For more than half a century he was a staunch member of the Wesleyan Methodist Society.

Evidently someone (perhaps John Cryer himself) felt that the *Journal* had not been quite fair to Joseph, and added the following observations about him :—

Joseph Wright was in his moral character a pious good man. He endeavoured like St. Paul to owe no man anything. His practice was to live within his means and he could not relish the man who got into debt.

Joseph by some way or other became broken-bodied, was obliged to wear trusses, and could not sleep in a bed.

He became penurious in early life, and this habit had its growth. It was agreed when married that his wife and he were each to keep themselves. This continued till death. She left her own savings and he left his. The housekeeping and the expenses down to the pudding by the fire were equally divided. He was a tall 6ft. man, with wig, a fine appearance and was generally chosen at funerals to give out the hymns, etc.

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He had a great attachment to the clergy of the Establishment, Rev. Mr. Atkinson, Old Church, Leeds, Rev. Mr. Fletcher, vicar of Royston, Rev. Mr. Swinney, Kirkthorpe and other evangelical clergymen he would go to hear on a Sunday morning, and sometimes it would happen that the clergy would invite him to dinner. Joseph had regularly for years a class-meeting held in his house . . . though he never spoke his experience with that strong assurance which some do, yet he was always delighted when he could get young men into his house for prayer and social meeting.

He left Rev. Thos. Rogers 2 Guineas, Joseph Beckett, a nutt hawker, whose father had been a Local Preacher, one Guinea to buy a new hat. John Taylor (who married Franky Scott's daughter), two sons and two daughters £30 each.

Joseph had a fine large portrait of Rev. John Fletcher and another portrait of Rev. John Wesley (favourites).

We take leave of early Methodist finance with this glimpse of one of the men behind the money.

The late F. H. MILLS.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

815. NOTES ON A WESLEY LETTER.—In the Standard Edition of *Wesley's Letters*, viii, 162, is printed one bearing the date 28th August, 1789, the original of which has been recently acquired by Rev. J. H. Verney. Telford heads it as addressed to Edward Thomas ; Mr. Verney says it is addressed to John Rundell. The place from which it is written is printed as Windmill Street, Plymouth Dock ; in the original the Street only is mentioned.

Can anyone help to elucidate ? Mr. Verney suggests that the same letter was sent to more than one person ; the intensely personal nature of the contents, however, seems to render this conjecture very hazardous. A letter written earlier in the same year reveals "one Edward Thomas," as Wesley calls him, involved in some trouble at Plymouth. Apart from this reference nothing seems to be known of Edward Thomas, and no information about John Rundell has come to hand.

Thomas Warwick was appointed "Assistant" in the Plymouth Circuit by the Conference of 1789 and also 1790.

F.F.B.

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816. ORIGINAL OF A CLASS-TICKET DESIGN?—In *Proceedings* v there is an interesting article by Joseph G. Wright on Class and Band Tickets, including a series of illustrations, of which No. 3 is a picture of Christ seated amongst clouds, and surrounded with radiance. The same ticket, on a slightly larger scale, is reproduced in Wesley's *Journal* (Standard Ed.), Vol. vii, p. 61. Mr. Wright says (on p. 35), "The earliest Class-tickets appear to have been printed from either wood blocks or engraved copper plates, and bore emblems of various kinds. It is worthy of note that some of the earlier ones show a marked similarity in design to several of the ornamental devices printed in the title or last pages of some of the publications of the Wesleys or of others of about that period." On p. 36 Mr. Wright ascribes the Class-Ticket No. 3 to the years 1748-49, describing it as "A ticket representing Christ in the clouds, having a crown in the right hand, and a cross in the left. This was a prevalent type for several years. This ticket—without a date—was given to Henry Crusot, a member in London. The name is in John Wesley's writing. A ticket of this type was given to Margaret Somerell under date 27 Dec., 1753, the name being in Chas. Wesley's hand. Another is dated Nov., 1754." He states that such emblem-tickets were in regular use from 1742-1750, when printed ones were introduced, though occasional picture-tickets continued to appear up to 1764.

The writer possesses an engraving from which the design of the above ticket seems to have been borrowed. It is a folding plate, the design measuring about $6\frac{1}{2}$ " by $5\frac{1}{2}$ ", and belongs to the 25th edition of Jeremy Taylor's *Holy Dying*, printed at London in 1739. On the left of the engraving is a clergyman with an open bible; he is standing on a pedestal labelled 'Mercurius Christianus.' From the pedestal to the opening in the clouds at the top right hand corner is a ray of light, at the end of which is the radiance surrounding Christ; along the ray is printed "Ad te quacunque vocas dulcissime Jesu." The bottom right hand corner shows the mouth of a huge beast, from which protrudes a horned devil; this scene is outlined in flames, and from it diagonally to the ray of

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light spreads a label bearing the words 'Who can dwell with the everlasting Burnings. Isa. 33. 14.' The figure of Christ in the clouds, though re-engraved, is the same in detail as that in the class-ticket; the clouds have been re-engraved with considerable alterations. The section of the plate shown on the class-ticket appears to be on exactly the same scale as in the original. The line-engraving is fairly crude, and, so far as I can discover, there is no hint as to the artist or engraver.

Did Wesley himself authorise this borrowing? We know he was very fond of Taylor's two well-known works, the *Holy Living*, and the *Holy Dying*, abridging them for his *Christian Library*. He first met with the books in 1725, so that it was not this particular edition that impressed him. It seems quite likely, however, that the illustrations to the 25th edition had been included in at least some of the earlier editions, including the one which Wesley used in 1725. Perhaps some further information on this point may be forthcoming, if any student is interested to look into the matter.

Can any other such borrowings be traced? Apart from the reference to printer's emblems, and the use of a reversed copy of the frontispiece to Wesley's edition of Kempis, Mr. Wright apparently does not know of any. The investigation of the history of the early class-tickets is a difficult study, but a very interesting one. Perhaps we shall be favoured at some future date with even fuller illustrations of early class and band tickets? It would certainly be of real interest, if anyone is able to do it.

Rev. Frank Baker, B.A., B.D.

1. May probably be roughly translated, "Thou callest (men) everywhere to Thee, most Gracious Jesus."

WESLEY HISTORICAL SOCIETY

MANCHESTER CONFERENCE
JULY, 1942.

A PUBLIC LECTURE

(Under the auspices of the Wesley Historical Society)

WILL BE DELIVERED AT

The Oxford Hall, Oxford Road

On Friday, July 17th

At 7-30 p.m. by the

Rev. MALDWYN L. EDWARDS,
M.A., Ph. D.

Subject : Dr. Adam Clarke

Chairman : Alderman T. R. ACKROYD, J.P.

Collection

ANNUAL MEETING OF THE W.H.S.

The Annual Meeting will be held at the above place on the same day at 6-0 p.m. Tea will *not* be provided this year.

All Members of the W.H.S. will be welcome, whether members of the Conference or not.