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Specially Photographed
by
Mr. C. Stanbury Madeley.



SKINNERS ALLEY PREACHING HOUSE, DUBLIN.

This ancient building is situated near the corner of New-market Street, formerly Skinners Alley, not far from St. Luke's parish church. It has the distinction of being the oldest existing building in Ireland associated with the preaching of the Wesleys, and probably there is only one other building in the world—the old chapel at Kingswood—which can claim a prior antiquity in this respect. It is also of peculiar interest as being the place where Irish Methodists first received the nickname "Swaddlers." Charles Wesley relates the circumstances. "One I observed crying, 'Swaddler! Swaddler!'—our usual title here. We dined with a gentleman who explained our name to us. It seems we are beholden to Mr. Cennick for it, who abounds in such like expressions as, 'I curse and blaspheme all the gods in heaven, but the Babe that lay in the manger; the Babe that lay in Mary's lap; the Babe that lay in swaddling clouts, &c. Hence they nicknamed him 'Swaddler, or Swaddling John'; and the word sticks to us all, not excepting the clergy."—C. Wesley, *Journal*, 10 Sept., 1747.

Cennick arrived in Dublin on 3 June, 1746, and occupied the Skinners Alley Chapel until the following September, large crowds attending on his ministry. During a visit to England the work was carried on by Benjamin La Trobe, and when Cennick returned in August, 1747, there was a society with a membership of 520 persons. Some months later the building passed into Methodist hands, not, apparently, without some unpleasantness (see *Journal*, 29 March, 1748, *C.W. Journal*, 5 February, 1748, *Proceedings*, iii, 46). The Moravians eventually secured a building for a meeting-house in Big Booter Lane, now Bishop Street, and it is here that the present Moravian church in Bishop Street stands.

The old building in Skinners Alley is in a very dilapidated condition, and a close scrutiny of the photograph will show where a door and some windows have been built up. It overlooks a

yard in the rear, and is now used as a shed in connection with a coachbuilder's establishment. What purports to be a drawing of the building, as it appeared in Cennick's time, is given in *Moravian Missions* for May, 1906, but the representation is rather a misleading one as regards size, position and general appearance. In fact it bears little or no resemblance to the existing original.

D. B. BRADSHAW.

[Reference may be made to *Methodist Recorder Winter Number*, 1904, p. 79.]

TRAVELLING IN WESLEY'S TIME.¹

MODES, CHANGES, COST.

[Continued from *Proceedings*, VII, p. 8.]

14 MARCH, 1738.—Mr. Wesley travelled on horseback, as most people who could afford it then journeyed. A traveller rode his own horse throughout, or he rode post, changing horses every ten or fifteen miles. At this time the charge for a single horse was threepence per mile; for a chaise with two horses ninepence; if with four horses, one shilling and threepence. Mail coaches were not yet invented, and stage coaches were slow and scarce. There was only one coach between Birmingham and London, which travelled once a week, *via* Warwick, Banbury and Aylesbury; the fare was a guinea, only 14 lbs. of luggage was allowed, and all above to pay one penny a pound. [The single journey occupied two-and-a-half days.] Chapel-on-the-Heath (Chapel House) was a great and famous inn and posting house between Enstone and Long Compton [16 miles from Oxford and 1½ east of Chipping Norton.²]

1. In this paper as before (*Proc.*, vii, 2-8) Mr. Duignan's text is adhered to My own or other additions are indicated by square brackets. W.C.S.

2. Dr. Johnson dined here with Boswell on 21 March, 1776, "where he expatiated on the felicity of England in its taverns and inns," in a eulogium that has become famous. The late Queen (then Princess) Victoria with her mother stayed a night here in 1826. The house takes its name from the chapel of the neighbouring priory of Cold Norton. It is now converted into a boarding house, and the stables into labourers' cottages.

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[To the note on Aldridge wagons and coaches, p. 3, may be added]: The last of the wagoners lived at Aldridge, and thirty years ago [i.e. about 1850] was a right old man. In his early days, he used to tell me, the wagons lay to at night; later on they would travel continuously and change horses like coaches, but at longer distances, and then they were called "Fly Wagons." . . . Those who wish to know something of life in a road wagon should read Smollett's inimitable description of the adventures of Roderick Random and his friend Strap, on their way from Newcastle to London.

26 FEBRUARY, 1753.—This is the first record we have of Mr. Wesley travelling by "machine," an old name for stage coach. The term lingered to the last, and coach horses were technically known as "Machiners." Stage coaches commenced running in the early part of the 17th century, but made little progress till the middle of the 18th, when main roads began to be turnpiked and improved. Until then they could not travel more than 40 to 50 miles a day, even "with the aid of six able horses." In 1739 the Chester coach took five, and sometimes six, days for the journey to London, 184 miles. The coaches carried six inside, and the outsides rode as well as they could on the seatless roof, or in a large wicker basket behind. The basket passengers must have had a dreadful time of it, for it rested on the axle-tree, as also did the driver's seat. The body of the coach was hung on leather bands. No wonder that travellers continued to prefer the saddle, until modern springs and improved roads made "machines" more comfortable and speedy. From 1750 to 1752 a "caravan" ran between Shrewsbury and London over the old Chester road. It had six horses, and professed to do the journey, 154 miles, in four days, but often occupied five. The shape of the caravan was much like a modern wild-beast van, and the inside was fitted up with benches.

2 JANUARY, 1754.—This is the first time Mr. Wesley appears to have travelled by post-chaise.

Hardy as Mr. Wesley's habits were, he promptly availed himself of the improvements made in travelling, and we have such entries as the following: 8 MARCH, 1763.—"I took the machine for Norwich." 11 APRIL, 1763.—"I took the machine for Bristol." 16 MAY, 1763.—". . . I judged it needful to make "the more haste; so I took post chaises, and by that means "easily reached Newcastle on Wednesday, 18th." The distance from London to Newcastle is 274 miles. At this time the "Newcastle Fly" was carrying passengers in three days for

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£3 6s. Mr. Wesley must have paid about £12 for his post-chaise, the rate being ninepence a mile, besides gratuities to the post boys.³

16-28 MARCH, 1767.—From Bristol to Portpatrick, via Whitehaven, is 430 miles, and allowing three days for the detention at Liverpool, Mr. Wesley rode the distance in nine days, averaging 47 miles a day, in bad weather and snow. The mail he speaks of on the 29th was not a mail coach. At this time the letters were carried on horseback [and the pace, including stoppages, seldom exceeded four miles an hour.] Mail coaches commenced to run on the 8th August, 1784,⁴ but were not extended to Scotland or Ireland until some years later.

21-22 JULY, 1779.—The felons “behind the coach” would ride in the basket, which was without springs. Their chains would necessarily rattle, and considering the discomfort of ten manacled men, jammed together, without seats, and jolted over very bad roads, it is not surprising that they “blasphemed.”

9 FEBRUARY, 1787.—This is the first time Mr. Wesley appears to have travelled by the new mails, which had then recently been established. Their introduction was stoutly opposed by the post office officials, who declared Mr. Palmer's, the inventor's, plans “impossible”; that the existing system was “almost as perfect as it can be”; and “they were amazed that “any dissatisfaction, any desire for change, should exist. . . . To “arm the guards (they said) would only make matters worse, for “when once desperate fellows had determined on robbery, “resistance would lead to murder.” Their fears were groundless; not a single mail coach was ever robbed in England; but in Ireland, where they were established in 1790, four armed guards did not suffice to protect them. The attacks upon them there, however, were not for plunder, but from hatred of the Government. The pace of the mails was, at first, six miles an hour, clear of stoppages, which was gradually increased to seven, eight, nine, ten, and even eleven miles; but experience taught the post office and contractors that a clear ten-and-a-half miles per hour was the utmost that could be accomplished by a night mail, with due regard to safety and punctuality. That pace involved an

3. “When Wesley began his course of itinerancy there were no turn-pikes in England, and no stage coach which went farther north than York. In many parts of the northern counties neither coach nor chaise had ever been seen.”—Southey's *Life of Wesley*, ch. xv.

4. Palmer's proposals were first laid before the Prime Minister in 1783. From Birmingham the first mail commenced to run in August, 1785.

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actual speed of twelve miles an hour. The mail Mr. Wesley travelled by was the London, York and Newcastle, then the only mail on the great North road. [This journey shews an incidental difficulty in travel in those days, viz: that of finding a seat at an intermediate point. On the down journey he had obtained a seat at the terminus, London, easily enough; but when he was ready to return he found the coach from York full when it reached Newark. He therefore tried another tack, and went across country, doubtless by post horse, through Leicester and Hinckley, where he preached and slept, and struck the Liverpool-London coach road at Coventry, where he found vacant places in the Liverpool mail coach, and so returned to London, having lost scarcely more than 24 hours.]

4 APRIL, 1787.—The mail here referred to was the London and Holyhead, which had commenced to run about two years previously. It left London at 8 p.m., and [arriving at Chester at about 2 a.m.] occupied about 30 hours in the journey to Chester; a clear six miles an hour.

8 OCTOBER, 1787.—This was not an uncommon trick in the coaching days, [*à propos* of which Mr. Duignan relates in detail a similar experience which befel "that fine old gentleman, the town clerk "of Lichfield, Mr. Simpson," who in the issue quietly ordered out horses and posted to Lichfield, the mail contractors having to pay all expenses.]

W. C. SHELDON.

"THAT VENERABLE MAN, DR. RUTTY."

It will be remembered how Johnson and Boswell made merry over the extracts from Dr. Rutty's *Spiritual Diary and Soliloquies* contained in the article on that work in the *Critical Review*. It would be easy to quote other extracts quite as amusing as those which made Johnson laugh so heartily; but we have in mind the words in the introduction: "If thou art a mere formal professor of religion, and in thy heart a citizen of this world, reading only for curiosity, or amusement, without any relish for things pertaining to salvation, and more especially, if thou art of a criticising, mocking spirit with regard to things of inward experience; in this case proceed not to the reading of the

following work; for, in such a disposition, it will only serve to thee for matter of derision." It would be easier still to give quotations from the Diary, showing the saint and the philanthropist, and such as would be heard with profit in Methodist class-meetings.

But our present purpose is limited to the interviews between the famous doctor and John Wesley. When in Dublin in the Spring of 1748, Wesley had an attack of quinsy, accompanied with high fever, which compelled him to summon Dr. Ruty, who simply prescribed the rest cure, though he saw his patient at least three times. In April of the following year, when Wesley was again in Ireland, he once more summoned the popular physician, but ere he arrived the patient had cured himself by successive applications of nettles and treacle. Not a word is said of "any fellowship of love," and unfortunately we cannot supplement the meagre account by turning to the pages of the doctor's diary, seeing that this was "opened the 13th day of the 9th month, 1753." But it contains a deeply interesting account of an interview between himself and Wesley, which the latter does not mention in his Journal:—"Fourth month, 1762, 14. "An interview with J. Wesley, with an agreeable account of the destruction of bigotry, and the prevalence of universal charity in Scotland" (see *Journal*, May 2nd to 6th, 1761), "and of the permanence and increase of the heavenly fire kindled among the colliers in 1737, and the next among the miners. A particular account of the conversion of two hundred malefactors in Newgate." The great catholic soul of the beloved physician always rejoiced to hear tidings of good things—as many entries in his diary prove. On the 11th of sixth month, 1763, is the following appreciation of Wesley and his people: "Demas and his company compass sea and land to get a penny; but J.W. the believer, and others of the like spirit, compass sea and land to gain souls: these are enthusiasts in Demas's sense, but those are the real fools and madmen in the sense of every true believer." Other kindly references to the Methodists are easily found in the diary. "A glimmering of hope of some improvement of the nation from the Methodists, and from Law's writings passing several editions." "The Methodists hold conferences on spiritual experiences"; the "little conference" begun in Dublin on 5 July, 1760, was just over. Speaking of early rising he bemoans his lethargy, and says to his soul, "the Methodists out-strip thee quite, and consequently must advance beyond thee. I will catch a little of their fire, so help, Lord."

1. To whom does this paragraph refer?

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It is almost certain that he again refers to them when he writes, "O, the industry of the members of a certain society! but, O, our idleness!" Our next quotation, beyond doubt refers to the Wesleys: "The Moravian brethren not allowed to marry until previously married to Christ, and *our friends*, apostles to America, who performed that service, previous to their marriage were of the same spirit. O my soul, how remote from these." It may be to John Wesley he refers in fourth month, 1772:—"The Christian traveller is got beyond me, even to the perfect love which casteth out fear."

The last interview between Wesley and the beloved physician was on Thursday, 6 April, 1775:—"I visited that venerable man, Dr. Rutty, just tottering over the grave; but still clear in his understanding, full of faith and love, and patiently waiting till his "change" should come." The "change" came three weeks after this affecting scene, and in a memorial of him his co-religionists wrote: "In a good old age he departed this life, with thanksgiving to God."

The extracts from the diary may seem to qualify Wesley's praise of his medical adviser, and give the impression that he was a choleric man and a *bon vivant*; but let the reader note the good physician's lamentations over his innate tendency to hasty temper, count the number of times he dined on bread and water, with occasional additions of nettles, kale, and saffron cake; observe the frequency of such entries as "attended nine patients, six of which were the glorious poor;" and above all let him note the vows and holy exercises mentioned in this book, and he will agree with the writer of the Introduction: "Thou hast before thee a good pattern of christian humility, faith, and perseverance in one who used all diligence to work out his salvation." Dr. Rutty was a Quaker, and thus describes his position in the church militant:—"1st, I am an Amen-man: 2nd, a scribe and recorder: 3rd, a visitor: 4th, perhaps an overseer: 5th, an inspector of the conduct of meetings for worship." To these must be added the office of a catechist, for he was a zealous worker amongst the young. But his catholicity recognised goodness in all the religious bodies, and his devotional reading embraced Protestants, established and dissenting, as well as Romanist authors, the reader "praising God for diffusing His light and grace through the several divided churches."

R. BUTTERWORTH.

[My copy of Dr. Rutty's Diary is the Second Edition, 1796.]

THE REV. JOHN FLETCHER,
VICAR OF MADELEY.

HIS INDUCTION AT HEREFORD.

One of the most scholarly and saintly men associated with the Wesleys in the great Methodist movement of the eighteenth century was the Rev. John Fletcher, who became Vicar of Madeley in 1760. This godly and distinguished clergyman was formally and legally instituted to his ecclesiastical office and to the cure of souls as Vicar of the parish of Madeley, at the Bishop's Palace, on the banks of the Wye, in the city of Hereford, the Bishop who inducted him being Lord James Beauclerk, Bishop of Hereford, who occupied the See from 1746 to 1787.

When a young man of twenty-six Fletcher was private tutor to the two sons of Thomas Hill, Esq., at Tern Hall, in Shropshire. On 24 November, 1756, he wrote to Wesley as his spiritual guide, asking his advice respecting his "entering into orders," giving him a brief account of his own thoughts. He said he desired no long answer, "persist" or "forbear," he says, will satisfy and influence him. Being recommended by Wesley to "persist," we find the young Swiss in the 28th year of his age ordained at Whitehall, London, 13 March, 1757, and on the same day he assisted Wesley in the administration of the sacrament at West Street Chapel. Wesley writes: "How wonderful are the ways of God! When my bodily strength failed, and none in England were able and willing to assist me, He sent me help from the mountains of Switzerland; and a helpmeet for me in every respect: Where could I have found such another?"

By the kind permission of the Registrar of the Diocese of Hereford, I recently made an examination of the original entry of the Institution of the Rev. John Fletcher to the Vicarage of Madeley, as contained in the Register of the Right Honourable and Right Reverend Father in God, Lord James Beauclerk, Bishop of Hereford, and found it took place on 7 October, 1760. As the entry is of historic interest, I have extracted the particulars which are here reproduced.

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“MADELEY, V. Institution to” “On the seventh day of October, aforesaid, John Fletcher, clerk, was admitted to the Vicarage and Parish Church of Madeley, in the Deanery of Wenlock, County of Salop, and Diocese of Hereford, void by the cession of Rowland Chambers, Clerk, the last incumbent there; to which he was presented by Edward Kynaston, of Hardwick, in the said County of Salop, Esquire, the true and undoubted Patron thereof, in full Right, as is asserted, and he was duly and canonically instituted Vicar into the same.”

The seventh day of October “aforesaid” refers to the year 1760, there being numerous other entries for the same year. Edward Kynaston, Esquire, belonged to the well-known Shropshire family of that name. John Kynaston, Esquire, was elected a Member of Parliament for the County of Salop in 1784.

The following is an extract from a letter written by Fletcher to the Countess of Huntingdon, in which he refers to his induction at Hereford. He says: “All the little circumstances of my institution and induction have taken such an easy turn, that I question whether any clergyman ever got over them with less trouble. Among many little providences, I shall mention one to your ladyship. The Bishop having unexpectedly sent me word to go to him for institution without delay, if I wished not to be at the trouble of following him to London, I set out in haste for Hereford, where I arrived the day before his Lordship’s departure. As I went along, I thought that if my going to Madeley was from the Lord, it was providential that I should thus be called to be instituted in the country, for were it to be in London, Sir Peter Rivers, the Bishop’s Chaplain, who examined me for orders, and who made so much noise last summer in West Street Chapel, where he found me preaching, would infallibly defeat the end of my journey, according to his threatenings. Thus did worldly wisdom work in my heart, but no divination can stand against the God of Jacob, who is a jealous God, and does not give His glory to another. A clergyman named Sir Dutton Colt came to see the Bishop just as I entered the palace, and the Secretary, coming to him, said in my hearing: ‘Sir Peter is just come from London to take possession of a prebend, which the Bishop has given him; he is now in the palace; how do you rank with him?’ My surprise was great, for a moment, and my first thought was to ride away without

institution ; but, having gone too far to retreat, I had an instant strength from on high to be still and see the salvation of the Lord. I cried for strength to make a good confession before the high priest and the scribe, and I felt I had it ; but I was not called upon to use it, for the Bishop was alone, the ceremony was over in ten minutes, and Sir Peter did not come in till after. I met him at the door of the Bishop's room, and a wig I had on that day prevented his recollecting who I was." [See Tyerman's *Life of Fletcher*, p 58.]

WILLIAM PARLBY.

PREACHERS' STATIONS

AS RECORDED IN THE EARLY MINUTES.

The stations of the Methodist Preachers, as recorded in the Minutes during Mr. Wesley's lifetime, cannot be relied on as being accurate. Some of the appointments appear to have been merely provisional or tentative, and Mr. Wesley was always open to receive objections urged by his assistants, and not infrequently gave his ultimate approval to interchanges of stations privately arranged and even carried out by them. In the interests of historical accuracy it would seem desirable that the record of stations given in the Minutes should be corrected, where it can be shown from authentic documents that they are inaccurate or incomplete, and the following is a contribution in that sense, dealing with the appointments to the Bradford (Yorks) Circuit.

The Minutes for 1766 give James Oddie, Thomas Hanby, Daniel Bumstead, and Moseley Cheek, as the preachers appointed to the Birstal Circuit, which then included Bradford. The Bradford Stewards' Book only records payments to and for Hanby and Cheek, thus shewing a practical division in the circuit, Oddie and Bumstead having charge of the Birstal portion and receiving their stipends from the Birstal society, whilst Hanby and Cheek were in charge of the Bradford portion.

In 1767, Thomas Brisco and Thomas Westall were stationed at Bradford, Birstal being under the charge of Daniel Bumstead and John Nelson.

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In 1768, the preachers stationed at Bradford were Daniel Bumstead and Parson Greenwood; Christopher Hopper and Thomas Lee being presumably at Birstal.

In 1769, the Birstal Circuit was formally divided, and Bradford appeared for the first time on the Minutes as a separate circuit, comprising the ground now covered by the present nine Bradford circuits, together with what are now the Bramley and Yeadon circuits, in the Leeds District. The preachers appointed for this new circuit were Thomas Lee and John Oliver, the former residing at Bradford, the latter at Yeadon. The Yeadon Society appears to have paid Oliver's stipend, as no mention of it is made in the Bradford stewards' book; but his incidental expenses were defrayed by the Bradford stewards.

The Minutes for 1770 give Christopher Hopper and George Wadsworth as the preachers stationed at Bradford. The latter is nowhere mentioned in the stewards' book; the presumption therefore is that he was stationed at Yeadon; yet, as the class moneys received at Yeadon are fully accounted for in the Bradford book, how was Wadsworth's stipend defrayed, if he was in the circuit?

In 1771, the names given in the Minutes are Thomas Hanson and John Atlay. This is incorrect. The books show that Chr. Hopper stayed for a second year, Hanson having apparently declined to undertake the removal from Cornwall to Yorkshire. Where he went I cannot ascertain, but the following year he is found stationed at Bedford.

The stations for 1772 and 1773 are as given in the Minutes.

The names given in the Minutes for 1774 are Thomas Taylor and William Brammah; no trace of the latter, however, appears in our books.

In 1775, the names given in the Minutes are John Allen, Samuel Smith, and J.W., the latter probably indicating an appointment yet to be made by Mr. Wesley.¹ Samuel Smith, however, did not come to Bradford, his place being taken by William Dufton, whose name is put down in the Minutes for Staffordshire.

In the absence of a third preacher's name from the Bradford Stewards' Accounts from 1776 to 1784, we are led to infer that Thomas Lee, John Murlin, Thomas Brisco, James Hindmarsh,²

1. Can these initials mean John Whitley, in whose house Samuel Smith inscribed a window pane? (See our last *Part*). Had Wesley been urging him to preach, a year earlier than even 1776?—H. J. F.

2. See *infra* pp. 66, 67.

John Floyd, Joseph Benson, and Thomas Taylor, were stationed at Yeadon and paid by the society there: another instance of two separate quarter boards in one nominal circuit.

[THE LATE] CHARLES A. FEDERER.

PASCAL AND THE WESLEYS.

In July, 1711, after the Rector of Epworth had returned from Convocation, an article by Budgell appeared in *The Spectator* (No. 116) in which was a paragraph on Pascal, curiously, though not irrelevantly, introduced into one of the sketches of Sir Roger de Coverley. Pascal was too austere to please Eustace Budgell, though he calls him 'an incomparable person,' but the quotation suggests, at least, that the English essayists were reading either in the original or in the two translations, the *Thoughts* of "the matchless intellect of his time, the great geometer, the great physicist, the great mechanist, master too of the keenest satire and the most unapproachable felicity of language."¹

Pascal died in 1662, at the age of thirty-nine. In 1670 the *Pensées* were published, with an introduction by Étienne Périer, Pascal's nephew. In later editions the *Life* by Mme. Périer appeared. I have an edition printed at Amsterdam, 1765, which includes the Preface, the *Life*, and a defence of Pascal against Voltaire's critique of 1734—referred to by John Wesley. M. Faugère's restored text was published in 1844, but for the literary history of the *Pensées*, a reference to M. Emile Boutroux's fascinating volume (trans. E. M. Creak: 1902) must here suffice.

Turning to the translations: in 1688, J. Tonson published *M. Pascal's Thoughts . . . done into English by Joseph Walker . . . dedicated to the Hon. Robt. Boyle*. Professor Augustin Leger has kindly examined the copy in the British Museum, and tells me that the translation "is clumsy and sometimes altogether mistaken." In 1704, Churchill and Tonson published Basil Kennet's translation, which appears to have been independent of Walker's. A copy of Kennet was probably in Samuel Wesley's

1. Dean Church, *Lecture on Pascal*, 1876.

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library at Epworth, for there is good evidence that it was read and quoted by his wife. The Rector was an enthusiastic admirer of Pascal, as his *Letter to a Curate* shows. Like other churchmen of the early 18th century, he was a stout Protestant, whose hostility to the Roman Catholic church was only mitigated by one influence—admiration for Pascal, Fenelon and Bossuet.² At this period, Pascal, notwithstanding his mediævalism, and the submission he acknowledged to be due to the Papal See, not only fascinated thoughtful readers by his style, and won their hearts by the simple integrity of his character and his love of truth, but delighted Englishmen generally by the vigour of his attack, which, as leader of the Jansenists, he made upon the Jesuits. In the literary circle in which Samuel Wesley moved, Pascal was gaining influence, and becoming known, through the translations, to other readers. A second edition of Kennet's translation was published in 1727, and I have the fine third edition, printed for Pemberton, London, 1731, and another published in Edinburgh in 1751—two years before John Wesley's—with quotations from *The Spectator*, referred to above, upon the title pages. Samuel Wesley found "Messieurs de Port Royal³ and Pascal worthy of their characters; he has indeed most surprising thoughts, and it is enough to melt a mountain of ice to read him."⁴

Susanna Wesley, as we have observed, read Kennet's translation,⁵ though, according to Dr. Clarke, she had sufficient knowledge of French to have read the original, had it been accessible to her. It was a hundred and twenty years before an attempt was to be made to restore the text of the *Pensées*, but though, as Vinet says, in a *literary* sense the Pascal of the early editors is not the true and complete Pascal, yet as regards *thought*, and as far as

2. Overton—*English Church in 18th Century*, i, 155, 351, 568.

3. Samuel Wesley was acquainted with the fact that, as M. Boutroux says, "Port Royal came to be identified with a particular school of thought and a particular ideal of life, and its members came to be habitually thought and spoken of collectively as *Les Messieurs de Port Royal*." . . . "These religious ascetics were, as regards things human, the apostles of reason. They appreciated the philosophy of Descartes, being in sympathy with its reserve in matters of religion, and its purely rational method in matters of science. So also in style they aimed above all at clearness, simplicity, the subordination of the form to the subject. They had more gravity and force than picturesqueness and variety." Was not this "style" also adopted by John Wesley?

4. Jackson's *Charles Wesley*, vol. ii, p 520.

5. A comparison of Walker, Kennet, and Mrs. Wesley's quotations proves this beyond doubt.

they went, they presented a true Pascal,⁶ and this may be said of Kennet's translation, in spite of its faults.

Susanna Wesley was profoundly influenced by Pascal's *Thoughts* on the place of reason in religion. She read: "If we bring down all things to reason, our religion will have nothing in it mysterious or supernatural. If we stifle the principles of reason, our religion will be absurd and ridiculous." So she writes in her *Conference with her daughter*:⁷ "If we would act reasonably, we shall neither stifle the principles of reason, nor build too much upon them, for by doing the first we make our religion childish and ridiculous, and by the other we exclude all supernatural assistance and mysterious truths from it, and thereby cut off all hope of salvation by Jesus Christ, as M. Pascal has well showed."

Pascal had written: "The last process of reason is to recognise that there is an infinity of things which transcend it; it is but weak if it does not go so far as to know that. And if natural things transcend it, what shall we say of the supernatural?" Mrs. Wesley reflects, "We know but little of our own nature; how, then, shall we presume to think of His, who created all things, who infinitely transcends our most sublime apprehensions, who dwells in inaccessible light to which no man can approach? . . . Though reason is of itself too weak and insufficient to direct us the way that leads to eternal life, yet, when enlightened and directed by God's Holy Spirit, it is of admirable use to strengthen our faith. Those are alike to blame who either indulge or despise it. A little learning and study will serve to convince us that there are innumerable things that surpass the force of human understanding."

Mrs. Wesley not only quotes Pascal in her letters and writings, but she passes his thoughts through the mint of her own mind, and the spirit of them pervades her meditations and her "Conference." To think the thoughts of Pascal after him was no mean attainment. She used Pascal much as Coleridge in his *Aids to Reflection* used Leighton, but she has more to say than either Pascal or Coleridge on "The knowledge which is an effect of reason acting by the influence and direction of the Holy Spirit." Her doctrine of the Holy Spirit irradiates her theology, meditations, and speculations with the light of evangelical optimism. There was a sceptical Susanna much in sympathy with a sceptical Pascal, and like him she discovered, "The heart

6. Vinet: *Studies in Pascal*, Clark, 1859, p. 292.

7. Published by W.H.S., 1898. See also Clarke's *Wesley Family*, vol ii.

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has its own reasons, of which the reason knows nothing."

It would be possible to show that Mrs. Wesley owed many more of her ideas to Pascal, especially those relating to, (1) the proof of moral truths by moral arguments, (2) the use of the will and understanding in the search for truth, (3) natural and revealed religion, (4) the greatness and the littleness of man, (5) the mediatorial office of Christ, (6) the unearthly greatness of charity. Dean Church notes Pascal's "clear, downright seriousness, and the startling boldness with which he faces the real facts of life and religion," and these were characteristics of Susanna Wesley, as well as of her son John, whom she so deeply influenced. Her reflective, sober—though not sombre—piety had its rare seasons of holy joy, and mystical ecstasy. But her predominant sobriety does not commend itself to some modern types of mind, as incapable of appreciating such sobriety as Budgell was incapable of understanding the austerity of Pascal. But, as Pascal says, "We look at things not only from other sides, but with other eyes, and care not to find them alike."⁸

THOS. E. BRIGDEN.

[To be continued, with notes on John Wesley and Pascal.]

METHODISM IN ALNWICK.

FROM 1744 TO 1791.

The first preacher who visited Alnwick seems to have been John Trembath. Davison's *History of Alnwick* says that his first sermon was preached in the open-air, at the foot of Clayport Street. Tate's *History* says that he thenceforward preached every fortnight, standing on a horse-block in front of the old thatched public-house at the bottom of the Market Place. James Everett, who was a native of Alnwick, and left some MS. notes of the early history of Methodism in the town, adds that the house was kept by William Allen, and that Trembath lodged there, preaching in front to large congregations gathered on the rising ground opposite. In

8. C. Kegan Paul's transl. of Molinier's text, 1905, p. 32.

the intervals he itinerated in the country around, with the result that a few persons were brought together in Alnwick for prayer and religious conversation, and for their accommodation two rooms were taken in a house on the north side of the Market Place, afterwards occupied by Mr. T. Dand. The two rooms were thrown into one, and here services were held for some four or five years.

Charles Wesley is said to have preached in Alnwick towards the close of 1746. He was visiting, at his brother's desire, the societies in the north, encouraging the new converts and extending the work. At the parish church on the Sunday morning he heard a bitter denunciation of the Methodists, from the text "Beware of false prophets, &c." When the service was over, Charles Wesley took his stand upon a tombstone, and announced that he would preach from the concluding words of the text of the morning: "By their fruits ye shall know them." Many of his hearers from that time attended the ministry of the Methodists.

His brother John visited Alnwick thirty-two times. Many of the notices in the Journals are simply records of a visit; but, in others, points of interest offer themselves for elucidation. On the first occasion, 19 July, 1748, he took his stand at the Cross, and at each succeeding visit of that year he speaks of a growing interest and a deepening work of grace. The memoir of Edward Stanley, by his son, the first Jacob Stanley (*W.M. Mag.*, 1826, pp. 794-809) supplies a good many interesting touches to the story of Methodism in his native place. Mr. William Bowmaker was one of those who had felt the power of the truth about this time. A brother of his, who had been converted at Sunderland, met with acutely put objections and unexpectedly strong opposition from William; but his witness was not in vain, and at one of Wesley's visits this year, William and his wife came under conviction of sin, and joined the growing society. Of the Bowmaker family more will be said in the sequel.

Somewhere about 1749 the society removed to a house in Bondgate, a little to the southwards of the Corn Exchange, rented from one Thomas Grumble. The rooms were reached by a flight of stone steps from the outside, and here the services were held for about two years.

Whitefield visited Alnwick in 1750, taking his stand on the north side of Bondgate, opposite the house of Michael Paterson. A vast assemblage gathered around him, and on the hillside before him; and his powerful voice was heard as far as even the Bow

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Alley. His visit awakened and deepened the religious feeling of the town. A visit from him in 1752 is also recorded. Christopher Hopper, whilst stationed at Newcastle in 1751, accompanied Wesley to Alnwick, where, under stress of weather, the visitors and their congregation occupied the Town Hall, which had been procured by some of the Alnwick Methodists. Wesley wrote to John Downes also, directing him to visit Alnwick from time to time. Downes had adopted the method of talking with each person in the Society apart. "I hear," says Wesley, "this has been greatly blessed." He adds, "I do not see how you could have dealt more favourably with T.G. [Thomas Grumble above mentioned]. If he will leave the Society, he must leave it. But if he does, you are clear." The year 1753 saw a more formal organization of the work in and around Newcastle, and the first formal appointment of preachers to the Circuit was made. Wesley records, under 4 May, "the first general Quarterly Meeting of all the stewards round about Newcastle."

Wesley refers under 25 April, 1753 to the odd method of taking up their civic freedom imposed upon the young fellows who had finished their apprenticeship. They walked through a bog specially preserved for this purpose. This compulsory ceremony is traced to an order of King John, who, when hunting in the neighbourhood, was set fast in a bog. On learning that the land belonged to the freemen of Alnwick, he declared that everyone who in future should be constituted a freeman of the town, should pass through the self same bog. On the following day, 26 April, Wesley notes a harassing discussion upon Calvinism, which had troubled the Society, and had resulted in a secession. Tate's *History* supplies the name of one of the seceders: "George Gordon introduced division, embraced Calvinism, and left the Society. But, before he died, he returned to Methodism." Tyerman (*Wesley*, ii, 166) gives the name of Jenny Keith, once Wesley's housekeeper at the Orphan House, Newcastle-on-Tyne, as one of "a few violent Presbyterians" who occasioned this secession. Of her Wesley, writing to John Downes, 28 Nov., 1751, says: "I know not what to do more for poor Jenny Keith. Alas! from what a height is she fallen! What a burning and shining light was she six or seven years ago! But thus it ever was. Many of the first shall be last, and many of the last first." This implies no moral defect, and, in fact, after leaving the Orphan House, she became the wife of James Bowmaker, of Alnwick. He was amongst the early converts, along with William Hindmarsh, one of an old race of tanners, James Hindmarsh, Thomas Gibson,

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George Vardy, and Robert Rand. Everett in his MS. notes adds the names of William Bowmaker, a cousin of James, Thomas Fenwick, Mark Fenwick, Mrs. Dand, Mrs. Cutty, John Stanley, Mrs. James Swan, of Denwick, Ellen Bowmaker, John Marshall, a dyer, William Crommie, George Gordon, above mentioned, and Thomas Taylor.

James Bowmaker was a master bricklayer and builder. When he identified himself with Alnwick Methodism, it needed courage to do so. After Jenny Keith's death, he married Margaret Milburn, daughter of Robert Milburn, of the Forth Farm, bailiff of the Duke of Northumberland. One of the daughters of this second marriage became the mother of James Everett. Bowmaker is said to have been of a meek and quiet spirit, never seen in a passion. It was his custom, when the children quarrelled, to put one out at the back door, and another at the front, until peace was restored.

Thomas Gibson, a baker, was a class leader and local preacher, eccentric in his notions, and hasty in temper, but of the strictest morality. His plain drab cloth, his large bush wig, his three-cornered hat, made him a conspicuous figure. He was quaint in speech, until what was intended for edification rather provoked amusement. In one sermon he exclaimed: "My brethren, what a useful animal the sheep is; its flesh feeds us; its wool 'cleads' us; the horns of its head make buttons for our coats; and the very shank bones *make snuff mulls!*"

George Vardy, a schoolmaster, was also an aspirant after pulpit honours, and on one occasion expressed his wish to Whitefield; who replied that "the wish was indicative of his unfitness for the office; that he was inflated with pride, and ought to be satisfied to be kicked about like a football!" He died in 1769.

Robert Rand was a very zealous Methodist. During the races, he would stand at the door of his house and warn the people of their danger as they went up Clayport to the racecourse.

James Hindmarsh is a name of wider note. He was unstable as an early member of the Society. Burning zeal marked the commencement of his career; but, cooling down, he entered upon the tenancy of the Castle Inn, at Alnwick, and afterwards of an inn at Dunbar, but he failed in both. In his misfortunes he returned to Alnwick, and was readmitted into the Society. Wesley was satisfied with his restoration to God and to His people, and in 1766 appointed him to be the writing master at Kingswood School, his wife acting as housekeeper. Here he remained about five years. Letters of his will be found in

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Wesley's *Journal*, 5 May, 1768 and 26 September, 1770, describing two of the remarkable, if evanescent, revivals amongst the boys of the school. Robert Hindmarsh, his son, was one of these. He left the school in 1773, and for a while remained in Methodism. But after a short period spent as a printer in Clerkenwell, he joined the Swedenborgians, and was the first to organise them into a distinct body in England, having a charge in Salford. He was the author of *The Birth of Immanuel, Reflections on the Unitarian and Trinitarian Doctrines, Rise and Progress of the New Church*, etc. He died in 1835 [See *Dict. N. Biog.*, *sub nom.*; also *Proc.* vi, p 89]. His sister, Elizabeth Hindmarsh, came to Kingswood in an illness, and died there in 1777, aged 21. Mr. Bayley, then one of the masters, wrote an account of her death, which was published by Wesley in 1777 [Green, *Bibliog.*, No. 323]. James Hindmarsh himself entered the ministry in 1771, and travelled till 1783, when he united himself with the Swedenborgians. [See *supra* p. 59.]

Everett reports that "persecution was not violent in Alnwick; the worst was that of the tongue. People sported with character and religion, expending their wit and malevolence to render the Methodists ridiculous. They laughed at religion rather than took up the hand against it. On one occasion, however, when a soldier attempted to preach at the Market Cross, the mob prevented him, and became so violent that he had to run through the Town Hall into the Griffin's [now the Nag's] Head, down the garden, and thus made his escape."

Whitefield visited Alnwick in 1753, and Wesley once more on 26 May, 1755. The "new room" of which he speaks, was the first chapel built by the Methodists in Alnwick. It was situated in the Green Bat, at the corner of Correction House Lane, on the site now occupied by the Court House for meetings of the Petty Sessions and County Courts. It was of brick, square and of no great height, and of the plainest style of architecture. James Bowmaker was the builder.

Edward Stanley, whose full biography, by his son, the first Jacob Stanley, president of the Conference in 1845, has been mentioned earlier in this paper, was for many years a pillar of strength to the Society in Alnwick, of which place he was a native, being born in 1737. His earliest religious impressions were received under a sermon by John Trembath in the Market Place; but these passed away, and not until he was advancing towards manhood did he find clearly an interest in Christ, and commence his long career of witness and work for his Divine

Master. He began to preach about the year 1757, making his first attempt at Berwick, when on a visit to his sister, and under the sermon a backslider was recovered. With this encouragement, he preached not only on the Lord's Day, but on week days also, in towns and villages as the way seemed to be opened by God. In many cases he was the first Methodist preacher the people had ever seen, or from whom they heard the word of salvation. He experienced his full share of the vicissitudes of a local preacher's lot in those days; but he was never known to disappoint a congregation, unless waters were unfordable or roads absolutely impassable.

Wesley was in Alnwick on 11 and 12 June, 1757. "O what a difference there is between these living stones, and the dead unfeeling multitude in Scotland!"

The Newcastle Circuit in 1758, when Alexander Mather was stationed there, "reached as far as Musselborough," and Thomas Rankin, who was then a young man at Dunbar, says: "In September I set off for Berwick, and from thence to Alnwick and Newcastle. I was greatly pleased with all I saw and heard, whether in public or with private individuals. Now it was that I saw Methodism in its beauty, as it respected its doctrines and discipline, as well as the Divine Power that attended the word of God preached." [*E.M.P.*, V, 159]. Christopher Hopper and Thomas Lee both give pleasant glimpses of the wide circuit, during these years. Everett, in his MS. notes, writes: "The preachers preached in Newcastle (on Sunday) at 5 a.m.; preached at Morpeth, or some of the intermediate places, and then at Alnwick (34 miles) in the evening. [Monday] Preached at Alnwick in the morning at 5 o'clock, and at Berwick (30 miles) in the evening. Preached at Berwick at 5 on Tuesday morning, and at Dunbar (between 20 and 30 miles) in the evening. Returned to Newcastle in the reverse order of these places."

Whitefield visited Alnwick for the last time, in the Autumn of 1758. "It shocks me" he wrote to his friend Rev. Dr. Gillies, of Glasgow, "to think of winter quarters yet. How soon does the year work round! Lord Jesus, quicken my tardy pace." Two visits of Wesley in the summer of 1759 are recorded in his Journal.

Wesley's visit of May, 1761 was prolonged beyond ordinary, and he records excursions to Warkworth,—where the well-known curious rock-hewn hermitage, as well as the remains of the castle, greatly interested him,—and to Alemouth, during his stay. The town was full of soldiers "on their way to Germany." A young

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and beautiful wife, whose husband had "wandered out of the way," accompanied Wesley in the post-chaise to Warkworth, and poured out her spiritual troubles to this experienced counsellor of all such perplexed souls. It would be of great interest to identify Wesley's companion on this occasion. Nothing special attaches itself to Wesley's next visits, 31 May, 1763, and 21 May, 1764. But that of 22 April, 1765, is connected with the names of two of the inner circle of his personal friendships. He was driven over from Newcastle in their post chaise by M.L. and M.D., i.e., Margaret Lewen and her niece, Margaret Dale. The friendship with the first was all too brief. Her name first occurs under date 20 March, 1765. "M. Lewen took me in a post-chaise to Derby [from Birmingham]." On 18 April following, at Durham, she introduced Wesley to her father, who thanked Wesley for all the good his spiritual assistance had done to his daughter, "more than all the physicians could do." She was wealthy, and gave Wesley in the following summer a chaise and a pair of horses. [Letter to C.W., 9 July, 1766, *Works*, xii, 121]. The indomitable traveller had hitherto ridden on horseback, but Miss Lewen's kindness inaugurated an easier mode of travelling for the eager evangelist. She went, at her father's desire, to London for the winter. On 31 October, 1766, Wesley hastened to Leytonstone to see her; she had been residing there with Mary Bosanquet. But he was too late. "Miss Lewen died the day before [30 October], after an illness of five days." Her will was, as he tells Hopper, "a nine days wonder." [*Works*, xii, 292]. She left legacies to Miss Bosanquet and Wesley and to Whitefield. [For all this see Henry Moore's *Life of Mrs. Fletcher*, part ii].

J. H. BROADBENT.

[TO BE CONTINUED].

NOTES AND QUERIES.

413. 28 MAY, 1738, in the *Journals* of J.W. and C.W.—C.W. says: "In the afternoon my brother came, and after a short prayer for success upon our ministry, set out for Tiverton."

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J.W. on the 29th was at Dummer, but was in London again on June 3rd. Did he get no further than Dummer, the cure of his friend Kinchin? Curiously, on 28 February of this year, J.W. had set out for Tiverton, but turned aside,—it would seem—to Oxford, proceeding thence to Manchester.

414. WILLIAM MANUEL (*Journal*, 10 July, 1757). — Wesley's preacher who lived at Robin Hood's Bay and was pressed for a soldier. In the hands of a local solicitor is the official document drawn up by the officer who received him, as follows:—

18th Dec., 1756.

I acknowledge to have received from the hands of the Commissioners of the Land Tax for the liberty of Whitby Strand in the North Riding of Yorkshire, who are likewise Commissioners for putting in execution an Act instituted for the speedy and effectual recruiting of His Majesty's Land Forces and Marines, John Gilbert, William Petts, and James Plane alias Daniel, who were pressed by the Constables according to the directions of the said Act, I say received by me the day and year above.—ISA. ANTROBUS. Lieut. in Major General Borland's 11th Reg. of Foot.

24th December, 1756.

I acknowledge to have received this day from the hands of the above Commissioners the persons hereinafter mentioned, that is to say William Thompson and William Manuel, pursuant to the directions of the above mentioned Act. Witness my hand the day and year above.—ISA. ANTROBUS.—*Rev. John W. Seller.*

Atmore's account of the early impressment of William Thompson, the future president [*Memorial*, 418-19] makes it certain that he is the man named with Manuel. If we may suppose that he, like Manuel, had begun to "travel," the date of his entrance into the work is at least a year earlier than is usually stated. There are no printed *Minutes* of 1756. His brief obituary in *Min.*, 1799, only says that he had travelled "above forty years." Pawson's list of preachers and their dates of entry on the work (1795) seems to be the authority for 1757. (It is reprinted in *facsimile* in *Hill's Arrangement* for 1895).—*H.J.F.*

415. THE GREAT FLOOD AT HAYFIELD (*Journal*, 30, Aug., 1748). —Mr. L. Garside, of Hayfield, gives the following extract from the diary of Rev. James Clegg, M.D., minister of Chinley

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Independent Chapel from 1679 to 1755 :

"July 23rd, 1748. We had a violent storm of loud thunder and lightning, attended and followed by y^e most heavy rain I ever saw, for about two hours, which raised the waters to a vast height, and in a little time it did incredible damage." Mr. Garside adds: "The Phoside hill, from which the Phoside stream rises, lies midway between Chinley and Hayfield. It was this stream which washed the bodies out of their graves in Hayfield Churchyard." He also says that a new tower was built to the old church of Hayfield in 1793, and in 1818 a new church was built to this tower. The floods had often rushed through the old church; the floor of the new one was therefore lifted several feet higher, leaving the old floor to be that of a low crypt. The floor of the upper church rests upon the shortened nave pillars of the old.

416. WESLEY'S SPECTACLES.—Miss Laugher, of Marske, daughter of the late Rev. Henry Laugher, thus describes a Wesley relic in her possession. "You will be aware that Wesley, some years before his death, obtained second sight. He then gave the glasses he wore to Mrs. H. A. Rogers, remarking that he 'had no further need of them.' After Mrs. Rogers died, Mr. Rogers married again, and went to reside at Guisborough, and when my father was appointed to that circuit there was still living an old servant of Mrs. Rogers', who had these glasses in her possession and presented them to my father."

417. (a) *Journal*, 10 Feb., 1774.—"That affectionate man, Mr. P.,—— at Chelsea." Who is this? Musgrave's *Obituary*, gives: "Price, Griffith, Esq., Chelsea, counsellor (G.M., 1780, p. 51.)" Can these be connected; or can anything be found, to elucidate the *Journal* entry? A Wm. Price entered the ministry in 1772. For whom see *W.M.M.*, 1861, p. 52.

(b) *Journal*, 16 Dec., 1755.—"I set out for Lewisham; appointing one to meet me with my horse at the stones end." This should be printed "Stones End;" it is a proper name. It was near the Marshalsea, in the Borough. In my *Paterson's Roads* for 1800, the miles on the Portsmouth Road are "measured from the Stones-end in the Borough." Lewis' *Topogr. Dict.* speaks of an old Court of Requests in Trinity Street, Stones End, Borough. A little further knowledge would be acceptable. Obviously it is near St. George's Church, Southwark. Did the stone paving of the road

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- out of London at one time cease there?—*H.J.F.*
418. MRS. DORNFORD (*Journal*, 17 Jan., 1790).—Mr. James Freeman writes, 'She was wife of an eminent wine merchant, who kept his chariot. The corpse was brought into the chapel [i.e., City Road] and afterwards, on its being taken out, Mr. Wesley walked before it in his white surplice, to the burying place, adjoining the Artillery Ground [i.e., in Bunhill Fields], where he read the service, and then gave out, "To Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, &c."'—*Rev. C. H. Crookshank, M.A.*
419. Some time ago I bought the *Life of the Rev. John William Fletcher, late vicar of Madeley, Shropshire, by the Rev. Robert Cox, A.M., Perpetual Curate of St. Leonards, Bridgnorth*. This brief work was dedicated to Dr. Hawley, Bishop of London, and was printed by J. Butterworth & Son, Fleet Street, in 1822. Is it well known to experts in Methodist bibliography? It contains a very pleasing portrait of Fletcher.—*Rev. R. Butterworth.*

420. QUOTATION.

Journal, II, 168
Nov. 8, 1749.
Proc., V, 115,
VII, 35.

But death had swifter wings than love.
Mr. W. C. Sheldon points out that in the brief notice of the death of Joshua Keighley, *Min.*, 1788, Wesley gives the couplet from his brother's translation of the epigram :

About the marriage-state to prove
But death had swifter wings than love.

but again substituting "swifter" for "quicker" in the original. It is "from the Greek" of Gregory Nazianzen, who wrote several, on Euphemius, the son of his friend Amphilocheus of Iconium. (H. P. Dodd, *The Epigrammatists*, p. 49). [H.J.F.]

421. MINISTERS IN WESLEY'S JOURNAL, 28 March, 1743.—
"I was astonished to find it was real fact (what I would not believe before) that three of the Dissenting Ministers (Mr. A——rs, Mr. A——ns, and Mr. B——) had agreed together to exclude all those from the holy communion, who would not refrain from hearing us, &c.

I have gone into the identification with the Chief Librarian of Newcastle, and think that there is little doubt but that the three ministers to whom Wesley refers are : Rev. William Arthur, Scotch Presbyterian, 1715-59 ; Rev. Edward Aitkin, Scotch Relief, Castle Garth Meeting House, 1736-1762 ; Rev. George Bruce, M.A., minister of a Presbyterian Church in Sandgate. The last-named preached a sermon at a meeting of ministers in Newcastle, 3 Aug., 1743.—*J. Conder Natrass.*