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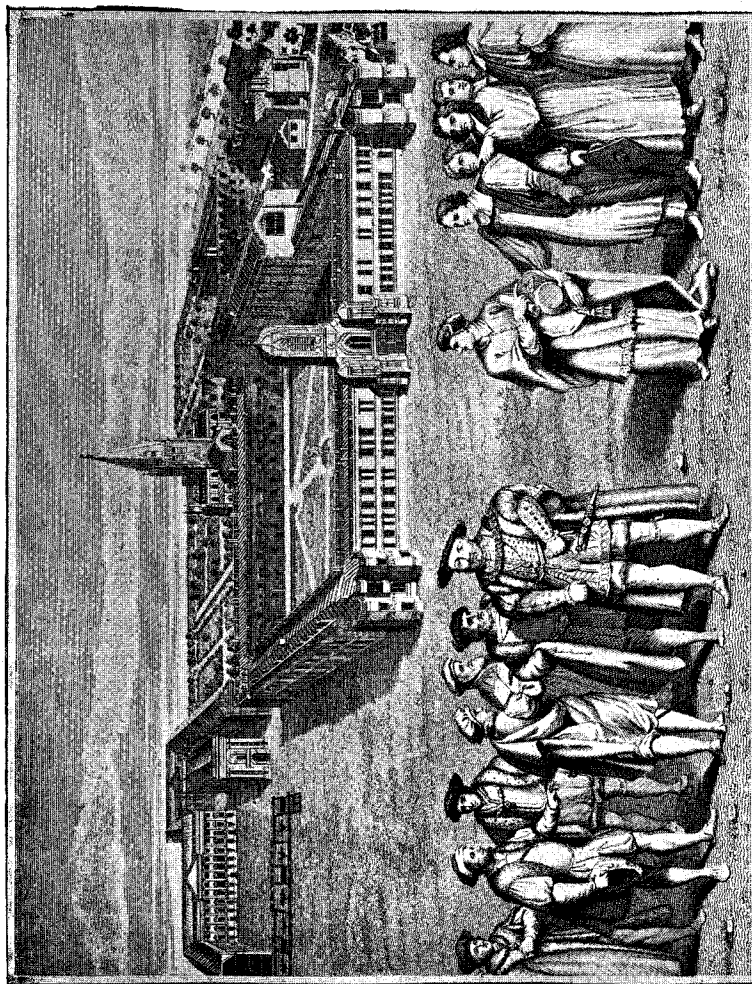
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*Frontispiece. Prospect of Christ Church with a birds-eye view of the College.*

*The subject was attacked in the second edition 1774.  
Engraved by G. Kneller, R.S.A. & J. Kneller, R.S.A.*

SKELTON'S ENGRAVING OF  
CHRIST CHURCH, OXFORD,  
FROM  
THE OXFORD ALMANACK 1724.

Here SAMUEL WESLEY, JUNIOR, graduated B.A., 1711, and M.A., 1718. JOHN WESLEY went up in 1720, and left six years later when he was elected Fellow of Lincoln. CHARLES WESLEY went up in 1726,—two years after the date of the Oxford Almanack picture here reproduced as engraved by J. Skelton. The group in the foreground represents the Founders, Benefactors and Deans, among whom Aldrich and Atterbury appear.

In refounding Westminster Collegiate School, Queen Elizabeth partly followed Lord Burleigh's scheme of making Westminster "the third University of England" by closely connecting it with the two great collegiate houses of Christ Church, Oxford, and Trinity College, Cambridge. Together they were to form "the three Royal Colleges." Hence the Christ Church studentships to which Samuel Wesley, and later, his brother Charles, were elected. John Wesley took with him from the Charterhouse a school exhibition of £40 a year. We must make one exception in regarding the view as representing Christ Church in young Samuel Wesley's Oxford days. The library on the left, with its Corinthian pillars, was not completed. It had been building for two years only when he graduated M.A. Possibly he saw the folios, referred to in our next article, in the old library, once the Refectory of the Priory.<sup>1</sup> It is hidden by the Hall on the right of the Great Quadrangle, and has been converted into sets of rooms. The Tom Tower, surmounting the main entrance, with the famous bell, was completed by Wren six years before Samuel Wesley the elder left Exeter College. We have an older view by Loggan, 1675, from which the tower is absent, and the old library appears.

T. E. B.

1. See pp. 80 81.

## SAMUEL WESLEY, JUNIOR

(*Schoolmaster, High Churchman, Minor Poet*)

AND HIS CIRCLE. 1690—1739.

[Continued from page 31.]

### II.

DANIEL FINCH, Earl of Nottingham ; BISHOP ATTERBURY ;  
ROBERT NELSON.

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In following Samuel Wesley, Jun., from his birth place, Spitalfields (1690) to South Ormsby and Epworth, through Westminster School (1703-1711) to Oxford, and back again to Westminster (1714) as Head Usher, we pass through tangled thickets of political and ecclesiastical history, and meet with travellers by the way who sadly tempt us to discursive gossip. It may suffice to note that his career as a school boy and student was, mainly, contemporary with the reign of Queen Anne, and that in his letter in the Bodleian<sup>1</sup> he records that he returned to Westminster on the day of the Queen's funeral. Then he worked as schoolmaster through the reign of the first George, whose German Court, and German followers lowered the whole tone of manners, morals and religion in that London society on which he wrote satirical epigrams.

This was the period immediately preceding the evangelical revival, of which he only witnessed the beginnings. He died in the year in which the Methodist Societies were organised, and he dissociated these from the preceding "Religious Societies" in which he, and his lay friend Robert Nelson took a practical interest. He was no "Methodist." He was not an "Evangelical"—a term which had not come into common usage in his day—but some incidents in his life throw useful light on the ecclesiastical and political position of many honest men of his type.

1. Let us return to his career at Oxford. He states in his letter already quoted, that a distinguished lay churchman and statesman, Daniel Finch, Second Earl of Nottingham, who had befriended his father in 1705,<sup>2</sup> "recommended" him to Christ Church. This

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1. See *supra*, p. 26.

2. Hearne's *Reliquiæ*. I, p. 77.

is significant in relation to the churchmanship and politics of both Samuel Wesley the younger, and his father, the Rector of Epworth. The Earl himself was "a Christ Church man." Remembering that party terms then and now are not always to be regarded as identical in meaning, we may call Nottingham a moderate Tory. A writer in Steele's *Guardian* (No. 41), when Wesley was at Christ Church, 1713, says: "The Earl of Nottingham has at all times and in all seasons shown the same steady abhorrence to all innovations." He was also a staunch Anglican High Churchman both in the political sense then common, and in the better religious sense. Like other zealous churchmen he had, until recently, been a strenuous supporter of monarchical authority, though his gravity, moral integrity, and sincere religious spirit provoked the ridicule of the Royalist wits<sup>3</sup>. He reminded them too much of the hated Puritans. When, later, for the purpose of passing the Occasional Conformity Bill, he was in *coalition* with the Whig party<sup>4</sup>, he was detested for the same reason by the more violent Whigs, as well as for political reasons. He had acknowledged William III as King 'de facto,' professed his readiness to serve him faithfully—and what Nottingham professed he always meant—but he would not call him the 'rightful and lawful King.'<sup>5</sup> He is said to have done more to reconcile churchmen to the Revolution than any other man.

"He was a devoted son of the church," says Macaulay, "and showed his respect for her in two ways not usual among the Lords who in his time boasted that they were her special friends, by writing tracts in defence of her dogmas, and by shaping his life according to her precepts."<sup>6</sup> He opposed Whiston in the

3. Hearne II. p. 84. Hearne, the Oxford Jacobite, misses no opportunity of flinging a stone at Nottingham for holding a midway position in regard to monarchy.

4. For the modern Nonconformist view of this, see Miall's *His. of the Free Churches*, p. 213, and Stoughton's *Religion in England*, vol. vi, p. 367. For the Anglican standpoint; presented in admirable temper, *Hist. C. of E. in 18th Cent.* C. J. Abbey, vol. I, Ch. vi. pp. 422-429. See also Dr. Simon's article, *infra*, p. 92.

5. "His following services sufficiently testified the truth of that his memorable saying: 'Though he could not make a King, he could obey him.'" *Guardian*, 1713, No. 41.

6. Macaulay *Hist. Eng.* II. p. 43, and Overton's *Life in the English Church, 1660-1714*, pp. 125-6. Even John Dunton, Whig and Dissenter, has nothing but commendation for Nottingham's character: *Lives and Characters*, 1704, xxviii.

Trinitarian controversy<sup>7</sup>, as we shall find his protégé (Samuel Wesley) doing when a student at Christ Church.

2. John Sharp, Archbishop of York, was Nottingham's chief friend and spiritual adviser, as he had been to his father, Heneage Finch. And Sharp was also the 'faithful and affectionate friend' of the Rector of Epworth. He was an uncompromising churchman, in opposition to Dissenters' Seminaries, and both of the Wesleys, father and eldest son, shared his opinions, the former attacking the 'Academies' with his pen.

3. These facts throw some light on the political and ecclesiastical environment of young Samuel Wesley, and account for some of his opinions. For the greater part of his life he breathed the atmosphere which their ideals created in his home, his school, his college, his study. Most of the best men he knew personally held them, and some of these were men of a fine spiritual type. We shall glance at his personal religion later, but we may pause at this point, as he was entering Oxford, to read a pathetic fragment from a letter he wrote to his revered mother a few months before he entered Christ Church—one of the rare glimpses we get of his inner life :

I received the sacrament the first Sunday of this month. (Dec.). I am as unstable as water. I frequently make good resolutions, and keep them for a time, and then grow weary of the restraint. I have one grand failing, which is, that having done my duty, I undervalue others, and think what wretches the rest of the college are compared with me. Sometimes in my relapses I cry out, "Can the Ethiopian change his skin and the leopard his spots, then may you also do good who are accustomed to do evil": but I answer again, "with men this is impossible." Amen.<sup>8</sup>

4. In the Bodleian letter before quoted, Wesley states that he went to the University in 'the vacancy betwixt the Deanery of Dr. Aldrich and Dr. Atterbury.' Dr. Aldrich died Dec. 14th, 1710, in the month the above letter was written. Wesley matriculated June 9th, 1711, but we have not met with the date of his entry. He appears to have seen the famous Dean, possibly on his visits to Bishop Sprat or to Westminster School, of which Aldrich was an old scholar. In a Latin epigram given by Moore

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7. The fifth edition of one pamphlet is entitled *Answer to Mr. Whiston's letter concerning the eternity of the Son of God and of the Holy Ghost, Cambridge, 1719*. This I have not seen, but find it noted in Bowe's valuable *Bibliography* of Books printed at Cambridge.

8. Dr. Whitehead, *Life of John Wesley*, I, p. 80, 1793.

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*Life of Wesley* (I., pp. 99-100), Samuel Wesley observes his small but vivid, piercing eye, his cheerful aspect, and his silver hair. Christ Church owed much to him for its preservation, for a time, from the general decadence which was befalling some of the Colleges. He was famous as a logician, architect, musical composer, and reformer of the Cathedral music. His *Artis Logicæ Compendium* was the basis of John Wesley's *Compendium of Logic*<sup>9</sup>. Aldrich's *Manual* was known to generations of Oxford students. And he was also known as the author of the *Five reasons for Drinking!*—

“ Good wine ; a friend ; or being dry ;  
Or, lest we should be by and by ;  
Or any other reason why.”

5. Samuel Wesley was at Christ Church when his friend Dr. Atterbury was installed as Dean, Sept. 28, 1711. Thomas Hearne<sup>10</sup> gives a picturesque account of the ceremony in his journal of this date, too long to quote in full. We may be sure that Wesley would quite approve when Dr. Frewin, the ‘rhetoric reader,’ in an elegant Latin speech, extolled Samuel’s ‘benefactor’ for ‘his wisdom, prudence, quick parts, excellent learning, and for his zeal and affection to religion, the Church of England and the College.’ After the speeches, Hearne notes, there ‘followed a noble dinner. Dr. Aldrich treated very splendidly ; but in this point Dr. Atterbury much exceeded him. ’Tis said that this treat could not cost less than between two and three hundred pounds.’ Did Wesley recall this scene of academic splendour, when eleven years later, he and his Westminster boys saw the fallen Jacobite Dean, wearing ‘a lay habit of gray cloth,’ and departing in a coach to his prison in the Tower of London?

The Revolution of 1688-9 had been accepted at Oxford, says Brodrick, ‘as an irrevocable fact rather than welcomed as the consecration of civil and religious liberty.’<sup>11</sup> Oxford became the hot-bed of Jacobite disaffection for at least two generations. When Samuel Wesley was there it was the “High Tory Oxford” of Andrew Lang’s brilliant chapter,<sup>12</sup> or rather of the journal of Wesley’s contemporary, ‘Tom’ Hearne, librarian, bibliophile, archæologist, ‘and as honest a man as Jacobitism could make him.’ But Samuel Wesley had come to Christ Church on no

9. See *Journal*, Mar. 25, 1750.

10. *Reliquiæ Hearnianæ*, I, 236-237.

11. *A Story of the University of Oxford*. Hon. G. C. Brodrick. 1886. Chap. xiv.

12. *Oxford*: by Andrew Lang, of Merton College, 1893.

political mission, and succeeded in leaving, as far as we know, without entangling himself in any controversies save two! With Hearne's admiration for Atterbury's personality and churchmanship he might be in sympathy, but with Hearne's defiant Jacobitism which lost the librarian his post,<sup>13</sup> and the intriguing Jacobitism which lost the Dean his liberty, he had no alliance, though he was loyal to his personal friendship with Atterbury to the last.

6. Nor did Samuel, Jun., join the Nonjurors, whom his mother so admired, though several were among his friends, one of them being the Rev. John Hutton of College St., Westminster, and another, his correspondent, Robert Nelson, author of the once well-known *Companion for the Festivals and Fasts of the Church of England*,<sup>14</sup> and an appreciative *Life of Bishop Bull*. Nelson was a layman, agreeing with most of the nonjuring principles, though he returned to the communion of the Anglican Church.

Robert Nelson was the friend,<sup>15</sup> of the elder Samuel Wesley, by whom personal regard and reverence for his virtues, had been expressed in some verses attached to another of Nelson's books, *The Practice of True Devotion*. The late Dr. Overton, who states

13 "It was probably most unfortunate for the Bodleian library," says Wordsworth, "that Hearne, its most devoted worker, was excluded on some paltry charge of Jacobitism in 1715"—the year Saml. Wesley graduated B.A. (*Scholæ Academicæ* p. 5), and Bliss's *Appx.*, I, p. 192, in his edn. of *Hearnianæ Reliquiæ*.

14. The writer's copy of Nelson's *Companion* is the 23rd edition of 1766. John Wesley, in a fragment of "Accounts" in the possession of the late Mr. Thursfield Smith, notes the gift of a copy in May, 1732, and in his diary has frequent references to his reading of it on his voyage to Georgia, and later. In 1738 he writes in his Savannah Journal, "The English writers, such as Bishop Berridge, Bishop Taylor, and *Mr. Nelson*, a little relieved me from these well-meaning, wrong-headed Germans. Their accounts of Christianity I could easily see to be, in the main, consistent both with reason and scripture. Only when they interpreted scripture in different ways, I was often much at a loss . . . *Standard Journal*, I, p. 419. The passage which follows this does much to explain the parting of the ways between John and his brother Samuel.

15. Dr. Overton, when Rector of Epworth, found Robert Nelson's name down for a subscription of £5 towards a free school established by Samuel Wesley the elder. Nelson's position in relation to prayers for the new dynasty was similar to Susanna Wesley's, as the well-known story of her refusal to pray for "King" William III, relates. Strangely enough, but to his credit, Archbishop Tillotson, whom Nelson had consulted in his perplexity, had replied: "I think it plain that no man can join in prayers in which there is any petition which he is verily persuaded is sinful. I cannot endure a trick anywhere, much less in religion." So thought Susanna Wesley, though Tillotson's dictum raises another question not to be discussed here.



this, quotes two of the verses, which we have not seen elsewhere than in his *Life in the English Church, 1660-1714*. They describe Nelson as the "thorough gentleman." It was to Nelson that the Nonjuror, Hickes, wrote, "You can discourse with all kinds of men with whom you differ in matters of religion in the same easy and obliging manner as with those with whom you agree."

7. When Samuel Wesley, the younger, became acquainted with this charming man we know not, but we find a long letter from him to Nelson, headed *Oxford, June 3rd, 1718*. It was printed in full in Dr. Whitehead's *Life of John Wesley, 1792*, p. 81, and afterwards by Moore and also by Clarke. Whitehead observes that the letter shows that Samuel Wesley took an active interest in "some of the principal questions discussed by the literati of his day," and notably the question of the authenticity of the Ignatian Epistles.

G. J. Stevenson, in his *Memorials of the Wesley family*, without giving the letter, dismisses it with the remark that "it enters at length into the controversy which it would not profit any person now to further notice." This is discouraging. However, without regarding the youthful graduate as an eighteenth century Lightfoot, we may venture to quote Dr. Overton, who says "it shows intelligent study of the Ignatian Epistles problems."<sup>16</sup> William Whiston,<sup>17</sup> who had succeeded Newton in the Lucasian chair at Cambridge, and had been expelled from his professorship and the University for his perversion of the Trinitarian doctrine, had used the Ignatian Epistles for doctrinal purposes of his own, and raised the much discussed question of the text and authenticity of the longer and shorter recensions which has been dealt with in our own day, probably conclusively, by the late Bishop Lightfoot. Wesley's letter bristles with the names of the chief authorities on the question up to his own time, and contains details which reveal considerable first-hand research. It is rather surprising to find no direct reference to Archbishop Wake's "large preliminary discourse" in his translation of the Seven Epistles of Ignatius, which his brother John used later for his edition of the Fathers in the *Christian Library*.<sup>18</sup> Nelson must have been interested in

16. *National Dict. Biog.* Art. S.W., Junr.

17. Whiston's *Primitive Christianity Revived. 1711.*

18. Wake's first edition, 1693, and Wesley's, of 1749, are before the writer. Wake translated mainly from the text of Isaac Voss and Archbishop Usher. Samuel Wesley in his letter says he had carefully read Usher, Pearson, Bull, Grotius, Daille. He had carefully examined Whiston and discovered that many of his objections were taken from Daille. These names probably indicate :

Samuel's letter, for he had himself "a far more considerable acquaintance with patristic writings than could have been expected from a man whose time was so much occupied in other ways," and he had well used his knowledge in his defence of his close friend and old tutor, Bishop Bull, mentioned by Wesley. Readers of the Wesley family letters will know how much Samuel Wesley the elder and his wife Susanna admired Bishop Bull, and commended his writings to their sons.

Samuel Wesley also states in his letter that he had written and made ready for publication two Dissertations on the Epistles. Dr. Adam Clarke was not able to find these in print in 1823, and there is room for some further quest of them. Were they used by Wesley's friend, the Earl of Nottingham, in his controversy with Whiston?

8. These letters and discourses of this young Christ Church student may not suggest that he attained the distinctive scholarship of such contemporaries as Joseph Bingham and Robert Bentley, but they do convince us that if he had been at Oxford twenty-eight years later when his brother John was at Christ Church and Lincoln College, he would have been exempt from the castigation which his brother administered to the University 'sloth' who "defrauds his benefactors, his parents, and the world"; who "cannot be said to understand Hebrew or even Greek." A little of Homer or Xenophon he may still remember, but not "understand so much as a page of Clemens Alexandrinus, Chrysostom, or Ephræm Syrus." And again—this time to the clergy—"Can any who spend several years in those seats of learning be excused if they do not add to some knowledge of Languages and Sciences that of the Fathers—I speak chiefly of those who wrote before the Council of Nice." He could always fearlessly face his donnish brother John, who, after he had worked at Christ Church, wrote to him, "I had rather dispute with you, if

Usher; S.S. Polycarpi et Ignatii Epistolæ (1644); cum appendice Ignatiana (1647).

Pearson: *Vindiciæ Epistolarum Ignatii*, in *Appendice ad Cotelerii Patres Apostol*, 1698.

Bull: His greatest work, which would be used against Whiston. *Defensio Fidei Nicenæ*. 1685.

Hugo Grotius: *Opera*, 4 vols, 1685.

Daille, Jean: *De usu Patrum in decidendis controversiis*, 1656. Daille was much used by Dr. Conyers Middleton against whom in 1749 John Wesley wrote one of his most trenchant letters. Bishop Warburton also controverted his criticism of the Fathers. (See Watson's *L. of Warburton*, p. 369).

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I must dispute, than with any man living, because it may be done with so little expense of time and words. The question is now brought to one point, and the whole argument will lie in one single syllogism." And it was "Sam" who taught "brother Jack" Hebrew when he was a boy !

9. Bishop Atterbury recommended Samuel Wesley as Usher, or Second Master, for Westminster School in 1713, but he does not appear to have taken up his work there until the following year. It was Bishop Atterbury who ordained him deacon, Dec. 13, 1716, and priest March 9, 1717, in King Henry VIIIth's Chapel. Is it surprising that Wesley should have retained much affection for the versatile Bishop who befriended him at Oxford and ordained him at Westminster ? For this, he was to suffer.

### NOTE.—THE WESLEYS AND THE IGNATIAN EPISTLES.

Young Samuel Wesley's letter to Nelson as we have noticed, is given by Dr. Clarke, but it is not safe to lay to accept all Clarke's comments on the subject. They are superseded by Dr. J. B. Lightfoot's great work. The nomenclature of the "shorter" and "longer" forms has been also changed as the result of Dr. Cureton's publication of the Syriac Version in 1845, which is now termed the *Short Form*. The seven epistles from the Latin and Greek, collated by Ussher and Voss, and edited also by Dr. Thomas Smith the year before Saml. Wesley went to Christ Church, are now termed the *Middle form* (the 'smaller,' or 'shorter' of Wesley's day). The *Long form*, (Wesley's 'larger') therefore takes the third place, and represents the spurious and interpolated epistles. It was this last form which was the subject of "the eccentric advocacy of Whiston" (Lightfoot I. p. 267), which Wesley discussed.

In addition to the books already named, young Wesley also read Dr. Thomas Smith's work referred to above : *S. Ignatii Epistolæ Genuine Annotationibus illustratae*. Oxford. 1709. He also consulted the *Chronicum Paschale* (Lightfoot I. p. 66), and names other works he much wanted to see. His letter therefore contributes a little to the bibliography of the subject in his day.

Samuel's studies were much stimulated by his father, whose *Advice to a young clergyman* (Jackson's *Charles Wesley*, Vol. II. App. X) is one of the most readable and racy bibliographical surveys of the period. The old rector had "examined all Mr. Whiston's objections against" the shorter recension of seven epistles (now the *Middle form*). "I wonder," he writes "that any who can read either Greek or so much as English, unless violently prejudiced, should make any doubt which are genuine . . . . But your brother has Dr. Smith's Ignatius, or Bishop Wake's translation . . . . with excellent notes, which contains the sum of what has been written by the best critics on the subject." It was Wake's translation already noticed, which his son John used for his abridged reprint of 1749. Saml. Wesley the younger also mentions reading Pearson, Bull, and Grotius on the famous Sige (Silence) theories on which Lightfoot has much to say. (I. 321, 370—374).

THOS. E. BRIGDEN.

[To be continued].

## THE CONVENTICLE ACT AND ITS RELATION TO THE EARLY METHODISTS

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The Conventicle Acts of 1664 and 1670 were closely related to other legislative measures, and can only be understood by those who perceive that relation. They were the immediate results of the Act of Uniformity of 1662, but that was in the line of direct succession from the Act of Uniformity passed in the first year of Queen Elizabeth. The importance of the Elizabethan Act is shown not only by its being referred to in the Act of 1662 but by its publication, at the present time, in some editions of the *Book of Common Prayer*. It was the precursor of Parliamentary measures which have given to the English statute book a malignant aspect.

The attempt to secure uniformity of public worship by the infliction of civil penalties has been a conspicuous failure in this country. It was made by men who displayed remarkable tenacity of purpose. Some of them possessed deep religious convictions. When they threw their opponents into prison, banished them, and even put them to death, they sincerely thought they were offering a sacrifice to God. The remorseless zealot was not confined to one party; he was found among Roman Catholics, Episcopalians, and the Presbyterians of the Commonwealth. There were men in all the churches who were ready to strike their adversaries with the civil sword. They believed that force was the best remedy against diversity of thought and practice in matters of religion, and out of that belief arose the Acts of Uniformity and the Conventicle Acts of the reign of Charles II. In these more enlightened days it will be useful to inspect old battle-fields, and learn lessons which must not be forgotten.

Queen Elizabeth's Act of Uniformity bristles with penalties. Most of them apply more directly to the clergy. As our present inquiry is concerned more especially with the meetings denounced by the Conventicle Acts of 1664 and 1670, we shall pass by much that is interesting and important in the Elizabethan Act. One section, however, must be noticed. It is the seed plot of a bitter harvest. The Act was intended to enforce the reading of the new *Prayer Book* in the Churches, and to compel the attendance of all persons at the services at which it was read. The section is as follows :

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“From and after the said Feast of the Nativity of St. John Baptist next coming, all and every person and persons inhabiting within this Realm, or any other the Queen’s Majesty’s Dominions, shall diligently and faithfully, having no lawful or reasonable excuse to be absent, endeavour themselves to resort to their Parish Church or Chapel, accustomed, or upon reasonable let thereof, to some usual place, where Common Prayer, and such Service of God, shall be used in such time of let, upon every Sunday, and other days ordained and used to be kept as Holy-days, and then and there to abide orderly and soberly, during the time of Common Prayer, Preachings, or other Service of God there to be used and ministered ; upon pain of punishment by the censures of the Church, and also upon pain that every person so offending shall forfeit for every such offence, twelve Pence, to be levied by the Church-wardens of the Parish where such offence shall be done, to the use of the Poor of the same Parish, of the Goods, Lands and Tenements of such offender, by way of distress.”

The financial penalty seems small, but the difference in the value of money now and then must be remembered. It will be noted that attendance at Church was compelled on all Holy-days, a demand which made a serious inroad on the time of the common people. The observant eye will be arrested by the sentence concerning the “censures of the Church.” They included excommunication, which at that time made a man liable to imprisonment and the loss of some of his civil rights.

The example set by the church and government in the spacious times of Queen Elizabeth was imitated in the following century by the Presbyterians when they came into power during the Civil War. The *Book of Common Prayer* was discarded, and by an Ordinance of Parliament, dated January 3, 1645, *A Directory for Public Worship* was substituted for it. In August, 1645, an “Ordinance” was passed forbidding the use of the *Book of Common Prayer* in any church, chapel, or place of public worship, or in any private place or family, under penalty of £5 for the first offence, £10 for the second, and for the third a year’s imprisonment. It was ordered that all copies of the *Book of Common Prayer* remaining in parish-churches or chapels should be carried, within a month, to the committees of the several counties, to be disposed of as the Parliament should direct. Neal, commenting on this “Ordinance,” says: “These were the first fruits of Presbyterian uniformity, and are equally to be condemned with the severities and oppressions of the late times ; for though it should be admitted that the parliament or legislature had a right

where the said sermon or lecture is to be preached, before such sermon or lecture be preached; and that the lecturer then to use to abrogate the use of the Common Prayer-book in churches, was it not highly unreasonable to forbid the reading it in private families or closets? Surely the devotion of a private family could be no disturbance to the public; nor is it any excuse to say that very few suffered by it, because the law is still the same, and equally injurious to the natural rights of mankind. (*History of the Puritans*, ii. 277).

The Restoration of Charles II altered the whole aspect of the ecclesiastical situation. The return of the King led to the triumph of the episcopal section of the Church. The balance of parties in Parliament was changed, and the Presbyterians found that the day of their supremacy was ended. In 1662 a new Act of Uniformity was passed; a revised edition of the *Book of Common Prayer* was issued by the authority of Parliament and its exclusive use in the churches was enforced. The aim of the Act was to secure "a universal agreement in the public worship of Almighty God," and it was passed "to the intent that every person within this realm may certainly know the rule to which he is to conform in public worship, and administration of sacraments, and other rites and ceremonies of the Church of England, and the manner how and by whom bishops, priests and deacons are, and ought to be made, ordained and consecrated." In order that such uniformity in the public worship of God might be speedily effected, it was enacted that "every parson, vicar, or other minister whatever, who now hath and enjoyeth any ecclesiastical benefice or promotion within this realm of England . . . shall in the church, chapel, or place of public worship belonging to his said benefice or promotion, upon some Lord's day before the feast of St. Bartholomew . . . openly, publicly, and solemnly read the morning and evening prayer appointed to be read by and according to the said *Book of Common Prayer*, at the times thereby appointed; and after such reading thereof, shall openly and publicly before the congregation there assembled, declare his unfeigned assent and consent to the use of all things in the said book contained and prescribed"; the declaration to be made in the form of words inserted in the Act. The Act also prohibited the use of any form or order of common prayers other than those appointed to be used in and by the new Prayer Book. It was further enacted that "at all and every time and times when any sermon or lecture is to be preached, the common prayers and service in and by the said book appointed to be read for that time of the day, shall be openly, publicly, and solemnly read by some priest or deacon, in the church, chapel or place of public worship

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preach shall be present at the reading thereof."

The passing of the Act of Uniformity placed the Presbyterian ministers in a great difficulty. If the declaration concerning "assent and consent" had referred exclusively to the liturgical services contained in the new book they might have made it, but all things "in the said book" were included in its scope. A clause in the Act compelled them to renounce their Presbyterian "orders" and to be re-ordained priest or deacon according to the forms prescribed by the book. If they were not so re-ordained then, on St. Bartholomew's day, they were to be deprived of their livings, and all their ecclesiastical promotions were to be void as if they were naturally dead. Some men of wavering mind were disconcerted when assailed by the horns of the dilemma, but two thousand of the Presbyterian ministers gave up their livings and parsonages rather than make a declaration that was an affront to their conscience.

The decision of the Presbyterian ministers "disabled" them from preaching in the churches. But it had a further effect. In the Act of Uniformity there is a clause which has special reference to these "disabled" preachers, and which is essential to our inquiry. It is as follows: "XXI. And be it further enacted . . . that if any person who is by this Act disabled to preach any lecture or sermon, shall, during the time that he shall continue and remain so disabled, preach any sermon or lecture; that then, for every such offence, the person or persons so offending shall suffer three months imprisonment in the common gaol, without bail or mainprize; and that any two justices of the peace of any county in this Kingdom and places aforesaid, and the mayor or other chief magistrate of any city or town corporate within the same, upon certificate from the ordinary of the place made to him or them, of the offence committed, shall, and are hereby required to commit the person or persons so offending, to the gaol in the same county, city, or town corporate accordingly."

The term "Ordinary" is usually applied to a bishop and chancellor, they having "ordinary jurisdiction" in ecclesiastical matters. (See Whitehead's *Church Law*, p. 222). The restraining power of the Ordinary was great. By the Act of Uniformity no person was allowed to preach in any church, chapel or other place of public worship within the realm of England, the dominion of Wales and town of Berwick-upon-Tweed unless "thereunto licensed by the archbishop of the province, or bishop of the diocese, or (in case the see be void) by the guardian of the spiritualities." As for "disabled" ministers who preached in any place, the Ordinary, acting through the mayor or other chief magistrate of a city or corporate town, could set the civil

law at work against them, and cast them into prison.

The Act of Uniformity of 1662 was a powerful lethal weapon. It was directed against the non-conforming clergy and it effected its purpose. But it needed to be supplemented if the designs of its authors were to be realised. It must be remembered that in and since the time of Elizabeth a constant controversy had been carried on between the Crown, the Houses of Parliament, and the Puritan party, on many matters which arose out of the attempt to compel uniformity of worship. The Roman Catholics, in certain parts of the country, were numerous. We are, however, chiefly concerned with the fact that Presbyterians, Quakers, Brownists and Baptists formed a considerable proportion of the population of England. They had their meeting-houses; and when it was not possible to assemble there, they met for worship in private houses and in secret places. The government determined not only to strike at the shepherds but also to scatter their flocks. To carry out their purpose they passed a Conventicle Act that has achieved an unenviable notoriety.

The Conventicle Act of 1664 was in the line of strict descent from Parliamentary measures passed in the reigns of Edward VI and of Elizabeth. King Edward's Act will be found in Gibson's *Codex*, pp. 265-6. It was repealed by Mary, but its last section relating to Conventicles was revived by the Act of Elizabeth passed in the thirty-fifth year of her reign. It was then enacted that "if any person above the age of sixteen shall obstinately refuse to repair to some church, chapel, or usual place of common prayer, to hear divine service, for the space of one month, without lawful cause, or shall at any time by printing, writing or express words, go about to persuade any of her majesty's subjects to deny, withstand or impugn, her majesty's power or authority in causes ecclesiastical; or shall dissuade them from coming to church, to hear divine service, or receive the communion according as the law directs; or shall he present at any unlawful assembly, conventicle or meeting, under colour or pretence of any exercise of religion; that every person so offending, and lawfully convicted, shall be committed to prison without bail, till they shall conform and yield themselves to come to church" and make the declaration of their conformity contained in the Act. It was further enacted that "in case the offenders against this statute, being lawfully convicted, shall not submit and sign the declaration within three months, then they shall abjure the realm and go into perpetual banishment. And if they do not depart within the time limited by the quarter-sessions, or justices of the peace, or if they return at any time afterwards without the queen's licence, they shall suffer death without benefit of clergy." (Neal's *History of the Puritans*, i, 346).



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The relation of the Conventicle Act of 1664 to the Act of Elizabeth is made clear in the first section of the former. It is therein expressly declared that Elizabeth's Act was still in force and ought to be put in due execution. No one reading the two Acts can fail to notice similarities in phrases, in penalties, and in spirit. But there is a difference in the two measures. In Elizabeth's Act the chief emphasis is laid on attendance at church; in the Act of 1664 that emphasis rests on the presence of people "at any unlawful assembly, conventicle or meeting, under colour or pretence of any exercise of religion." That phrase taken from the Elizabethan Act reappears in the Act of Charles II, and the whole Act is devoted to an attempt to prevent such attendance. It will suffice for our purpose if we quote a few sentences from the Act of 1664, which will throw light on the meaning of the word "conventicle." It was enacted "that if any person of the age of sixteen years or upwards, being a subject of this realm, at any time . . . shall be present at any assembly, conventicle, or meeting under colour or pretence of any exercise of religion in other manner than is allowed by the liturgy or practice of the Church of England, in any place within the Kingdom, dominion of Wales, and town of Berwick-upon-Tweed, at which conventicle, meeting or assembly, there shall be five persons or more assembled together, over and above those of the same household," then it should be lawful for any two justices of the peace, or the chief magistrate of the place where such offence shall be committed to inflict the penalties prescribed in the Act. Those penalties included imprisonment, fines, transportation, and, in case of return to this country without a licence from the King, death, as in the case of felony, "without benefit of clergy." From this description of a "conventicle" it seems indisputable that all meetings and assemblies held "under colour or pretence of any exercise of religion in other manner than is allowed by the liturgy or practice of the Church of England" were "conventicles," and came within the purview of the Act.

The eleventh section of the Act throws light on a question which subsequently emerged. It was enacted that "every person who shall wittingly and willingly suffer any such conventicle, unlawful assembly or meeting aforesaid to be held in his or her house, outhouse, barn or room, yard or backside, woods or grounds, shall incur the same penalties and forfeitures as any other offender against this Act ought to incur, and be proceeded against, in all points, in such manner as any other offender against this Act ought to be proceeded against." It is evident that conventicles held in the open air were unlawful assemblies. Every one acquainted with the religious history of the seventeenth

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century is aware that such was the opinion of those who administered the Act.

The authors of the Conventicle Act of 1664 must have thought that its stern provisions would crush out all religious meetings and private assemblies held "in other manner than is allowed by the liturgy or practice of the Church of England." Our surmise is suggested by an examination of the last section of the Act. It provides that the Act should continue in force "for three years after the end of this present session of Parliament; and, from thence forward, to the end of the next session of Parliament after the said three years and no longer." At the end of this time-limit the Act expired, and still the spirit of the Non-conformists was unbroken. It was deemed necessary to pass another Conventicle Act, and, in 1670, the new legislation made its appearance. It contained no time-limit, and it continued in operation until 1812, when it was repealed.

The student of the early history of Methodism will read the Conventicle Act of 1670 with interest. It deeply affected the work of the Wesleys, of Whitefield, and of the preachers associated with them. Not only so. Its influence reached the religious meetings held in Preaching-houses, in private residences, and in the open air. In our opinion it was the exciting cause of many of the disgraceful riots in which preachers were assaulted and dragged before magistrates, and private houses were battered and wrecked. It is essential that we should study this important measure.

Speaking generally, we find that the new Act proceeded along the lines laid down in former Acts relating to Conventicles. But there were significant variations and omissions which must be noted. In the first section we see that the draftsman had to amend the definition of the places in which it was illegal to hold a conventicle. The previous Act dealt, more especially, with meetings held in inhabited houses, and in backyards, woods and grounds attached to those houses. The experiences of the working of the Act had shown that the definition was inadequate. In 1670, the following words were added, "or if it be in a house, field, or place where there is no family inhabiting." That addition greatly enlarged the sphere of the suppressor of conventicles.

Turning to the main provisions of the Act of 1670 we see a great change in the penalties inflicted under the former measures. The attendants at conventicles were still liable to be taken into custody and brought before the magistrates, but imprisonment for long terms, without bail, is not mentioned, and banishment from the country, and execution in case of unlicensed return, are omitted from the list of penalties. The chief reliance is placed

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on the deterrent effect of fines, either paid at once or levied by distress and sale of the offender's goods and chattels. The ingenuity shown by the authors of the Act in the mode of inflicting fines cannot be doubted. They knew that many poor people attended the proscribed meetings, and so they arranged that, as they were unable to pay, their fines, at the discretion of the magistrate, should be paid by some of those who had been then convicted of attending the conventicle. It was, however, declared that the sum levied on any one person in case of the poverty of other offenders should not amount in the whole to above the sum of ten pounds upon the occasion of one meeting. A similar ingenuity was displayed in the case of fines on preachers and teachers in conventicles. The fine for a first offence was twenty pounds; and the Act provides that "if the said preacher or teacher, so convicted, be a stranger, and his name and habitation not known, or is fled and cannot be found, or in the judgment of the justice, justices, or chief magistrate before whom he shall be convicted, shall be thought unable to pay the same" then the justice, justices, or chief magistrate respectively were empowered and required to levy the fine by warrant upon the goods and chattels of any persons who were present at the same conventicle. For subsequent offences preachers and teachers were fined forty pounds, the arrangement concerning those in poverty being maintained by the Act. Any person convicted of allowing a conventicle to be held in his or her house, outhouse, barn, or yard must forfeit twenty pounds, and if too poor to pay, then the persons convicted of being present on the occasion must pay the fine, care being taken that no person should be liable to pay above ten pounds for any one meeting. We presume that the balance had to be raised by others who were present on the occasion. It is interesting to note that fines on married women convicted of being present at a conventicle had to be paid by their husbands, an arrangement which, in some cases, would not promote domestic felicity.

In reading the Act we are much impressed with the fact that it conferred great power on a single justice. It was possible for him when he had "notorious evidence and circumstance of the fact" to make a record, under his own hand, of the holding of a conventicle. The record when so made was a full and perfect conviction of those who were present at the meeting. He was authorised to inflict a fine of five shillings for a first offence; and all that he had to do was to certify the conviction at the next quarter sessions of the peace for the county or place where the offence was committed. The Act carefully guarded him against the consequences of any mistakes that he might make. It is expressly enacted that "all its clauses should be construed most

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largely and beneficially for the suppressing of conventicles, and for the justification and encouragement of all persons to be employed in the execution thereof": and it is expressly stated that no "record, warrant, or mittimus to be made by virtue of this Act, or any proceedings thereupon, shall be revised, avoided, or anyway impeached by reason of any default in form." The people of a neighbourhood might thus be placed at the mercy of a justice imperfectly acquainted with the contents of the Conventicle Act, and unversed in the correct processes of procedure. A benevolent legislature, however, protected him against the penalties of his blunders.

In addition to the infliction of fines the new Act provided another method by which conventicles might be suppressed. Power was given to a justice, justices, and chief magistrates to issue warrants to constables, head boroughs and tithing men "with what aid, force, and assistance they shall think fit, for the better execution of this Act to go to any house or other place where they shall be informed any conventicle is or shall be held. If denied entrance into a house then they had a right to break it open and to enter it and take into their custody the persons there unlawfully assembled. It was also enacted that "the sheriffs and other magistrates and ministers of justice, or any of them jointly or severally, on receiving a certificate under the hand of any one justice of the peace or chief magistrate stating that an unlawful meeting or conventicle is to be held, and that he, with such assistance as he can get together, is not able to dissolve it, then the sheriffs and other ministers of justice named shall and may and are hereby enjoined to repair unto the place where such meetings are so held, or to be held, and by the best means they can to dissolve, dissipate, or prevent all such unlawful meetings, and take into their custody such and so many of the said persons so unlawfully assembled as they shall think fit, to the intent they may be proceeded against according to this Act." The ninth section of the Act also provides for the use of troops in dispersing conventicles. The natural outcome of these provisions was that constables and others, if they saw fit to summon a mob to break into a house, or to scatter a religious meeting assembled in some other "place," could do so. The expedient of the *posse comitatus* or power of the county called by the sheriff to quell a riot, was adapted to the work of suppressing conventicles, and, in the eighteenth century, the effect of this provision was seen in the savage attacks that were made on the Methodist preachers and people. It is noticeable that the Act provided that no dwelling house of any peer of the realm where he or his wife should then be resident should be searched by virtue of the Act, "but by

immediate warrant from his majesty, under his sign manual, or in the presence of the lieutenant, or one deputy lieutenant, or two justices of the peace, one to be of the quorum of the same county or riding." The delicacy revealed in this provision shows the esteem in which the parliament held our "old nobility."

Having surveyed the principal provisions of the Conventicle Act of 1670, it is necessary to show that the Act was in force during the whole of John Wesley's life-time. The only persons who were exempt from its penalties were those Protestant Dissenters who complied with the conditions contained in an Act, passed in the reign of William III and Mary, which received the Royal Assent on May 24th, 1689. It is shortly cited as "The Toleration Act," but its full title is "An Act for Exempting their Majesties Protestant Subjects, Dissenting from the Church of England, from the Penalties of certain laws." Among those laws the Act to prevent and suppress Seditious Conventicles, passed in 1670, is indicated. It is unfortunate that some writers have misunderstood the meaning of the Toleration Act, and have concluded that its provisions applied to Churchmen as well as to Dissenters. If they had studied the following sections of the Act they would have avoided a serious mistake.

"XVI. Provided always, and it is the true intent and meaning of this Act, that all the laws made and provided for the frequenting of divine service on the Lord's day, commonly called Sunday, shall be still in force, and executed against all persons that offend against the said laws except such persons come to some congregation or assembly of religious worship, allowed or permitted by this Act."

"XIX. Provided always, that no congregation or assembly for religious worship shall be permitted or allowed by this Act until the place of such meeting shall be certified to the bishop of the diocese, or to the archdeacon of that archdeaconry, or to the justices of the peace at the general quarter sessions of the peace for the county, city, or place in which such meeting shall be held, and registered in the said bishop's or archdeacon's court respectively, or recorded at the said general or quarter sessions; the register or clerk of the peace whereof respectively, is hereby required to register the same, and to give certificate thereof to such person as shall demand the same, for which there shall be no greater fee nor reward taken, than the sum of sixpence."

The meetings of the Protestant Dissenters after the passing of the Toleration Act were still considered to be Conventicles. If those who conducted them failed to comply with the conditions of the Act they were deprived of its protection.

It seems to be supposed by some writers that the Conventicle Act had become an effete measure in the years immediately

preceding the beginning of Wesley's evangelistic campaign in England. That impression cannot survive a close study of political history during the reign of Queen Anne. From 1702 to 1712 the "Occasional Conformity" controversy raged in Parliament and the press. The central question then debated concerned attendance at conventicles. In 1712 an Act was passed "for preserving the Protestant Religion, by better securing the Church of England, as by Law Established." The title of the Act also shows that its intention was to supply the defects of the Toleration Act. They were supplied in a startling fashion. At that time mayors, aldermen, recorders, bailiffs, town clerks, common council men, and other persons bearing any office of magistracy or place of trust, or other employment relating to or concerning the government of cities, corporations, and boroughs in England, Wales, Berwick-upon-Tweed and the isles of Jersey and Guernsey, were obliged by law to receive the sacrament of the Lord's supper "according to the rites and usage of the Church of England" when they took office. Many Protestant Dissenters were doing valuable work in their several boroughs, having qualified for their position by going to Church, and receiving the sacrament. Having fulfilled the legal obligation they continued to attend their own places of worship. It was determined to put a stop to this "occasional conformity"; and, in 1712, the Parliament enacted that if such persons at any time while they continued in office, should knowingly and willingly resort to, or be present at any conventicle, assembly or meeting held for the exercise of religion in any other manner than according to the liturgy and practice of the Church of England they should forfeit the sum of forty pounds. The definition of a conventicle varies slightly from that contained in the Act of 1670, but it is plain that, notwithstanding the Toleration Act, in the eye of the law, the meetings for worship held in the chapels of Protestant Dissenters were conventicles.

The effect of the Act is well stated by Calamy in the second edition of his *Abridgement of Mr. Baxter's History of his Life and Times*. He says, "Thus after fifty years exclusion from the public Churches by the Act of Uniformity, during the one half of which they were expos'd to great rigours and severities, tho' during the other half they have had more liberty, are the poor Dissenters excluded the Service of the State. So far are we from any hopes of a coalition, which has been so often talked of, that nothing will do but an entire submission. Consciences truly scrupulous may indeed still have their liberty. But they that would be capable of any places of profit or trust, must quit the meetings after March 25, 1712; and they that in all times and

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changes adher'd to the true interest of their country must be publicly branded. Perhaps the time may come when persons may have other tho'ts of this matter than while in the heat of action." (p. 725).

The time for cool reflection had not arrived when Wesley began his work, nor did it come during the continuance of his life. From 1739 to 1791 he lived under the shadow of the Conventicle Act. At first he stoutly denied that the Act applied to his meetings. Then he began to yield, and some of his Preaching-houses, and private houses in which the Methodists worshipped and met for "the exercises of religion," were registered under the Toleration Act. At last he had to abandon his position. During the closing years of his life, writing to a member of Parliament, he had to confess that the Methodists were liable to be ruined by the Conventicle Act, and that they had no relief from the Toleration Act. He, therefore, requested the member to speak to Mr. Pitt on the matter. (*Works*, xiii, 126, 8vo ed.) So late as November 3rd, 1787, we find the following entry in his *Journal*: "I had a long conversation with Mr. Clulow on that execrable Act, called the Conventicle Act. After consulting the Act of Toleration, with that of the fourteenth (*sic*) of Queen Anne, we were both clearly convinced that it was the safest way to license all our chapels, and all our Travelling Preachers, not as Dissenters but simply 'preachers of the gospel'; and that no Justice or Bench of Justices, has any authority to refuse licensing either the house or the preachers." (*Standard Journal*, vii, 339). Wesley was thus driven by stress of circumstances to adopt methods of escape from the penalties of the Conventicle Act; it cost him a pang to license his chapels "for the worship of God and religious exercises for Protestant Dissenters." But he had to bend to the storm. The Act was so bad that nothing would cure its defects but its entire repeal. Wesley died before that was effected. In 1812, chiefly through the exertions of the Methodists, "the execrable Act" disappeared from the Statute Book of England.

JOHN S. SIMON.

N.B.—Wesley's reference to an Act of "the fourteenth of Queen Anne's" must be a mistake. She reigned from 1702 to 1714. William Myles and Dr. Stoughton alter the date to "the tenth of Queen Anne," in which year the "Occasional Conformity Act" was passed. It was repealed in the session of 1719. Those who wish to pursue the interesting subject of the licensing of Methodist Preaching Houses should read the article in our *Proceedings*, vol. vii, pp. 148-51, contributed by Mr. T. Bennett, LL.D. A most valuable report of the action of the General Committee of Privileges, appointed by the Methodist Conference, through whose wisely-directed exertions the Toleration Act was amended and the Conventicle and other oppressive Acts were repealed, will be found in the *Minutes of Conference* for 1812, vol. iii, pp. 305-322, J.S.S.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

511. DONCASTER APPOINTMENTS.—The appointment of Preachers to the Doncaster Circuit for the following years takes an unusual form. Can anyone point me to an explanation? 1810-1814. Doncaster, Thorne Chapel, and Hatfield Woodhouse Chapel. 1815. Hatfield Woodhouse drops out. Before and after these dates the appointment is simply to the Doncaster Circuit.

Thorne suffered very severely in the Kilhamite division Kilham's followers took possession of our Chapel and had exclusive possession till 1803. Then the two parties enjoyed the use of it on alternate Sundays, till in 1816 Kilham's followers built a new Chapel. These circumstances may throw some light on the query.—*Rev. F. F. Bretherton.*

512. DR. COKE'S DOCTORATE.—A friend asks me the following question: I have no light and should be glad of any; *Where did Thomas Coke get his LL.D.?* Etheridge's *Life* says he was made an Oxford D.C.L. in June, 1775. Drew, an early biographer and friend of Coke, uses LL.D. I believe Sutcliffe and Crowther do the same. So also Methodist publications generally (*Mins. Conf.: Hill's List*, etc). Bibliographies give four of Coke's works as by Thomas Coke, LL.D. One of these is as early as 1782, seven years after he got his D.C.L. Wesley gave Coke a certificate of Episcopal Ordination, in which he is described as D.C.L. Coke gave Lynch a certificate of ordination in which Coke is said to be LL.D.—*Rev. F. F. Bretherton.*

513. A PREACHER'S LICENSE, 1778.

Brecon (to wit),

Michalmas Quarter Sessions, 1778.

This is to certify that William Church did, at the Quarter Sessions in open Court, take the Oath of allegiancy, supremacy and objuration, and subscribed to the declaration against Popery, in order to qualify himself a minister of the gospel.

John Wilkes,

Clerk of the Peace.

This document, preserved in a tin box, is now at the Wesleyan Mission House. William Church, of Brecon, was an ancestor of the late Rev. Henry L. Church, the former possessor of the certificate, who was in the ministry from 1844-1893.—*Rev. T. E. Brigden.*

514. LETTER FROM SAMUEL JOHNSON TO JOHN WESLEY.—We are indebted to Mr. George Brownson for the following letter from Dr. Johnson to Wesley: it is taken from the *Gentleman's Magazine* for 1797. Wesley's *Notes on the New Testament*



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were published in 1755 on the *Old Testament* in 1765. The Mrs. Hall mentioned in the letter is Wesley's sister Martha : she was a great friend of Dr. Johnson, and is mentioned in Boswell's *Life* of him. Part of this letter is given by Tyerman, iii, 186, and also in *Standard Journal* vi. 67 note.

" Sir, Feb. 6, 1776.

" When I received your Commentary on the Bible, I durst not at first flatter myself that I was to keep it, having so little claim to so valuable a present ; and, when Mrs. Hall informed me of your kindness, was hindered from time to time from returning you those thanks which I now intreat you to accept.

" I have thanks likewise to return for the addition of your important suffrage to my argument on the American question. To have gained such a mind as yours, may justly confirm me in my own opinion. What effect my paper has had upon the publick, I know not ; but I have no reason to be discouraged. The Lecturer was surely in the right, who, though he saw his audience sinking away, refused to quit the chair while Plato staid. I am, reverend Sir, your most humble servant,

SAM. JOHNSON."

515. WESLEY'S THOUGHTS UPON MARRIAGE AND JOHN PAWSON'S LETTER OF DEC. 15, 1785. (See p. 51 of present volume). In his letter of December 15, 1785, Pawson considers it a strange thing that " Mr. W. should still endeavour to make us believe that marriage is sinful in the sight of God ". Wesley had inserted *A Thought upon Marriage* in the *Arminian Magazine* of October, in this year, and it is probable that Pawson refers to this. But the comment is unfair. In this article Wesley emphasises the point that in the search for " happiness ", it is a mistake to imagine that marriage " will make amends for distance from God. Seek, accept of nothing in the room of God, " says Wesley, 534-5.

In his tract, *Thoughts on a Single Life*, published at the Foundry, 1765, he begins by saying " The forbidding to marry, as it is well known the church of Rome does . . . is numbered by the great Apostle among the doctrines of Devils . . . Persons may be as holy in a married, as it is possible to be in a single state. " In his *Thoughts on Marriage and a Single Life*, of which the 1743 edn. is before me, Wesley writes to the same effect, and complains that he has been " shamefully misrepresented " in what he has said upon this subject.—*Rev. Thos. E. Bridgen.*

516. WESLEY AND WHITEFIELD IN AN ALLEGORICAL PRINT OF THE 18th CENTURY.—Mr. Brownson, of Teignmouth has sent us a very curious coloured print in which Wesley and Whitefield appear as preachers to a large crowd of

people in the costumes of the eighteenth century. A great tree appears with abundant fruit bearing the names such as "peace," "pardon," "everlasting love." The people of the crowd are asking questions. Some are journeying to the celestial city in the back-ground, others to the "bottomless pit," luridly displayed. The figure of Wesley is evidently from Hone's portrait of 1765, and Whitefield's, from Hone's portrait of 1769. The costumes are those of 1778-1783. The high gigs those of about 1776, according to Paston's *Social Caricatures*. Planche's *Costumes* also assists in identification of the period, but the print is not dated. It is in folio size.—*Rev. Thos. E. Brigden.*

517. WESLEY'S SLEEPING HOURS.—The following paragraphs from the pen of the Rev. J. C. Adlard appeared in the *Methodist Recorder* of October 11th. Perhaps one of our members may be able to throw light upon the subject.

"I believe it is generally supposed that Wesley found six or seven hours' sleep sufficient, retiring at nine or ten o'clock, and rising, as we know he did, at four: see Sermon 93, where he plainly says: "I myself want six hours and a-half." The other day, however, in my reading, I came across the following paragraph in Foster's *Life and Correspondence* (Bohn's Library, Vol. I, 301), "Wesley's moderation in sleep and his rigid constancy in rising early, being mentioned in the company of Mr. Bradburn, who travelled with Wesley almost constantly for years, he said that Wesley *slept several hours in the course of the day* (italics not mine); that he (Bradburn) had himself seen him sleep three hours together often enough. This was chiefly in his carriage, in which he accustomed himself to sleep on his journeys, and in which he slept as regularly, as easily, and as soundly, as if he had gone to bed." Foster, the great essayist, wrote this about 1808, less than twenty years after Wesley's death; he knew some Methodist ministers intimately though not over friendly to Methodism. Bradburn, "the Methodist Demosthenes," died in 1816. But the question is, "Is it true?" I remember Wesley did not use a carriage until sixty years of age or more, but the sermon on "Redeeming the Time" must have been written when an octogenarian for he claims in that sermon that he has been content with his six hours and a-half for "about sixty years." What, then, shall we say to Foster? I commend this small problem to the "Wesley Historical Society." To some the discovery may be disconcerting; to others comforting. It all depends!"