THE FIRST METHODIST CHAPEL IN WARRINGTON. c. 1770.
NOW A COTTAGE.

WESLEY'S FIRST HOME IN WARRINGTON.
JOHN WESLEY’S VISITS TO
WARRINGTON.

Mr. Arthur Mounfield, the official Editor of the Independent Methodist Churches, has bestowed much attention upon this subject, and has recently published the results of his investigations in a local paper, from which, with his permission, we extract the following.

It is remarkable, and to be regretted, that no account of Wesley’s connection with Warrington has hitherto been written, and indeed until very recently it could not be affirmed with certainty that any building remained in the town in which the great evangelist preached, or in which he found a home during any of his visits. But by the happy preservation of some manuscripts, kept through several generations in the family of Peter Phillips, we are now able to fix with certainty several buildings with which John Wesley was associated. The Phillips family, it should be explained, were interested in Methodism from its beginning, and Peter Phillips became the pioneer of the earliest daughter church, the Quaker Methodist community of Warrington. Though the glimpses of Wesley are slight, they have reality, and help to banish perplexities which have long been felt by local Methodists.

But we had perhaps better begin with Wesley’s own comments upon Warrington. He appears to have preached first in the open air, choosing the most central and difficult place, the centre of the Corn Market. In front of the Barley Mow, whose old timbers still look down upon us, was a large lamp that marked the centre of the market and its stone pedestal was the “Mars Hill” of the old town.

The open Market Place, with its numerous inns, was the spot around which the town gathered; coaches dropped their passengers there and the lamp was the favourite meeting place of gossips and idlers. It was at six o’clock on an April morning
that Wesley first preached in Warrington. He was travelling from Manchester to Liverpool, and after passing the night in Warrington, seized the opportunity to preach before taking up his journey.

This is the jotting in his *Journal*:

"Monday, 14 April, 1755.—I rode by Manchester (where I preached about twelve) to Warrington. At six in the morning, Tuesday, 15th, I preached to a large and serious congregation; and then went on to Liverpool, one of the neatest, best-built towns I have seen in England."

Two succeeding visits are recorded as follows:

"Monday, 2 May, 1757.—I preached at Warrington about noon, to a wild, staring people (very few excepted), who seemed very ripe for mischief. But the bridle was in their jaws. In the evening I preached at Manchester."

"Monday, 24 March, 1760.—About noon I preached at Warrington. Many of 'the beasts of the people' were present; but the bridle from above was in their teeth, so that they made not the least disturbance."

Twelve months later he is again speaking to a Warrington audience.

"Friday, 3 April, 1761.—I preached in the evening at Chester, and in the morning set out for Liverpool; I came thither (preaching at Warrington by the way) in the evening. The election seemed to have driven the common people out of their senses. But on Sunday they were tolerably recovered, and the town looked like itself."

On each of these occasions Wesley spoke out of doors, and as far as can be surmised in the Market Place. But he had more than one pulpit. At the other end of the square, not far from Corporation Street, stood the Court House, and here were large raised stone slabs on which fish were displayed. It is said that he stood upon the fish stones and spoke from Paul's memorable declaration that "the Kingdom of God is not meat and drink; but righteousness, and peace, and joy in the Holy Ghost," and that the copious supplies of "meat and drink" around him gave a starting point for his address.

His early visits to Warrington were cheered by the friendship of Mr. John Rylands, and it was in his house that he found his first lodging. We do not know how the friendship was established, but there is evidence that Wesley found hospitable shelter at his home. In 1768 Mr. Rylands built "Heath House," the solid pile now occupied as offices by Messrs. Tunstall. This fine home had gardens that extended over what is now the Fair Ground. Its old name is no longer used, but the name "Heath Side" recalls the days when the house stood in solitary grandeur as a gentleman's home. Internally it is not greatly changed, and the staircase up which John Wesley retired to rest is still in daily use.
With the date 1764 there is a change in the tone of Wesley's entries concerning Warrington.

"Tuesday, 17 July, 1764.—I preached at Warrington. But what a change! No opposer, nor any trifler now! Every one heard as for life, while I explained and applied, "Why will ye die, O house of Israel?" In the evening I preached in the little Square adjoining to the preaching-house at Chester."

Later still there are signs of keen interest if not respect. It is no longer "the beasts of the people" who are the sole listeners.

"Monday, 7 April, 1766.—I preached at Warrington about noon to a large congregation, rich and poor, learned and unlearned. I never spoke more plain; nor have I ever seen a congregation listen with more attention. Thence I rode to Liverpool, and thoroughly regulated the society, which had great need of it."

Just two years after there is a note of some significance. John Seddon was then the minister of Cairo Street Presbyterian Chapel, and his Unitarian teaching had strongly influenced both the Academy and his congregation. Wesley mentions no names, but it is evident he has heard something of Cairo Street Chapel.

"Tuesday, 5th April, 1768.—About noon I preached at Warrington, I am afraid, not to the taste of some of my hearers, as my subject led me to speak strongly and explicitly on the Godhead of Christ, but that I cannot help; for on this I must insist, as the foundation of all our hope."

Wesley does not appear to have preached again in Warrington until 1772, and under date 30 March of that year appears a brief and interesting note in his *Journal*.

"At one I preached in Warrington. I believe all the young gentlemen of the Academy were there; to whom I started to prove the use of reason from these words of Paul: 'In wickedness be ye children, but in understanding be ye men.'"

This sermon was also spoken in the open air, and the scene of it was the Academy Square. What is now Academy Street in those days led into a quadrangle, around which stood the Academy and some fine old houses. Wesley took his stand upon a chair in front of the house in which Dr. Priestley had lived up to some five years before, and spoke to a congregation which quite filled the square. Among those who listened was Jane Phillips, the wife of the town crier of Warrington. One of her children sat upon her shoulder during the sermon, and was able to the end of life to describe the eager crowd of students, tutors, and populace, which pressed around the preacher.

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1. For an illustrated article on The Old Warrington Academy, see *W. M. Mag.*, 1910, p. 228. Dr. Priestley was the celebrated chemist, the discoverer of oxygen and of the composition of water.
WESLEY HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

The next references to Warrington are disappointingly brief. If a little fuller they would have helped us to fix approximately the date at which the Methodists secured a preaching room, for a society had sprung up in Warrington and was holding meetings in a hired building in Chapel Yard, Dallam Lane. Wesley's notes are:

"Monday, 11 April, 1774.—I preached about noon at Warrington, and in the evening at Liverpool."

"Monday, 14 April, 1777.—I preached about noon at Warrington, and in the evening at Liverpool."

The next entry in Wesley's Journal which refers to Warrington is a most perplexing one:

"After preaching at Alpraham and Chester, on Wednesday (7 April, 1779) I went on to Warrington. The proprietor of the new chapel had sent me word that I was welcome to preach in it; but he had now altered his mind. So I preached in our own; and I saw not one inattentive hearer."

The puzzle has been to identify the "new chapel" and the one alluded to as "our own," but we feel quite safe in claiming that both can be found, and, what is more, that both buildings are still in existence. On the north side of Back Dallam Lane, now transformed into a cottage, "our own" chapel still modestly rears its head, and though in the process of alteration it has undergone great change enough is left to reveal its original use.

The walls are those of the chapel, though variously hacked and altered. In the ceiling the large beams that formed the roof principals are visible and around the ceiling some of the cornice mould remains. At the south end the ceiling slopes upwards as though planned to give more height in a gallery, or to be raised above a gable window, the arrangement suggesting that there was a window in the front gable with a gallery under it, the pulpit being at the opposite end. There is little else that can be definitely identified as part of the original chapel save possibly some ancient wooden coat-hooks.

All doubts as to the identity of the building are set at rest by the fact that on a map prepared by Dombavand in 1772 this is described as the "Methodists' Meeting."

Another point of interest is that the same building became the booking office of Warrington's first railway station. Some years after Stephenson's line had been made from Liverpool to Manchester, a junction was formed at Park Side and a line run from thence into Warrington. It followed the track of the present North-Western line, but found its terminus in Back Dallam-Lane. In acquiring the land for this purpose the promoters of the rail-
way took over also the old chapel and used it as a booking office. Describing the old place fifty years ago William Phillips stated that it then retained the circular-headed chapel windows, which shows that the present windows are comparatively modern. A glimpse of the deeds would be valuable as revealing the names of the pioneers of local Methodism who built its first chapel. Among Wesley’s “attentive hearers” on 7 April, 1779, was Ann Peacock, the mother of Hannah Phillips, whose name was destined to become a household word in Warrington. The occasion was a memorable one to her and was described in vivid terms to her children and grandchildren, one of whom set it forth in the manuscript already mentioned.

(to be continued).

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**LUTHER AND WESLEY.**

In the *London Quarterly Review* for July, 1911, the Rev. T. F. Lockyer, B.A., has an article on ‘John Wesley at Aldersgate Street: the Words that Warmed the Heart.’ At the request of the Editors, Mr. Lockyer has prepared for our *Proceedings* the following paper, in which he summarizes and presents in attractive form the information given in the *Review*. As the result of the investigations into the subject, two things are now clear: (1) that Wesley is quite correct when he speaks of ‘Luther’s Preface to the Epistle to the Romans’; there can no longer be any ground for the supposition that ‘Romans’ is a misprint, or error of association, for ‘Galatians’ (Standard Edition of *Journal*, i. 476, note); and (2) that Wesley’s emphatic words, ‘my sins, even mine,’ show that the words of the *Commentary on the Epistle to the Galatians*, which had been of such help to his brother Charles, were in his mind. In the *L.Q.R.* Mr. Lockyer makes reference to Dr. Beet’s article in *W.H.S. Proc.*, VIII, p. 2, and especially to Mr. Brigden’s note to the same.

Few episodes in the history of the world have been so fraught with consequence for mankind as that seemingly casual
attendance of John Wesley at the little meeting in Aldersgate Street on the evening of 24 May, 1738. There is no need to rehearse again the well known narrative. But there is every reason why, if possible, there should be at last an exact ascertainment of the very words of Luther which were used by God as the instrument for the final emancipation of Wesley.

It should be premised that already other words of Luther had been used for the spiritual liberation of Charles Wesley. Let him tell the story himself, as recorded in his Journal. He says:

"Wednesday, May 17.—I experienced the power of Christ rescuing me in temptation. To-day I first saw Luther on the Galatians, which Mr. Holland had accidentally lit upon. We began, and found him nobly full of faith. My friend, in hearing him, was so affected as to breathe out sighs and groans unutterable. I marvelled that we were so soon and so entirely removed from Him that called us into the grace of Christ, unto another gospel. Who would believe our Church had been founded on this important article of justification by faith alone? I am astonished I should ever think this a new doctrine; especially while our Articles and Homilies stand unrepealed, and the key of knowledge is not yet taken away. From this time I endeavoured to ground as many of our friends as came in this fundamental truth, salvation by faith alone, not an idle, dead faith, but a faith which works by love, and is necessarily productive of all good works and all holiness. I spent some hours this evening in private with Martin Luther, who was greatly blessed to me, especially his conclusion of the 2nd chapter. I laboured, waited, and prayed to feel 'who loved me, and gave Himself for me.' When nature, near exhausted, forced me to bed, I opened the book upon 'For He will finish the work, and cut it short in righteousness, because a short work will the Lord make upon earth.' After this comfortable assurance that He would come, and would not tarry, I slept in peace."

In the first volume of his new edition of John Wesley's Journal, Mr. Curnock, referring to the incident of May 17, quotes Holland's own account of the doings of that evening, from which it appears that the copy of Luther on the Galatians (to which, as he says, he was 'providentially directed,' after 'diligent search') was carried by him to Charles Wesley, who forthwith began reading aloud from 'the Preface.' In the very beginning of the Preface occurs a comparison of the doctrine of justification by faith to a rock, as being the one sure foundation of the Church of God; and this seems to have been in Charles Wesley's mind when he wrote the words above quoted. But it is in the 'Argument' to the Epistle that the words occur which were made the means of Holland's liberation:

"Why, do we then nothing? Doe we worke nothing for the obtaining of this righteousness? I answer, nothing at all. For this is perfect righteousness, to do nothing, to heare nothing, to know nothing of
the law, or of works: but to know and to believe this only, that Christ is gone to the Father: and is not now seen: that he sitteth in Heaven at the right hand of his Father, not as a Judge but made unto us of God, wisdom, righteousness, holiness and redemption."

These words I quote from a very old copy of Luther's Galatians in English, which has recently come into my possession, bearing on the title page this inscription: "A COMMENTARIE OF MASTER DOCTOR MARTIN LUTHER UPON THE EPISTLE OF S. PAUL TO THE GALATIANS. First collected and gathered word by word out of his preaching, and now out of Latine faithfully translated into English for the unlearned. Wherein is set forth most excellently the glorious riches of God's grace, and the power of the Gospell, with the difference betwenee the Law and the Gospell, and the strength of Faith declared: to the joyfull comfort and confirmation of all true Christian beleevers, especially such as inwardly being afflicted and grieved in conscience, do hunger and thirst for justification in Christ Jesu. For whose cause most chiefly this Booke is translated and printed, and dedicated to the same. My power is made perfect through weake­ness. 2 Cor. 12. 9. London. Printed by George Miller, dwelling in the Black-Fryers. 1644."

It will be remembered that Bunyan (as he tells the story in 'Grace Abounding'), when he was feeling his way to the joy of salvation, found "a book of Martin Luther's; it was his Comment on the Galatians; it also was so old, that it was ready to fall piece from piece if I did but turn it over." He goes on to say,

"Now I was much pleased that such an old book had fallen into my hand, the which when I had but a little way perused, I found my condition in his experience, so largely and profoundly handled, as if his book had been written out of my heart. But of particulars here, I intend nothing; only this methinks I must let fall before all men—I do prefer this book of Martin Luther upon the Galatians (excepting the Holy Bible) before all the books that ever I had seen, as most fit for a wounded conscience." (See sections 129, 130.)

A very interesting address 'to the reader,' prefixed to the volume, is dated 1575. Bunyan's copy, to judge from the description, may well have been one of that early date. But the copy that Holland found—if indeed it was not the Latin original—might of course be one of the 1644, or of some other, reprint.

The history of hymn 115 ("O Filial Deity, Accept my newborn cry") should be studied in this connection, for it gives further, and very striking, evidence of the great impression made upon Charles Wesley's mind by the words of Galatians ii. 20. Full information will be found in the Journal, and in that valuable
Wesley Historical Society.

repertory of interesting instances, 'The Methodist Hymn-Book Illustrated' (John Telford). But the thing to be noted just now is the fact that, as mentioned above, Charles Wesley, equally with John, though not so immediately after receiving the message, was indebted to the great German Reformer's burning words for release from the bondage of religious legalism. Luther's comments on 'Who loved me and gave himselfe for me' occupy more than seven small quarto pages of close print.

"Wherefore these words: Which loved me, are full of Faith. And he that can utter this word Me, and apply it unto himself with a true and a constant faith, as Paul did, shall be a good disputant with Paul against the law. And this manner of applying is the very true force and power of Faith." "Reade therefore with great vehementie these words, Me, and for Me, and so inwardly practise with thy selfe, that thou, with a sure faith maist conceive and print this Me in thy heart, and apply it unto thy selfe, not doubting but thou art in the number of those to whom this Me belongeth."

These, and such other glowing words, were already warming Charles Wesley's heart in readiness for his Pentecost. And we cannot doubt that he made his brother partaker of this new-found encouragement, so that he likewise was prepared for the fuller assurance that was to come to his heart the following Wednesday at the meeting in Aldersgate Street.

There being this proved connection between Luther's great Commentary on Galatians and the spiritual enlightenment that came to Charles Wesley, it is of singular interest that the final enlightenment of John Wesley was due to a similar reading of Luther's celebrated Preface to the Epistle to the Romans. There has been considerable confusion of thought, even among those who may be regarded as students of the subject, to say nothing of more casual readers and hearers, concerning the work referred to by Wesley under that title. It has been very generally assumed that he meant the preface to a commentary by Luther on the great epistle. And there the matter has rested, even biographers of Wesley being ordinarily content to quote the words and pass on, discussing the crisis itself, of which that unknown work was the instrumental cause, but making no attempt to identify or describe the writing that was used by God for the accomplishment of so great a result. As a matter of fact, Luther published no commentary on Romans, though no doubt he delivered exegetical lectures on the epistle, as on other books of the Bible. But among the prefaces, or prologues, to the various books of the New Testament interspersed among the pages of his great German Version, that to the Epistle to the
Romans holds an honoured place. By the kindness of the Bible Society officials, I have been permitted to examine the Luther New Testament of 1522, and the complete Bible of 1534. Of the former, the Prologue to Romans fills eleven large pages, whereas only one other Pauline epistle (1 Cor.) has a prologue of so much as one page, the length in most cases being about half a page or less. In the 1534 edition, it is slightly altered verbally, now and then, but remains about the same in length. The Prologue to the Romans is, in effect, a great doctrinal manifesto, and may almost rank with the Commentary on Galatians for intrinsic importance, notwithstanding the disparity in size.

In 1524, Dr. Justus Jonas, Luther's intimate friend, who seems to have had a sort of general commission to translate Luther's works as he would, sent forth to the world a Latin version of the Romans Prologue, consisting of 32 pages (including title-page and two blank pages). This little book, which may be examined in the British Museum (3907. A. 16: 2), would be the means of making Luther's manifesto known throughout Europe, wherever restrictive laws did not prohibit; and probably it would find its way to England, so soon as the strong anti-Lutheran prejudice of the authorities had somewhat abated, or their vigilance had relaxed.

Rather more than a hundred years later, in 1632, there was published an English translation of the Latin version of Luther's Prologue. This deeply interesting booklet also may be seen at the British Museum (3266. A. 1). It consists of 39 pages of translation, besides title-page, preface, etc. There is but a slender clue to the identity of the translator: 'now newly translated out of Latin into English, by W.W., student.' Who this W.W., was, it would be worth something to discover.

Now we cannot, I think, be perfectly certain that what was being read at Aldersgate Street on that eventful night was an English translation of Luther's Preface. The reader may have been rendering, as he read, either from the original German, or from the Latin version of Justus Jonas. But the probabilities are the other way; and we may almost assume that the reading was, not only from an English translation, but from the translation just now mentioned.

Nor need we have much hesitancy in identifying the very portion of the Preface that made the great impression. Certainly, if we were comparing one portion with another, without regard to their order, we should naturally look for the telling words in the section devoted to Faith. There we should hear Luther saying,
``Faith, therefore, is a constant trust, and a sure confidence of the mercy of God towards us, which is lively, and worketh mightily in our hearts, whereby we commit ourselves wholly to God, casting all our care upon Him. Leaning and trusting assuredly to this Faith, we are not afraid to die a thousand times. For this so bold an assurance of the mercy and favour of God doth make our hearts merry, glad, and light; doth also erect, raise, and even ravish us with most sweet motions and affections towards God; yea, and doth so embolden the heart of the true believer, that, trusting to have God on his side, he is not afraid to oppose himself alone against all creatures. But it is the Spirit of God which giveth us this heroical heart and stout stomach through faith, which, working effectually in our hearts, doth incite and inflame us to do good.''

It so happens, however, that in an earlier part of the Preface, when dealing with 'Law,' Luther was led to anticipate his discussion of 'Faith' in a remarkable passage, perhaps more likely than the one above quoted to bring to Wesley the inward assurance of which he was in quest; and, inasmuch as he heard this passage read in that earlier stage, it is very doubtful whether he heard anything further, as they would all be rejoicing together in his deliverance.

``Such a cheerfulness, readiness, willingness, and ardent affection, cannot come into our hearts but by the quickening Spirit, and His lively impulsions and agitations in our heart. Now the Spirit is given only by faith in Christ. Faith cometh through the hearing of the Gospel, through which word Christ is preached unto us, to have died, to have been buried, and to have risen again from death for us. Therefore our whole justification is of God. Faith also and the Spirit are of God: they come not of ourselves. Wherefore let us conclude that Faith alone justifies, and that Faith alone fulfilth the Law. For Faith through the merit of Christ obtaineth the Holy Spirit, which Spirit doth make us new hearts, doth exhilarate us, doth excite and inflame our heart, that it may do those things willingly, of love, which the Law commandeth; and so, at the last, good works indeed do proceed freely from the faith which worketh so mightily, and which is so lively in our hearts.''

But the whole of Luther's great Prologue ought to be read and studied, at least the portion which consists of his discussion of those cardinal terms of the epistle, the Law, Sin, Grace, Faith, Righteousness, Flesh, Spirit. At this very time a cheap reprint is proceeding of thirty of Luther's smaller works, in tract form, to be had of the publisher, Johannes Herrmann, Zwickau, Saxony. The first three of these booklets contain his Larger Catechism, the fourth is the great Preface to the Romans, and the fifth and sixth are the priceless work, 'Of the Freedom of a Christian Man.' The cost is only about a penny each part—and they are worth their weight in gold.

THOS. F. LOCKYER.
26 September, 1785. I came safe to York and dined with several preachers and leaders, it being their quarter day.

28 September. This morning I breakfasted at Bro. Atkinson's, about a mile from Tadcaster, and spent an agreeable hour with Miss Ritchie, a most amiable Christian.

14 November. I had a good time at Bramley this afternoon. We held a watchnight, and God gave us his blessing. This morning Dr. Coke proposed me for Ordination next Conference. I could not tell what to think of it. I then declined it, but shall give up myself to prayer.

26 February, 1786. This day (Sunday) I preached at Dewsbury in the handsome new house.

21 April. This evening I heard Mr. Wesley preach at Yeadon. We had a large congregation and a very good time.

23 April (Sunday). I preached this noon at Bingley. The congregation was so large that I was obliged to preach out of doors. In the evening Mr. Wesley preached in the pasture at Bradford to an immense congregation.

27 April. Mr. Wesley met the Daw Green Trustees, who had determined on a most dangerous and treacherous settlement of the Dewsbury House. I confronted them with a clear state of the matter when the agreement was made. This, I believe, brought them to terms of accommodation which soon took place.

19 July. This evening I arrived safe at Bristol and took up my quarters at Bro. Thos. Gadd's in the Castle Green. [Conference began on 25th.]

1 August. This morning our Conference ended. It was (I thought) the most uncomfortable Conference that I have been at. I thought that we were less serious and governable than I had ever observed.
25 September. Yesterday I preached with much satisfaction at Guinea St. Chapel in the morning, and at noon at Jacob's Well. There is a fair prospect at Bristol. I have been confined in the city almost a fortnight with Mr. Wesley. We were fully employed for three days in renewing the tickets.

27 September. This day I visited a poor malefactor in the condemned hole, who is to die next week. He seems to be in a very dangerous way: may God be gracious to him!

1 October. I can see but little hopes of the poor prisoner. He seems to be stupid. I took my leave of him this day, as I leave Bristol tomorrow.

20 December. This morning between 11 and 12 I was married to Mrs. Judith Purnel, of Almondsbury, widow, at St. James' Church.¹

19 March, 1787. This morning Mr. Wesley left us in good health. He has been with us nine or ten days, and has preached night and morning, and accompanied me in giving out tickets. We found the society in a prosperous condition, and Mr. W's coming has been a blessing to us.

13 June. I have been employed in giving tickets these three days in Bath. Last night I had a good time indeed with the classes. After a day set apart by the class for direction in choosing a Leader, with the advice and general consent of the Leaders, I appointed Elizabeth Hulme. I examined her touching our doctrines and her experience in the presence of the class, and then prayed with her and for her. They all saluted one another afterwards, and parted very happy.

2 July. This day we had our Quarter Meeting. It was a day of great fatigue to me, but God was my support. I have now finished my labours in this Circuit and God has most graciously prospered me. We have had a noble increase, and between one and two hundred that have found peace with God. This evening I left Bristol and came to Almondsbury on my way to Conference.

10 July. This evening I preached at Wolverhampton in their new house,² and notwithstanding that it was their fair we

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¹ Valton has written up much of his Diary of this date in Early Methodist Preachers, vi, 120-1, 123-4. His memorial notice of his wife is found in Arminian Mag., 1794, p. 141, et seq: a remarkable woman. (The late H. J. Foster.)

² Opened by Mr. Wesley, 28 March, 1787: see Journal. According to Pratt's Black Country Methodism, "this 'new house' was the large meeting-room in what is now known as Canal Street, from which the Wesleyans progressed when they took possession of Noah's Ark Chapel," in 1796.
had a pretty serious congregation.

18 July. This morning Mr. Wesley preached a very lively sermon at Stockport.

4 August. This day our Conference ended in harmony and love. We have had a larger increase this year than I remember us ever to have had. I can't but commit to writing the observations that I have made at Manchester. Being a new thing at this town, the holding a Conference, I expected the sight of so many preachers would excite the scorn of the people, but it was quite the reverse. The Society received us with much cordiality, and the town in general expressed nothing but respect.

17 September. It has pleased Mr. Wesley to appoint Bro. Broadbent the assistant this year instead of me. This noon Mr. Wesley preached out of doors at Winterborn upon the foundations of the New House. [In the Journal the name is mis-spelled Wintanburn.]

8 October. This afternoon Mr. Wesley left us. I accompanied him the last week in giving out tickets.

25 December. This being Christmas Day, I attended my wife and family to the Parish Church and to the Altar Table. I believe it was a good time to us all.

4 February, 1788. Yesterday (Sunday) at 2 o'clock I opened the New House at Winterbourn. [See above, 17 Sep., 1787.]

WESLEY'S VISIT TO SANDWICH.

(See Mr. Butterworth's reference, Proc., VIII, p. 27).

Journal, 1788. Wednesday, 26 November. Our room at Sandwich being small, both the Dissenting Ministers sent to offer me the use of their chapels; I willingly accepted one of them, which was far larger than ours and very commodious.

3. Valton is in error here: the Conference of 1765 was held in Manchester. The Conference of 1787 is not mentioned in Wesley's Journal, in which there is no entry from Fri., 27 July to Sun., 5 Aug.
Mr. Edward Lilliott, of the Chain, Sandwich, whose knowledge of local Methodism is intimate and life-long, has kindly furnished the writer with a photograph of the Sandwich Congregational Church, in which, he says, according to tradition and inherent probability, Wesley preached in 1788. Mr. Lilliott has not been able to find any record certifying that this was the place, but it was the largest Nonconformist place of worship in the town, the only other, beside our own "room," being considerably smaller. This smaller chapel no longer exists.

The photograph gives the chapel as it is to-day. It was erected in 1706. The walls and possibly part of the roof are the only original parts remaining. "Within my recollection," says Mr. Lilliott, "the chapel was hidden from view by two houses, separated by an archway, under which worshippers had to pass into the chapel premises. These houses were intended for the chapel-keeper and minister. Under the flourishing ministry of the Rev. George Hobson (ex-Wesleyan Minister), the chapel was extensively renovated in the seventies; and alterations have been made in later years."

It is very probable that this church had Presbyterian origin, dating back to the time when lecturers were suppressed in the Church of England.

Since the foregoing was written Mr. Lilliott has died. The photograph will be preserved among the unpublished documents of the W.H.S.

F. F. BRETHERTON.

The following Notes may suggest a line of enquiry into the history of Presbyterianism and Congregationalism in Sandwich.

"Some brethren from the church at Sandwich" were present at Dover in 1645 at the ordination of John Durant, Independent.

The Rev. Nathl. Wilmot was ejected from his living of Faversham in 1662. He obtained a license to preach in his own house at Sandwich, 16 April, 1672.

The Rev. Robt. Webber was ejected from Sandwich in 1662, but there is no evidence of his continued ministry in the town. Francis Prentice was "overseer" at Sandwich, 1665.

Nicholas Thoroughgood and two of his brethren preached there in turn in 1668 and had a Friday lecture until the Act of 1670 stopped them. Thoroughgood was a Presbyterian but he worked conjointly with Ventress, an Independent.

In 1672, Rev. Comfort Starr removed from Dover and settled at Sandwich. A license was granted him to preach in his own house, 17 April, 1672. In the following month Collet Key was licensed for Independent preaching, and also John Watts for Presbyterian. Rev. Samuel Pomfrit came a little later and remained seven years.—T. E. B.
NOTES ON THE CONNEXIONAL SYSTEM.

It has often been assumed that Methodist organisation is an example of the Presbyterian type of Church government. On the authority of Samuel Bradburn we are told that Mr. Wesley declared that Methodism, after the death of its founder, would become “a regular Presbyterian Church.” This statement has often been quoted, and the Presbyterian ancestry of Wesley, through Dr. Annesley, has been considered a factor favourable to that form of ecclesiastical organisation.

In considering the form of government which Methodism ultimately evolved, one should remember the character of our founder. He was no doctrinaire who would carry out a theory to its logical issue in every detail, but an eclectic ready to adopt any methods he became acquainted with, whatever their source, provided they were likely to be practicable and useful. So it is probable that he was influenced not only by Presbyterian organisations but by those of the Dissenters and Quakers, as well as by the familiar usages of the Established Church. Dr. Simon has referred to the influence of the “Directory of Government . . . practised by the early Nonconformists,” which appears as an appendix to Neal’s History of the Puritans. This seems to have been the basis of later Presbyterian Church government. Mr. Wesley in all probability read it and was impressed by it.

Dr. Rigg has, however, pointed out many clear distinctions between the Methodist and Presbyterian systems, and even goes so far as to say “Much more minute and remarkable correspondences might be pointed out between the discipline and economy of the Friends and the Methodist economy.” A study of the Journal of the Friends’ Historical Society (Vols. I and II), will afford many instances of the regular meetings of their societies in monthly, quarterly and yearly meetings. Mr. Wesley studied their tenets and combated them very vigorously, being much opposed to “that solemn trifle, Robert Barclay's Apology.” Yet he expressed great esteem for many of them personally, and would certainly make himself familiar with their discipline. It

1. See Journal, 13 March, 1747.
would be a suggestive study to show the correspondences to which Dr. Rigg referred. A loyal address of the Friends to Geo. I. in 1716 is entitled an address from "the people called Quakers." The phrase has a familiar sound. For facsimile, cf. "A Quaker Post-bag."

The publication of the *Minutes of the General Assembly of the General Baptists, 1731-1811,* being Vol. II of the *Proceedings of the Baptist Historical Society,* is full of interest to Methodists. In its origin the Society of Friends was closely related to the General Baptists, and both could trace their organisation back to the Presbyterian form of graded courts controlled by a General Assembly. Those familiar with the history of the Friends in England and in the United States will remember the important controversy in the eighteenth century with George Keith concerning the need both of the Christ of History and the Christ of Experience. When Keith left the Friends he began to preach in the meeting-houses of the General Baptists.

The General Baptists made a partial surrender to the Independent system, we are told, in 1711, but what comes with surprise to us in these *Minutes* is the prevalence of what we should term Connexional ideas. The *Minutes* are those of the Annual General Assembly held in London at one or other of the Baptist Meeting-houses there. We find that money is raised for an Aged Ministers' Fund, and for the training of young preachers. Appeals are made to the Assembly for elders to be appointed to churches and even for decision in a case of character. Each church was expected to give a due report of itself through its representative, and deputations were sometimes sent to individual churches to settle disputes or to enquire into their general state. While the Assembly declined to legislate for the churches and said that perfect uniformity of doctrine or of form of worship was impossible, it made strong recommendations on public singing (or the absence of it), and other questions of general interest. Although the General Baptists were Arminian in doctrine as opposed to the Calvinism of the Particular Baptists, they seem to have shared very little in the fervour of the evangelical revival. The influence of that movement was most seen in the formation of the "Leicestershire Association" by Dan Taylor, who left the Methodists of Halifax in 1762. He was rejected by the Particular Baptists in that district, and was for a time chairman of this Assembly of the General Baptists, but eventually the Leicestershire Association seceded from the Union and was known as the New Connexion. It only rejoined the
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parent body in the time of C. H. Spurgeon. We find references in these Minutes to "conferences" for the increase of personal religion which were held in the individual churches on week­nights. These meetings seem to have been similar to those of the Religious Societies of the Church of England in the reign of Charles II, 4 to those of the Moravian Societies, and to those of the Methodist Societies which later evolved into the class meeting.

The parallels between the usages of Methodism and those of many of the sects of the eighteenth century may be much more numerous than we have been inclined to believe. Further information on the career of Dan Taylor would be useful, and the significance of the term "Connexion" as used by his Association should be considered.

A. W. HARRISON.

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DR. BRAY'S ASSOCIATES.

During his stay at Savannah in February, 1737, Wesley made the following entry in his Journal: "By Mr. Ingham" (then returning to England) "I writ to the Founders of Parochial Libraries (Dr. Bray's Associates), who had sent a library to Savannah in the latter end of last year. It is expected of the ministers who receive these to send an account to their benefactors of the method they use in catechizing the children and instructing the youth of their respective parishes." Then follows a relation of Wesley's method.

The work of providing parochial libraries for the colonies and instruction for the negroes was conducted by the indefatigable Dr. Bray, with the warm approval of the two archbishops and five of the bishops, up to the end of the year 1723; when, being attacked with a dangerous illness, he nominated certain trustees whose authority was confirmed by a decree in Chancery, and who were called "Dr. Bray's Associates." It may not be generally known that the Association still exists, and continues to enjoy the same distinguished patronage. Before me


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is a recent report which states the number of Associates to be eighty-one; thirty of whom (according to the deed) are managing Associates, and in the list are twenty bishops and a goodly array of the best known deans, prebendaries and canons of the English Church. The president is the Lord Archbishop of Canterbury. The report states that "the work intrusted to the Associates is of two kinds: (1) They establish Theological Libraries for the use of clergymen and students who are candidates for Holy Orders, in Great Britain and in foreign parts. To this department alone all donations and subscriptions are applied. (2) They are able to support, by moneys arising from endowments, schools for negroes in Nova Scotia and the Bahamas. The disbursements are not very considerable, those for the Library account in 1902 amounting to £503 18s. 6d.—including a balance in hand of £213 os. 7d.; and for the Schools Account £519 18s. 7d., including a favourable balance of £318 12s. 11d. The subscription list does not seem to extend beyond the Associates, (each contribute one guinea a year) but this is quite adequate seeing that so large a sum comes annually from dividends on consuls and rents on estates in Philadelphia. Membership in the Association is obtained by the signed recommendation of two of the Associates who must certify that the candidate is a member of the Church of England, and of a sober and religious life and conversation."

The latest Quinquennial Review of the Home and Foreign Libraries shews that "fifty Libraries have received grants for their augmentation, twelve have been removed to more suitable localities, and in others sundry improvements have been made." Among the Libraries benefited are several Missionary Colleges at home, eleven in Canada, and others in the West Indies, Australasia, India, Japan, Capetown, Zanzibar and Madagascar, and new libraries have been established at Ealing, near London, at Norwich, at Roorke in the diocese of Lucknow, and at Norfolk Island the headquarters of the Melanesian Mission.

Among the "Libraries in Foreign Parts," that of Savannah has no mention, nor that founded by Dr. Bray many years before at Charlestown—a fact which probably finds its explanation in the severance of the States from England. During the rebellion some of the missionaries sent out by Dr. Bray were in great peril through their loyalty.

In "Public Spirit, illustrated in the Life and Designs of the Reverend Thomas Bray, D.D." (1746) is this concluding sentence: "And now the Doctor having happily lodged his
principal Designs in the Hands of able Managers, being on the Verge of the Grave, he could not but review his Undertakings with Complacency, and thank the good Providence of God which appeared to lay such trains for their advancement." Among the thirty original associates were such "able managers" as the Earl of Egmont, Lord Carpenter, The Honourable Edward Digby, Sir James Lowther, General Oglethorpe, Captain Thomas Coram, and two learned clergymen well known to the Wesleys, the Rev. Dr. Hales and the Rev. Arthur Bedford.

RICHARD BUTTERWORTH.


WILLIAM HAMMET.

Wm. Hammet was admitted on trial by the Irish Conference in 1784 and appointed to the Lisburn Circuit. A glimpse of his labour is given in the Wes. Meth. Mag., 1825, p. 579. In the following year he was stationed in the Derry Circuit. In 1786 he was received into full connexion, and was ordained by Wesley for Newfoundland (Tyerman, III, p. 441). On 24 Sept., he embarked at Gravesend with Dr. Coke, W. Warrener, and Jno. Clarke. Leaving Warrener at Antigua, the other missionaries re-embarked on 5 Jan., and started on a tour of observation, visiting in succession Dominica, St. Vincent, Nevis, and St. Christopher to which Hammet was appointed. Of his work here see particulars in Drew's Coke, pp. 173 and 199, and Coke's West Indies, III, pp. 56-59.

In 1789 Hammet was appointed to divide his labours between Tortola and Santa Cruz until other missionaries were sent to succeed him. An account of his work is given in Coke's West Indies, III, pp. 112-113. He landed in Jamaica in August of this year, being the first Wesleyan Missionary appointed to labour on that island. On his arrival he built a small house for preaching and formed a class consisting of eight persons, three of whom
were whites, and the others free blacks. In this obscure place the services were held for about a year, at the end of which time about 100 had joined the Society. Then a large house was purchased and fitted up with accommodation for about 1,400 persons (see Meth. Mag., 1832, p. 668). Soon persecution arose (see New History, II, p. 291). Early in 1791 Dr. Coke arrived and found Hammet dangerously ill of fever and ague, and worn almost to a skeleton. Coke says “The two most flourishing Societies in the West Indies, Antigua excepted, were raised by his indefatigable labours; and there are few in the world with whom I have been acquainted that possess the proper apostolic spirit in an equal degree with him.”

Hammet embarked with Dr. Coke for Charlestown. The voyage proved very perilous among that vast range of desolate rocks called, from the many fatal wrecks which have taken place on them, “The Martyrs”; from drifting nigh to some precipitous ledges on the coast of Cuba; and from a mighty gale that broke upon them in the Gulf of Florida.

Hammet took charge of the Methodist Society in Charlestown, but becoming dissatisfied, after a short term he formed an independent church, leading away many members, and erecting a new building called Trinity Church. In this state of separation he was joined by some men who proved unworthy of the confidence they had secured.

In 1792 Hammet appealed to the British Conference, giving a printed account of the division which had occurred at Charlestown. It was considered, and the appeal dismissed. The following letter was also sent to Bishop Asbury, and all the American preachers: “Very dear Brethren. We are desired by the English Conference to assure you of their cordial love towards you. They earnestly desire that the most cordial love may subsist, without any interruption, between you and them, and the most perfect union which the nature of things admit of. They esteem union and concord among brethren as one of the greatest of blessings, and therefore do most deeply disapprove of the schism which William Hammet has made in the city of Charlestown, and we acknowledge no further connection with him, who could so attempt to rend the body of Christ. Wishing you every possible blessing in Jesus Christ, both in your own souls, and on your labours, we remain” &c. 15 August, 1792.

Wm. Hammet died at Charlestown, 15 May, 1803.

CHARLES H. CROOKSHANK.
NOTES AND QUERIES.

463. "WESLEY AND KINGSWOOD, and its Free Churches."—The Rev. G. Eayrs, F.R. Hist. S., has written a useful monograph on Kingswood, with a reliable sketch of the history of the Baptist, Congregational, Moravian, and Methodist Churches of the neighbourhood. He has carefully collated the many notes in these Proceedings, and elsewhere, by the late Rev. H. J. Foster, and others, and has added the results of his own researches. He has had access to the Hobill Collection at Ranmoor College, and MSS. in the Bristol City Library. The illustrations include a good portrait of John Cennick, and a view of the old Whitefield Tabernacle, Kingswood. The book is published by Arrowsmith, Bristol.

464. LONDON SUNDAY SCHOOL SOCIETY: FRIARS MOUNT, BETHNAL GREEN. (Proc. VIII, p. 55).—Mr. George Brownson sends a Report of the above, 1810. Seven schools are named: Golden Lane, Old Street; Friar's Mount, adjoining Church St., Bethnal Green; No. 5 Raven-Row, Spital-fields; Crosby Row, Snow's-fields; Slater's Court, Blue Anchor-Yard, Rosemary Lane; Clerkenwell-Green, and Poplar. The "Society" had its headquarters at the "New Chapel, City Road," where the collection for the work was £85. Snowsfield Chapel collection was £47, and Poplar £26. Subscriptions and donations amounted to £335, and there was a balance "due to Treasurer," Mr. John Holloway, of £329! Rent and Taxes for the "seven houses" amounted to £253 for the year, and house expenses, coals, candles, &c., to £54. As reading and writing were taught, books, &c., were a heavy item of £64. The number of scholars in the seven schools was 2728, and since its institution in 1798, the Society had cared for 14,451 children. There were 800 books in the Libraries. The following were three of the interesting "Rules." "A scholar having been discharged from the school, shall not be re-admitted without leave of the Committee: The Parent of the child to make application for the same through the Secretary. Ordered, that every scholar be received on Trial, for three months, before he can be fully admitted. As a Reward for their Attention to learning, the Committee have determined to teach writing under
certain conditions." The Report observes: "To obviate every difficulty and satisfy the most scrupulous mind in regard to the propriety of teaching writing on Sundays, some of the teachers voluntarily undertake to teach it on week-day mornings and evenings. When a suitable proficiency has been made in writing, some instruction in Arithmetic is given."—T.E.B.

465. WESLEY AT PENDLETON POLE.—Wednesday, 6 April, 1774.

"I preached at Pendleton-Pole, two miles from Manchester, in a new chapel, designed for a Church Minister, which was filled from end to end."

The old S. Thomas's Church here referred to stood in the old graveyard a little down Brindleheath Road, off Broad Street, Pendleton. It was built by a local celebrity, Samuel Brierley, who intended his son to be the first minister, but the son's death prevented this. Instead, the Rev. James Pedley became minister and remained here (as a curate to the mother parish of Eccles) for nearly fifty years. His tombstone exhibits these pungent lines:

"What was his preferment, Stranger, Say?
It was not here. He gains, we humbly pray
Through Christ a living in the realms of day."

The old church was replaced by the present building in 1831, and allowed to fall into decay; and the 'Pendleton Pole,'—a famous may-pole,—was removed to make way for the new church to a site opposite the present Broad St. Station: when the new line through that station was constructed the pole was removed to its present site in a little plot of grass between the old and the new stations.

"Pendleton was then [in 1774] a charming village nestling under the 'Height' [Irlams o' th Height] with a lovely valley [of the Irwell] trending away to the north-east. In the centre of the village was the green, and round it houses, cottages, orchards and gardens, and it was separated from the inhabited parts of Salford by common lands and fields." (Rev. W. J. Smith, Vicar, in 1881).

The population was already nearly 2,000; but it is only within the last few years that the orchards and gardens have

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1. Brierley gave also the land for the old Jews' cemetery (still remaining) a little higher up.
2. Contraction of Irwell-ham, and contradistinguished from 'Irlam' in the valley (now on the Ship Canal.)
almost entirely disappeared. The population of the township of Pendleton is now about 70,000.

The "chapel" was a "brick box with a bell turret": it was 19 yards long and 14 yds. 4 ins. wide and had accommodation for 500 worshippers.

The present Mission Church of S. Anne's, Brindleheath, stands nearly, but not exactly, on the old site, which was farther back and more to the right—directly opposite—as you enter the little gateway.—Rev. W. Arthur Westley.

466. The Family of the Late Mr. Joseph G. Wright.—The last part (2) of the Proceedings contained two papers (pp. 29 and 36) in which the names of Thomas Wright, of Birkenshaw, and his grandson, Thomas Wright, F.S.A., are prominent. It will be of interest to our members to know that the eminent antiquarian was the uncle, and the autobiographer therefore the great-grandfather, of our late able and valued worker, Mr. Joseph G. Wright. The first named died in 1801. His son, also Thomas, was apprenticed to a firm of booksellers and printers of Bradford, and subsequently followed that trade at London. He possessed the family proclivity to historical research, afterwards more fully developed in his son, the F.S.A., and compiled *The History and Antiquities of Ludlow*. The brother of the antiquarian, Mr. Edwin Thomas Wright (1809-1876), the father of our late member, was an engineer and ironmaster in the great days of the South Staffordshire iron trade, and an ardent and devout Methodist, full of activity in circuit and district. Thomas Wright, F.S.A., was not connected with Methodism unless in early life, and any such early attachment would probably be lost by his entrance at Cambridge, where he was educated at Trinity College under Whewell. A notice of his life and work covers nearly four pages of the *Dictionary of National Biography*, over the initials of Mr. (now Sir) Sidney Lee, who states that his works embrace 129 entries in the British Museum catalogue.—Mr. W. O. Sheldon.

467. John Wesley's Wife.—There has just been restored in St. Andrew's Churchyard, Newcastle, an imposing and interesting table tombstone, which recalls the intimate and historic association of John Wesley with our city. The restored monument is in memory of "William Smith, Esq., of High Friars Street in this town, who departed this life 30th May,
1824, aged 83 years; and of Jane Smith, his wife, who died 17th January, 1820, aged 83 years." After recording the deaths of their children, the inscription proceeds: "The above-named Jane Smith was the daughter of Anthony and Mary Vazeille. The latter, when a widow, married the Rev. John Wesley, Founder of Methodism, and was buried in Camberwell Churchyard, on October 2nd, 1781." Whatever may have been the causes of the chequered matrimonial life of John Wesley, it is of special interest that the memory of his wife is kept green by the family memorial in St. Andrew's Churchyard. (Newcastle Daily Chronicle, 31 July, 1911.)

468. The Old Orphan House, Newcastle.—A correspondent writes:—The interesting paragraph in your notes of 31st ult. recalls the fact that William Smith, who married the step-daughter of John Wesley in 1811, was one of the original trustees of the Old Orphan House, built in 1742, in Northumberland Street, by the founder of the Methodist Church. The minute book of the trustees, after having been lost for about fifty years, has been recovered within the last few weeks. The writer, a short time ago, was in correspondence with Mr. George Stampe, treasurer of the Wesley Historical Society, who mentioned that he knew where the valuable Newcastle relic was located, and thought it could be restored to the trustees at a small cost, and this has been done by the generosity of a local gentleman. This book is a small 4to, about 1 in. thick, in the beautiful handwriting of Jno. Greene (an original trustee). It begins with a long autographic preface in 1792, and later the minutes are written by Mr. Wm. Smith, whom you mention in your notes of to-day. It contains much valuable information respecting the history of Methodism in Newcastle immediately after the death of its founder. (Newcastle Daily Chronicle, 3 Aug., 1911.)

This paragraph is printed as it appeared in the Newcastle Daily Chronicle, but there are some points in it which require correction. William Smith was married to Jane Vazeille on 7 March, 1769 (The Orphan House of Wesley, p. 119). Moreover he was not one of the original trustees of the Orphan House, the deed of which was dated 5 March, 1745, when he was only in his ninth year. He was made a member of the trust on its first renewal, 4 Aug., 1772: loc. cit., pp. 21, 129.—J.C.N.