



Wood sc.

1790 *Mr. Samuel Taylor.* 1821
Preacher of the Gospel.

METHODIST LITERATURE AT SHEFFIELD

Our readers will have gathered from notes in the *Proceedings* during the last two or three years that the authorities of the Sheffield City Library are much interested in Methodist literature, especially that which has local reference. (Any person or place within a radius of fifteen miles is regarded as "local" for the Sheffield section of the reference library. Any Methodist minister born in Sheffield, or at any time stationed in the area, is considered to be a local personage. The section also includes all books and pamphlets printed in Sheffield).

Mr. J. L. Spedding, of the Scotland Street Methodist Church, has availed himself of the facilities afforded by the Library authorities, and has made a detailed and painstaking survey of the material. One piece of work he has carried through calls for special record. He acquired a collection of 1600 portraits of Wesleyan Ministers from the *Magazine* 1778-1893. (This *Magazine* known at first as the *Arminian Magazine* was founded by John Wesley in 1778, and with changes in title has continued to the present day.) These portraits he presented to the Library. One fears that in many cases the transaction would have ended there. But when such a giver encounters such recipients as was the case at Sheffield, the situation is different. The Library supplied suitable books, with guard pages, in which to paste the portraits, 200 in a volume. The "local" ministers, defined as above, will be kept together. Mr. Spedding has bestowed an immense amount of labour upon this task of searching out particulars about the various men in order to provide for each portrait an accompanying record slip.

Mr. Spedding has sent us a long and detailed list of books, pamphlets and cuttings on Methodist subjects to be found in the Library. Some interesting items have been his own contribution.

He has also sent us a typewritten copy of *Early Days of Primitive Methodism in Sheffield*, the manuscript of which was begun by Mr. Robert Moss and continued by Rev. George

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Gowthorpe Martindale. Filed with this are many extracts from old minute books and so forth. A good deal of material which we shall hope to use in the *Proceedings* has also been received from Mr. Spedding.

Our indefatigable friend has also compiled seven volumes dealing with the history of Scotland Street Methodist Church with which he has been connected as lay-pastor for some years, together with many particulars of the M.N.C. in Sheffield.

In the Rotherham Public Library is a volume containing portraits of Wesleyan Methodist Ministers appointed to the Rotherham Circuit. This work awaits completion. The large well-bound volume is said to consist of portraits and biographical sketches. The sketches however, have not been written. There are fifty portraits, one to a page, and on the following page in each case, the following schedule is printed.

Born on

Entered the Wesleyan Methodist Ministry in the year
.....and was appointed to the following Circuits

.....

.....

Died on
in the.....year of his age, and the.....of his Ministry

Following these portraits are blank pages on which have been written the names of 39 ministers whose portraits no doubt it is hoped to secure.

A WESLEY WINDOW AND DESK IN THE NEW CHAPTER HOUSE OF SHEFFIELD CATHEDRAL

Early in 1939 the first part of a large extension scheme was consecrated, including the Chapel of St. George, the Chapter House, the Song School, the Sacristy and Vestries.

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In the beautiful Chapter House a series of windows illustrates the history of the Church in Sheffield, and one of the roundels illustrates John Wesley preaching in Paradise Square.

In the booklet describing the Cathedral additions appears the following note :—

15TH JULY, 1779. JOHN WESLEY PREACHING IN SHEFFIELD. John Wesley frequently contested the cause of Jesus Christ in Sheffield, and to some purpose, as the strength of the Methodist Church in the city to-day attests.

The scene chosen is from the entry in his *Journal* of July, 1779. 'Thursday, 15. I preached in Paradise Square to the largest congregation I ever saw on a week-day'

The window is a particularly exquisite piece of work, although space precluded the magnitude of the great crowd. In the background is the spire of 't'owd Church' and, as a tribute to the great man's life-long habit of early rising and early preaching, the sun is rising in the background. One poor man has a bandaged eye, probably from espousing his cause the night before.

The Chapel dedicated to St. George is the Chapel of the York and Lancaster Regiment. Here the old desk we referred to a little time ago serves an honourable purpose.

The book of Remembrance, placed beneath the figure of St. Martin, rests upon the old oak desk reputed to have been used by John Wesley when preaching in Sheffield during the 18th century. It was entrusted to the care of the Cathedral on the demolition of St. Paul's Church in 1938.

The Provost of the Cathedral specially invited the Chairman and Secretary of the Sheffield Methodist Synod to be present at the Consecration Service.

DIARY OF SAMUEL TAYLOR.

CONCLUDED

1792, Jan. 3. I road to Tamworth and preached in the evening in a dwelling-house as we had at that time no chapel. There appeared a prospect of much good.

Feb. 15. Preached to the prisoners in the gaol consisting of fellows and debtors.

June 11. Preached at Barr, a village famous for nothing so much as having given birth to Mr. Francis Asbury of America, and being the present residence of his parents, at whose house we preach.

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Aug. 20. Preached my last sermon at Dudley. From the first time I became acquainted with this dear people, I felt my heart much united to them. 'Tis no wonder I should have felt much regret in leaving them.

Aug-26. Preached three times in Birmingham. In the evening at Cherry St., my last sermon before I left the circuit. It was a solemn season. In many respects this has been an agreeable place, the people having been kind and affectionate.

At this point Mr. Taylor's diary ends. But in another notebook there are some references to his work in later circuits—and also brief accounts of the Conferences of 1796, 1797, and 1799, which he attended.

1796, July 11. I had to take stock of the book and add up my accounts for the Conference.

12. I road to Bridgend where we had to keep our Quarterly Meeting.

From thence he rode via Cardiff, Chepstow, Gloucester, Witney and High Wycombe to London.

Tues. 19. Arrived in London about two o'clock. I was then appointed to my lodgings in Broad St. . . . In the evening Mr. Entwistle preached.

Wed. 20. In the evening I preached at Spital-Fields on 'God is a Spirit.' Having several of the senior preachers to hear me I felt it no small trial.

Sat. 23. We met in the forenoon to consider our plan of the stations. In the afternoon some of the delegates met to consider Mr. Kilham's pamphlets.

Mon. 25. The Conference assembled at six o'clock and after filling up the Deed, Mr. Taylor was chosen President and Dr. Coke Secretary. At nine o'clock the preachers and people met to pray, at twelve also, the day having been set apart for a day of fasting and prayer.

Tues. 26. The Conference met at six o'clock and began to consider the case of A.K.

Wed. 27. Mr. Lancelot Harrison at 5 in the morning. I breakfasted at Mr. Rankin's in company with Mr. Thos. Taylor, our President.

We proceeded with the trial of Mr. K. The charges were read article by article and put to the vote, which was carried against Mr. K. In the evening Mr. K. was called into the

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Conference to hear its decisions. The President read the charges and summed up the whole.

Thur. 28. The characters were read over and strict examination took place.

In the afternoon I sat to have my likeness taken for the Magazine.

Sun. 31. I and a few friends went to West St. Chapel and heard Mr. Bradburn preach. At 3 o'clock the President and a few of the senior preachers met the young men who were to be received into full Connection, in order to be examined."

On July 12th, 1797, Mr. Taylor left the Swansea circuit and rode by stages to Leeds to attend the Conference of that year.

July 30. Sun. We had service in Church hours and the Sacrament.

31. Our Conference began. A part of the day was devoted to prayer. The following days the minutes of the Conference were read and signed by all the preachers. During the sitting of Conference four preachers, viz, Messrs Henry Taylor, Wm. Thom, Stephen Eversfield and Michael Emmet left us, but before the Conference broke up, Messrs Taylor and Emmet returned, to the great joy of the Conference. Mr. Kilham's party formed itself into a Conference and stationed those preachers which had signified a desire to them. Several letters were received from trustees in various parts requesting the Conference not to send any preachers to them as they should in future receive none who were unfriendly to the Plan. The Conference, however, judged it proper to send preachers to all as usual."

In 1799 Mr. Taylor attended the Conference at Manchester.

Tues. July 30. Got to Manchester between seven and eight in the morning. Went into Conference. In the evening Mr. Pawson preached.

Thurs. 2. After dinner the subject (preaching) was brought forward. Mr. Mather spoke. Mr. Jos. Bradford made a good speech on the subject. Mr. Thos. Taylor recommended Mr. Wesley as an example worthy imitation in his labours and the excellent stile and depth of matter. Recommended the preachers to meet in Band among one another. Cautioned against politics. Recommended to speak to the people in their houses. Not to forget the children. Keep a journal.

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Fri. 3. Mr. Dixon preached at five in the morning. I could hear but little of what he said. He was very deficient in articulation. Stations went on. Objections made as usual.

Sat. 4. Mr. Geo. Smith preached at 5 o'clock. His subject was Sanctification. He was remarkably zealous. The sweat dropped from his face in great abundance. The sermon was more to be commended for its warmth than its accuracy. Stations went forward—many alterations proposed. With great difficulty I got Mr. Gill appointed to go with me to Shrewsbury. A great altercation between Mr. Vasey and Mr. Baraclough respecting superintendency of Bradford. Mr. B. removed to Dewsbury.

Mon 6. Several letters read by Dr. Coke, one from the East Indies—moved to print in Magazine one from Gibraltar. Station changes. Difficulties began. Mr. Wrigley's appointment for Liverpool objected to unless promise to give the Sacrament. After some hesitation he promised. After dinner, the collections were received. Deficiencies taken down. Some of the demands great. I fear the demands cannot all be answered.

[History repeats itself !]

JOHN W. SELLER.

THE ORIGINS OF WESLEY'S COVENANT SERVICE

(Readers are referred for a fuller statement to an article in the January 1939 issue of *The London Quarterly*, whose Editor has kindly permitted the writer to give the gist of that article here.)

The Covenant Service is one of the distinctive features of Methodism. An enquiry into its origin will heighten our sense of its present value.

I. *The use of the Covenant by the two Alleines.*

The service used by Wesley had two parts. The first contained the 'Directions' by which members were prepared to make their Covenant. The second was the climax, the Covenant itself, which in its original form began, 'O most dreadful God, for the passion of Thy Son, I beseech Thee to accept of Thy poor prod-

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igal . . .' and ended, 'And the Covenant which I have made on earth, let it be ratified in heaven.' What were the sources of these two parts of Wesley's Covenant Service?

The practice of making covenants with God originated in the Covenant Theology popular among the Puritan Theologians. The Presbyterian Covenants were national, the supreme example being the Solemn League and Covenant of 1643. The Congregationalist Covenants were restricted to the local church. They based their church-life upon the church-covenant, a solemn agreement made between the members of each 'gathered' church, by which they determined the nature of its government.

The second part of Wesley's service, the Covenant, was composed, probably about 1658, by a young Presbyterian minister named Joseph Alleine, for the use of converts. Born in 1633, Alleine went to Lincoln College, Oxford, where Wesley later was Fellow. He became assistant to the Presbyterian minister of Taunton in 1655, and probably about three years later, just before the fateful Restoration, commenced to use the Covenant for young converts. It was published posthumously in 1672 in his 'Alarm to Unconverted Sinners.' He advised his converts to sign this covenant, feeling this was as important as that national leaders should sign the Presbyterian Covenants, and church members the Congregational church-covenants.

The first part of Wesley's service, the 'Directions,' was written by Richard Alleine, father-in-law to Joseph. After the Restoration of 1660, the Presbyterians became Dissenters and a time of persecution commenced. Richard Alleine wondered how the Presbyterians would face this time of trial. In Scotland the Covenanters rallied around the National Covenants of 1638 and 1643. But Richard Alleine preferred the converts' covenant used by his son-in-law. In 1663 his *Vindiciae Pietatis, or Vindication of Godliness*, appeared. At the end of this defence of Puritanism, in the Application, he gives 5 Directions to the ungodly in order to bring them to a godly life, in the last Direction urging them to make a formal Covenant with God. He then gives his son-in-law's converts' covenant. These 5 Directions were used by Wesley as the introductory part of his service, and by them he prepared his followers to make their Covenant with God. Richard Alleine also commended the Covenant 'to the use, not only of young converts, but of the more grown Christians,' and in the second part of the Application, urged those who had already made their covenant to

renew it. He wanted all Presbyterians to face the new conditions of their church-life by making their covenant with God. In some respects this was an approach towards the Congregationalist use of the church-covenant. In the year Richard Alleine published his appeal to the Presbyterians, his son-in-law had come under the influence of an ardent Congregationalist, none other than John Westley, the paternal grandfather of the Founder of Methodism. Did Westley urge the Alleines to use the converts' covenant for the saints of the churches as well as for the sinners? Did he draw them thus far in the direction of the Congregationalist church-covenant idea? The practice of making covenants became very common between the Restoration and 1700, and there is evidence that Alleine's Covenant was widely used in the founding of congregations in 1672.

2. *Wesley's Use of the Covenant of the Alleines.*

The Life of Thomas Haliburton, a Presbyterian, played a far more important part in the conversion of Wesley, than has been recognised. Wesley published this book early in 1738. In it Haliburton tells how he covenanted with God in November 1697, and was converted shortly afterwards. According to his *Diary* Wesley appears to have made his covenant with God on April 20th 1738, shortly before his conversion. Mr. Bray joined with Wesley in this act, and Wesley does not appear to have advocated public covenanting until the end of 1747. On Christmas and the following days he urged 'the wholly giving up ourselves to God, and renewing in every point our covenant that the Lord should be our God.' The *Journal* seems to show that the covenant was actually made on January 1st, 1748.

In 1753 Wesley came under strong Presbyterian influences. In April he met Rev. John Gillies of Glasgow. In that year he published both the part of his *Journal* which admitted the force of Lord King's advocacy of Presbyterianism, and also Richard Alleine's *Vindiciae Pietatis*. But it was not until August 1755 that he made use of the latter. In July 1755, Wesley read *Historical Collections regarding the success of the Gospel and Eminent Instruments employed in promoting it*, a book by Gillies, which directed him on July 24th to the Christian practice of setting apart seasons of solemn thanksgivings. On August 6, 1755, he says, 'I mentioned to the congregation another means of increasing serious religion, which had been frequently practised by our forefathers and attended with eminent blessing, namely, the joining in a covenant

to serve God . . . I explained this for several mornings following: and on Friday, many of us kept a fast unto the Lord, beseeching him to give us wisdom and strength to promise unto the Lord our God and keep it.' *Historical Collections* speaks of a Solemn Renewing of Covenant in Massachusetts in 1680, which led to a revival. The company which settled in Dorchester, Mass., in 1630, was formed into a church estate by a church covenant, before it left England, through the influence of Rev. John White. Wesley regarded White as one of his ancestors, one explanation of his statement that covenanting was 'frequently practised by our forefathers.'

On August 11, 1755, Wesley says, 'I explained once more the nature of such an engagement; and the manner of doing it acceptably to God. At six in the evening we met for that purpose at the French Church in Spitalfields. After I had recited the tenor of the covenant proposed, in the words of that blessed man, Richard Alleine, all the people stood up, in testimony of assent, to the number of about 1800 persons.' The people signified their assent not by speech or writing, but by standing. The service was so helpful that Wesley introduced it at Bristol, Oct. 15, 1755, at Dublin, April 14, 1758, and at Cork, July 25, 1758. By April 8, 1757, he had found his way to Joseph Alleine's book, for on that day he read to the London Society, Chapter VI of Joseph Alleine's *Alarm*, headed 'Containing Directions for Conversion.' Direction X contains the Form of Covenant.

The Covenant Service was held on New Year's Day in 1748, and 1766, and each year from 1770 to 1778 except 1774. The statement in the *Journal* regarding 1766 is ambiguous but probably meant that it had already become a custom to hold the service on New Year's Day. But from 1782 onwards Wesley held it on the first Sunday in the year.

In 1778 the Covenant Service was held at a Conference of preachers in Dublin, and as Wesley explained its nature several times, we take it he wanted his preachers to use it more widely. Possibly this led Thomas Lee, one of Wesley's preachers, to issue what was the first printed Methodist Covenant Service, on Dec. 10, 1779. Its title was *Extract from the Thirtieth Volume of the Christian Library, published by Rev. Mr. Wesley*, and it cost 1d. Lee advocated the use of the service not only where a preacher was available, but suggested that it should be held under the direction of the leader in the 'little country places.' This service

was much smaller than that published later by Wesley. It included Points 4 and 5 of Richard Alleine's Directions, and strangely enough, although Point 5 advocates 'a solemn Covenant,' and although he included Richard Alleine's acknowledgement of Joseph Alleine's Covenant, Lee omitted the explicit Covenant itself.

The obvious inadequacies of this booklet must have led Wesley to issue his first edition of the service in 1780. It was very popular and reached its fifth edition by 1794. In printing the few directions before the explicit Covenant in the plural rather than the singular, Wesley follows Richard and not Joseph Alleine. It was for public rather than private use. The hymn, 'Come let us use the grace divine,' published in 1762, and normally used in the Covenant Service, brings out the corporate nature of the Covenant. It was not a Congregationalist Church-covenant, but it was the corporate act of the whole society or church. Although a corporate act it also remained a completely personal act. Consequently at the first service, in 1755, the people signified their assent by standing, and in Wesley's printed service, he inserted Joseph Alleine's advice that the Covenant should be signed.

3. *The influences which led Wesley to use the Covenant Service.*

We must not forget the influence of the Presbyterians, Haliburton and John Gillies. But Wesley speaks of his forefathers. There are a number of clues which suggest that Wesley knew of the connection between his grandfather, John Westley, and Joseph Alleine. We have seen that, rightly or wrongly, he thought that Rev. John White of Dorchester was his grand-mother's father. When he wrote in 1755 of the Covenant as 'frequently practised by our forefathers,' he probably had both these Johns in mind.

But the need for personal dedication to God was so stressed by Susanna Wesley, and her parents, that the Annesley home probably exerted the greatest influence on Wesley. In 1707, Susanna wrote Samuel her son, reminding him of the Covenant he had personally made with God before receiving the Holy Communion, and some years later she wrote to John Wesley, reminding him of 'the conditions of the Gospel covenant on our part,' almost an echo of the Alleines. Her sister, Mrs. Dunton, thanked God for the blessing of being 'dedicated to God betimes.' We find the Annesley love of covenanting in Susanna's daughter, Martha, who records in her diary her frequent renewals of her covenant with God, between May 1734 and July 1759.

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In 1781, the year of the author's death, Samuel Annesley, Susanna's father, wrote a foreword to a book by Richard Alleine. Annesley's meeting-house in Little St. Helens, London, was erected in the year 1672, when many Presbyterian churches appear to have been organized with the use of Alleine's Covenant. As he was Richard Alleine's literary executor, it seems likely his church would use Alleine's Covenant in 1672. Susanna Wesley therefore probably transmitted to John her high appreciation of the Dissenting practice of making a covenant with God, and so made Methodism the debtor of the Alleines, and also of her father's Presbyterian meeting-house in Little St. Helens.

We therefore conclude that when Wesley spoke of the Covenant Service as having been used by 'our forefathers' he probably meant John Westley and John White and the Annesleys.

4. *Conclusion.*

Methodism is facing an age as troubled as that faced by Richard Alleine and the churches he loved in the Restoration period. His advice is of value to us. Let us be a dedicated people. After Young People's Day, those who give themselves to Christ who are old enough, ought to be trained in a special class for membership, and ought to be welcomed into the Church on Covenant Sunday. On that day all our members ought to make their covenant with God, with the same keenness as fresh converts. New and old members ought to sign the Covenant itself, which is now specially printed for this purpose by the Book-room as 'An Act of Dedication.' Let all Methodists give themselves to God, not as isolated Christians, but as a dedicated society.

FREDERICK HUNTER

WESLEY'S PRINTERS AND BOOKSELLERS.

PART III. AT BRISTOL

For centuries Bristol has been one of the chief towns of England. In Wesley's day it was at its peak, second only in importance to London. To quote *The General Gazetteer: Or, Compendious Geographical Dictionary*. . . By R. Brookes, M.D. (6th edition, 1786, the 1st being published in 1762) :—

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It is now accounted the second town or city in England, both with regard to its magnitude, riches and trade. It has eighteen churches, and several meetings for Protestant Dissenters, among which the Quakers are a large body. . . . They have an exchange like that of London, which was opened in September 1743. . . . They have a prodigious trade: for it is reckoned they send 2000 ships yearly to several parts of the world. . . . The number of houses are computed at 6082, and the inhabitants at 43,483. . .

Other details can be found in the series of articles on *Early Methodism in Bristol* by W. A. Goss in *Proceedings*, xix, especially pages 30-4. Once Bristol's great importance as a strategic centre is understood, one no longer wonders at the immense amount of time and energy that were expended by the Wesleys in reviving the religious life of the neighbourhood. Nor is it to be wondered at that the printers and booksellers employed in Bristol by John Wesley are exceeded only by those of London in number and importance. As far as the actual number of men employed is concerned, Bristol ranks about equal with Dublin, which had practically the monopoly of printing for the very lively Methodist societies in Ireland, George Harrison of Cork and James Magee of Belfast being the only Irish printers outside Dublin employed to any extent by Wesley. When one considers the number of books and pamphlets printed and sold, however, Bristol has an overwhelming superiority even to Dublin.

THE NEW ROOM IN THE HORSE-FAIR

From the very beginning of Methodism in Bristol there was also a Methodist Book-Room. Although the claim of the "New Room in the Horse-Fair" to be the first Methodist Chapel erected has been disputed on the grounds that it was not originally intended for a "Chapel" but for a "Society-Room," it seems very probable that it can claim to be the first Methodist Book-Room, antedating the one at the Foundery by at any rate a few months.

The first *Extract of the Rev. Mr. John Wesley's Journal* (Green No. 13) bears the imprint

Bristol: Printed by S. and F. Farley. and sold at the New Schoolhouse in the Horse-Fair; and by the Booksellers in Town and Country.

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This appears to be the first recorded mention of a Methodist Book-Room. Unfortunately the first edition is not dated, and the Rev. Richard Green's suggested dates must be set on one side. He assigned the pamphlet to either 1738 or 1739, on the grounds that the last paragraph in it was written in February 1738, and that the second Journal Extract appeared in 1740. Since the site of the "New School-House in the Horse-Fair" was not purchased until May 9th, 1739, however, we must definitely rule out 1738 as a possible date of publication. It seems also possible that we must rule out 1739, for in the undated preface to this first Journal Extract Wesley says that he would not have published it

"had not Captain Williams's Affidavit, publish'd as soon as he had left England, laid an Obligation upon me, to do what in me lies, in Obedience to that Command of God. . .&c."

From this it is obvious that Wesley's first Journal Extract could not have been published before Williams' Affidavit was sworn and published. On this matter, however, the notes in Vol. 1 of the *Standard Journal* are very obscure. The note on page 85 reads, "Captain Williams's affidavit was sworn before the Mayor of Bristol, the 14th day of March, 1740, the Mayor signing himself "Stephen Clutterbuck," while the note on page 87 says that "Williams's affidavit was dated May 14, 1739!" If the first be right the Journal Extract cannot have been published before the middle of 1740, but if the second is correct it *may* have been published in the latter half of 1739. The date of Williams' Affidavit obviously needs further investigation.

At any rate, in either 1739 or 1740 the New Room at Bristol began to be used as the first Methodist Book-Depot, a function which to a limited extent it still fulfils. It was advertised as one of the chief centres for the sale of Methodist publications in many imprints, under various titles, "the Schoolroom in the Horse-Fair," "the New School in the Horse-Fair," "the New School," "the School-Room," "in the Horse Fair," and (the two latest used titles, which have clung to it the longest) "the New Room in the Horse Fair" and "the New-Room, Bristol."

The last such imprint so far noted is for the year 1765. It is on the "Short Greek Grammar" (Green No. 233.). By that time the Foundery, whose first pamphlet for sale appears to have been the second Journal Extract, had far outstripped the pioneer. Fashion was dictating that the imprints on books should be shorter, and should omit the names of all places where a book

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was merely sold, except in special cases, so that the New Room ceased to be advertised as a Book Depot. The sale of books on the premises continued, however, and the New Room was included among the many other Methodist book agencies denoted by the frequently-recurring phrase "the Rev. Mr. Wesley's Preaching-Houses in Town and Country."

BONNER & MIDDLETON.

Wesley's connection with the printing firm of Bonner & Middleton was brief but interesting. Very little seems to be known about either of the partners, but they appear to have been connected with the well-known Farleys of Bristol. The *Dictionary of Booksellers and Printers* mentions that there was a bookseller and printer in Castle Street, Bristol, called S. Bonner. Hyett and Bazeley's *Bibliographer's Manual of Gloucestershire Literature* gives a few more details, but has nothing to say about Middleton. But a Richard Middleton, living in Bristol in 1746, is mentioned by a correspondent in *Notes and Queries*, 2nd Series, Vol. 1, page 304. Further information can be gleaned from an article in the *Bristol Times & Mirror* for April 22nd, 1911, C. Wells' *History of the Bristol Times and Mirror*, and from the various Poll-Books, Directories, and newspapers preserved in the Bristol Central Library.

Sketchley's *Bristol Directory* for 1775 has the entry "Bonner and Middleton, printers, 37, Castle-street." and Bailey's *Western and Midland Directory* of 1783 has "Bonner & Middleton, Printers, Castle-Green." *The Bristol and Bath Directory* of 1787 gives "Bonner, Samuel, Printer of the *Bristol Journal*, Castle-Green," and also "Middleton, Richard, Printer, Castle Green." In *The New Bristol Directory, for the Year 1792* is also found the entry "Bonner and Middleton, Printers, Castle-green." After this date there is no further mention in the directories, of Middleton. Matthews *Bristol Directory* for 1794 gives "Samuel Bonner, Printer of the *Bristol Journal*, Castle-Green," and Bonner's name, and that of "Bonner, Samuel, jun. Printer, Somerset-square," continue to appear in directories to the end of the century. The writer of the article in the *Bristol Times and Mirror* states that Middleton retired from the firm in 1783, but this seems to be disproved by the extracts quoted above. The same writer says that Bonner continued in the business until April 17th, 1802, when he sold it.

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When Samuel Farley drew up his will on September 7th, 1753, after his brother Felix' death, the witnesses were Mark Staines, tobacconist; Joseph Fry, apothecary; and Samuel Bonner. The first two at any rate, and possibly Bonner also, were Quakers. It is suggested that Bonner was probably Samuel Farley's foreman printer. This appears the more likely as Samuel's niece Sarah Farley, who continued her uncle's newspaper, undoubtedly employed as her foreman printer the same Samuel Bonner who with Richard Middleton was later to found "*Bonner and Middleton's Bristol Journal*, which on 14th April, 1804, became *The Mirror: late Bonner and Middleton's Journal*. Sarah Farley died on July 12, 1774, and about a month later appeared the first number of the paper. The heading of one of its early numbers may prove of interest:—

Bonner and Middleton's Bristol Journal. Published at their Printing Office in Castle-Street; where Advertisements are taken in. . . [also sold by] Mr. Thorn, Printer, in Exon. . . Mr. Frederick, Bookseller, and Mr. Gye, Printer, in Bath; . . Mr. Raikes, Printer, in Gloucester; (at all which Places the Paper may be seen every Week); and by the Men who disperse the Papers in the Country. Vol. 1. Saturday, October 1. 1774. No. 8.

(The "Mr. Raikes" mentioned is, of course, the well-known Robert Raikes who was at that very time beginning his experiments in Sunday School work.)

In 1775, therefore, it was to a fairly new firm, but to one which had definite links with his former printers, the Farleys, that Wesley entrusted the printing of one of the most important and well-known of his pamphlets, *A Calm Address to our American Colonies* (Green No. 305). Within a few months, by means of pamphlets and newspaper reprints, up to 100,000 copies of this proclamation, based on Dr. Johnson's *Taxation no Tyranny*, had been circulated. It called forth a host of answers and rebukes, raising quite a storm of controversy in Bristol.

It may be wondered why the printing of this pamphlet was not entrusted to William Pine, who was at this time Wesley's chief Bristol printer. The reason is not far to seek, for Pine was, at any rate at first, a red-hot partisan of the colonists, and directly opposed to Wesley's views. So much was this so that on July 31st, 1775, Wesley wrote to his brother Charles advising him to warn Pine once more, and then, if he persisted in his views, to

make him leave the Methodists, either quietly or after public denouncement (see *Standard Journal* vi: 72). The *Journal* note adds "Henceforth the connection ceased," which is hardly accurate, since Pine's name continues to crop up both in Wesley's diary and in the imprints to many of his publications. It seems pretty clear, however, that in the early months of 1775 Wesley felt aggrieved at Pine's political attitude, and therefore did not entrust this important publication to him—or possibly Pine himself refused to undertake it. Later in the same year, however, Pine must have reconsidered his position, for he published "A new edition corrected and enlarged" of this same pamphlet. Had it not been for this reconciliation it is very likely that more of Wesley's publication would have been entrusted to the firm of Bonner and Middleton. As it is, with this solitary but interesting example the connection ceases.

P. BROWN

In the "Proposal For Printing by Subscription, Three Volumes of Sermons, By John Wesley, M.A.," dated "September 9, 1745." (See *Proceedings* xxii, 64), one of the booksellers who is prepared to take in subscriptions is "P. Brown, in Christmas-Street." The *Dictionary of Booksellers and Printers* omits this name, though mentioning an A. Brown, a bookseller in business in Bristol from 1732-76. Nor is P. Brown mentioned in Hyett and Bazeley's *Bibliographer's Manual of Gloucestershire Literature*. The *Catalogue of the Gloucestershire Collection*, however, (a piece of fine scholarship by a contributor to the *Proceedings*, Roland Austin) has one or two references proving that there really was a P. Brown selling books in Bristol at this time, associated, moreover, with the Farleys and Wilson, whose names also occur in Wesley's Sermon Proposals. The entry No. 5707 reads:—

An answer to the observations on a sermon preach'd before the Corporation of Bristoll . . . By Alex. Stopford Catcott . . . By the author of the sermon: Bristol: printed and sold by Sam and Felix Farley; sold also by W. Cossley, M. Lewis, J. Wilson and P. Brown in Bristoll and R. Raikes in Gloucester. 1737.

Entry No. 13936 shows that Whitefield's *Discourses*, together with the *Oxford Methodists* (see Green's *Anti-Methodist Publications*, No. 1), was also "Sold by P. Browne, in Bristol, Mess. Harris in Gloucester. 1738." In all probability "*The West Country*

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Farmer. . . 1782 which the *Dictionary of Printers and Booksellers* mentions as "Sold by Mr. Brown in Bristol" was also published by this same P. Brown.

There are no Directories of Poll-Books of early enough date to give direct information about Brown's business, but Poll-Books for 1754, 1774, 1781, and 1784 show that there was a bookseller called Abraham Brown who was a freeholder, from 1754-81 in St. James' Parish, and in 1784 in St. Ewen's Parish. (This is undoubtedly the A. Brown whose existence is mentioned by the *Dictionary of Booksellers and Printers*). Sketchley's *Bristol Directory* for 1775 shows that this same Abraham Brown lived in Christmas Street, which almost certainly identifies him as a successor and relative of the P. Brown of Wesley's advertisement. The entry reads "Brown Abraham, bookseller, 32 Christmas-Street." His subsequent change of parishes is confirmed by the Directories, Bailey's *Western and Midland Directory* for 1783 mentioning "Brown Bookseller Exchange," and *The Bristol Directory*, 1785 "Brown Abraham, Kingsdown-Parade." The later Directory also mentions "Brown Henry, bookseller, Christmas-Street." Henry Brown also moved away from Christmas Street, which was not a particularly fashionable quarter, being a short curved street connecting Broad Street with the historic Christmas Steps. In 1787 *The Bristol and Bath Directory* gives "Brown, Henry, bookseller and Stationer, Quay-street," and his name also appears in *The New Bristol Directory*, 1792, as Brown Henry Stationer Quay-street." In the 1794 and subsequent Directories the name Brown does not occur, nor is there any bookseller recorded among the score of householders in Christmas Street.

To sum up, the P. Brown who sold books for Wesley had apparently been in business for some time, at 32 Christmas Street. At his small shop various theological publications were sold, including some of the earliest tracts written in support of Methodism. So far as is at present known, however, P. Brown's name does not occur in the actual imprint of any of Wesley's works. His business was apparently taken over by Abraham Brown at some time between 1745 and 1754, and in the 1780's Abraham Brown seems to have started a more ambitious bookshop, leaving the Christmas Street shop to a Henry Brown, who later removed to Quay Street.

BULGIN & ROSSER.

The Conference of 1786 took place at Bristol. Previously William Pine had printed the Minutes of Bristol Conferences,

but in 1783 Pine, together with others, had been estranged from Wesley over the setting up of a new Trust for the New Room, so that Wesley had to find another printer. He turned to the recently started firm of Bulgin and Rosser. The 1786 Minutes (Green No. 388) to which is appended an important pronouncement called "Of Separation from the Church," was issued with the following title-page:—

Minutes of some Late Conversations between the Rev. Messrs. Wesley and Others. Bristol: Printed by Bulgin and Rosser, No. 15, Broad-Street. 1786.
(Osborn's *Wesleyan Bibliography* has "Bulgin and Roper," probably from a misreading of the old-fashioned long s's).

William Bulgin was the chief partner in this firm, and the one of most interest to Methodists. He was a trustee of the Old Room at Bristol, and his wife Sarah was the subject of one of the early Methodist biographies. In the *Arminian Magazine* for 1787 appeared "An Extract of the Experience and happy Death of Mrs. Sarah Bulgin." This shows her to have been 29 when she died. She had received great help from conversations with various preachers, especially with Thomas Rankin. For Sarah Bulgin in her illness Charles Wesley wrote the hymn which is included in the *Poetical Works*, Vol. 13, pp. 269-70, and about her John Wesley said in his *Journal* for March 14th, 1787, "that blessed saint, Sarah Bulgin, went to rest in the full triumph of faith." On the following Sunday Wesley's diary records "8 at brother Bulgin's, conversed; 9-30 read prayers, Pet. 1, 24, prayed Sister Bulgin's; 11-30 communion." A comparison with the *Journal* suggests that this reference to "Sister Bulgin" is to the funeral sermon which he preached about her. From this time there are many references in Wesley's diary to visits to "Brother Bulgin's," usually for supper, and occasionally "on business."

William Bulgin's connection with the Methodists continued after Wesley's death. According to *Bristol Bibliography* (edited by E. R. Norris Matthews), p. 392, an *Authentic narrative of the circumstances relative to the departure of John Wesley*, by Elizabeth Ritchie, was published by "Bulgin and Rosser: Bristol, 1791." Pamphlets defending Methodism from various printed attacks were also published by the same firm, including those mentioned in Green's *Anti-Methodist Publications* under the entries 562, 570 (see also *Proceedings* xii, 169), and 571. Whitehead's *Life of Wesley*, published in 1793, was also advertised as sold by "W. Bulgin, Bristol."

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From apparently small beginnings William Bulgin had risen until he was linked up with practically every aspect of the book-trade. In the 1781 Poll-Books he appears in St. Ewen's Parish simply as "Bulgin William, bookseller," but he was not sufficiently important for his name to appear in Bailey's *Western and Midland Directory* for 1783, which is, however, by no means exhaustive. In the *Bristol Directory* for 1785 he is described as "Bulgin Wm. bookseller, stationer, and bookbinder, Broad-st." Soon afterwards he went into partnership with Robert Rosser, who apparently supplied the knowledge of the printing side of the business, so that in *The Bristol and Bath Directory* for 1787 appears the following:—

Bulgin, William, *Stationer and Book Binder*, Broad-Street,
Bulgin and Rosser, Letter and Copper-plate printers, Broad-
street.

On March 1st, 1790 the firm ventured to start a newspaper, *The Bristol Mercury, and Universal Advertiser*, and by 1792 an extra branch had been opened in Wine Street, so that the 1795 Directory reads:—

Bulgin and Sheppard, *Booksellers and Stationers*, Wine Street.
Bulgin and Rosser, Printers of the *Bristol Mercury*, Broad-
street. Bulgin, Mr. William, Duke-street.

The Sheppard mentioned seems to have been picked up for a time as partner by Bulgin, but dropped again a few years later.

According to Timperley's Dictionary of Printers and Printing, page 812, Robert Rosser, about whom very little is known, died in July 1802. He had left his partner a year or two earlier, however, as in 1799 and 1800 the directories give "Bulgin, William Printer of the *Bristol Mercury*, Broad street," whilst there was also a firm of "Rosser and Moore" in existence "Near the Exchange" in 1801. William Bulgin was thus left in complete control of the two businesses which he had started, the bookselling business at 3 Wine Street, and the printing at 34 Broad Street, so that he could issue publications such as the sermon No. 5714 in the *Catalogue of the Gloucestershire Collection*, with his own imprint—"Bristol: printed and sold by W. Bulgin, 3, Wine street." Hyett and Bazeley's *Bibliographer's Manual of Gloucestershire Literature* gives very incomplete details about the firm of Bulgin and Rosser, stating that it was active from about 1788 until 1798, and that William Bulgin was in business by himself in Wine Street in 1802, at 34 Broad Street in 1804, and at 28 Corn Street

from 1809 until 1825. Mr. Roland Austin's *Catalogue of the Gloucestershire Collection* gives William Bulgin as being a bookseller and printer from 1789 until 1829. We assume that his death occurred about that year.

(To be continued).

FRANK BAKER.

JAMES THWAITE (OR THWAYTE).

Along with the autograph letters of Charles Wesley at Richmond, there is another manuscript, written in a different hand. It is an account of James Thwaite, or Thwayte, who was for a time one of Wesley's Preachers. There is no evidence of its date, except that it refers to an event in June, 1803, nor any sign of its author. It belongs to the Jackson papers, and it reads as if it might be an article written for the *Magazine*, of which he was editor for many years. Was it published in the *Magazine*? It might have been written by William Myles, who is named near its end. Myles entered the ranks of the Preachers in 1777 and died in 1828. From references to him in the *Standard Journal and Letters*, it is plain that Wesley thought highly of him. He wrote a *Chronological History of the People called Methodists*.

The story of Erasmus, the Greek Bishop, whose see was at Arcadia in Crete, can be gathered from the *Standard Letters*, iv. pp. 287-291 (under January 11, 1765 onwards). John Wesley befriended him when he found him almost destitute in London. Without Wesley's knowledge no less than twelve of the Methodist Preachers secured ordination from this Bishop. The handful of Evangelical clergy who supported Wesley took alarm, and not least his brother Charles. Wesley held a small 'conference' of available Preachers, which decided that none of the last six of the newly ordained Preachers should be either 'owned as clergymen,' or 'received as preachers,' or even remain 'members of the Society.' The reasons given were that they had 'bought an ordination in an *un-known tongue*.' They seem to have paid the Bishop five guineas each and, as he knew no English, to have been ordained in a 'tongue' that they did not understand. In a month they asked to be allowed to become local preachers, and Wesley bade them wait awhile. The first name among the six is James Thwayte's. The following document shows that he was

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not content with this piece of advice. In Wesley's Journal there is a reference to Thwayte's wife Ann, under the date Nov. 26, 1778,—“I fulfilled the dying request of Ann Thwayte by burying her remains, and preaching her funeral sermon. In all the changes of those about her, she stood stead-fast, doing and suffering the will of God. She was a woman of faith and prayer; in life and death adorning the doctrine of God her Saviour.” The Jackson document follows, the original spelling and punctuation being retained:

COPY.

James Thwaite was born August 1.1733. In () in Yorkshire. His Parents were Quakers, He had serious impressions in his youth but they soon wore off, as he was of a very witty volatile disposition; in which he frequently indulged himself.

In the twenty first year of his age he became acquainted with the methodists, and joined the society. Soon after he came London, and married a very religious young woman who was a blessing to him while she lived. He in this great City opened his house and heart to the servants of God, there was also prayer meeting kept at his house every evening after Preaching which was attended with great Blessing, both he and his wife exercised at such times. It was customary for those who were in distress to go to his house that they may be assisted by the prayers of the faithful, and many in such circumstances experienced the pardoning love of God.

In the year 1758 He began to Preach the Gospel, and frequently took excursions with Mr. Wesley, for some hundreds of miles. He was never stationed as a travelling Preacher on a Circuit, but his business and connexions led him to travel a great deal, and he always preached and met the societies; and his labours were crowned with considerable success. In the year 1761 He visited Hull upon business, while he was at the Inn he saw a mob collecting, and enquiring into the cause, he was informed it was to abuse a methodist Preacher, who was going to preach, he immediately went out in the Street, and expostulated with them, on the impropriety of their intentions and conduct: they seeing him to be a stranger, and thinking that he was a Merchant who was no ways connected with the methodists, they listened to him, dropt their design, suffered the Preacher to preach without the least molestation; and never after acted in the

Town of Hull as they had formerly done. So true is the remark, "How forcible are right words."

In the beginning of the year 1764. He got ordained by *Erasmus* (the Greek Bishop, who visited London a short time before,) and began to administer the Lord's-supper in the Societies, this displeased Mr. Wesley who would not allow it, nor he would not leave it off, so he separated from Mr. Wesley, and built a Chapel for himself, which he called Chappel Court, in the Borough, Southwark.

For some years he had a large congregation, and good was done, he likewise was very prosperous in his business which was now that of a Jeweller and Silversmith, and seemed to bid fair to become a very useful and opulent man. But instead of remembering the rock from whence he was hewn, and the Hole of the pitt from whence he was digged, he grew proud, attended coffee-houses, and porter rooms. He also bought a carriage, and kept his livery servants, bought ships, built houses, and considered himself an opulent London Merchant. But all this pride and vanity his wife always disapproved of, and though he continued to preach, yet he would not listen to her expostulations with him on the impropriety of his conduct. The word of the Lord is sure, "Pride goeth before destruction and a haughty spirit before a fall." So it was with him. He had a side board of plate, which he was robbed of one Sunday in the afternoon, while he was at his Chapel engage'd in public worship, the thieves were never found.

Shortly after some of his vessels were lost at sea, and a man failed £1500 in his debt. In short, he himself failed, not without the imputation of having acted dishonestly towards his creditors. His wife died in the midst of his troubles exceedingly happy in God. She never was elated in her prosperity, nor rode in his carriage.

His congregation dwindled to four persons, and at last to two, and his collections for the support of his Chapel fell down to nine pence, so that of course he gave up preaching.

He also in his prosperity fell into the sin of lewdness with more women than one, He made provision for an only child he had by one of these in his last will, and he acted so cautiously in the business that the fact was not known to his neighbours till this will was read; and yet this daughter was a married woman, and had children when he died. He had a daughter by his wife, a very amiable, accomplished young woman, whom he was very fond of, she fell into a decline, and died, this circumstance added

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to all the others, brought down his proud spirit. Being afflicted with the gout, he gave up all his business, supported himself decently by the rent which he received from his Houses. He also joined the methodist Society in the year 1797 and continued a steady member till his death which happened June the 20th, 1803. At first the methodists were unwilling to receive him into the Society on account of his former conduct, but after a time being convinced of his deep penitence and humbleness of mind, they received him gladly, he frequently exercise'd among them in prayer, spoke in their love-feasts much to the edification of the people; and on account of his deafness always sat in the Pulpit, but he never preached after his return to the methodists.

He was a man of ready wit, of many words, of a clear understanding, and one that had study'd mankind well, he was very wise in making bargains, by which means at one time he accumulated a great degree of wealth. In one year he cleared £4000 pounds. But with all this some discerning religious people said he was a second *Demas*.

His Fall may be dated from the time he resisted Mr. Wesley's authority. He then made a small separation and broke off all connexion with the Society, and being now independant he became an early prey to the enemy of his peace.

But the Lord was gracious to him, he stripped him by degrees of every thing that was an idol to him, he clearly saw and acknowledged the hand of the Lord in his sufferings and humiliations; and he often said he was never so happy in his prosperity as he was in his adversity. Nor was he ever truly comfortable from the time he left the society till his return to it again.

During his last illness he was in a stupor so that he could not converse on any subject, yet whenever Mr. Myles came to visit him which he did every day, he would converse with him on the state of his soul. He died a little after he had been at prayer with him. He was buried the 27th of June 1803 At Chapel Court in his own Vault, Mr. Myles at the time of his interment Preached his Funeral Sermon.

C. RYDER SMITH

ERRATUM

In our March issue, page 111, the date in the inscription on Mr. Lloyd's tomb was erroneously given as 1839 instead of 1838.

WESLEY HISTORICAL SOCIETY

SHEFFIELD CONFERENCE

JULY, 1940

A PUBLIC LECTURE

(Under the auspices of the Wesley Historical Society)

WILL BE DELIVERED IN THE

Scotland Road Methodist Church

On Friday, July 19th

At 7-30 p.m., by

Rev. F. F. BRETHERTON, B.A.

Subject : The Countess of Huntingdon

Chairman : JOHN AUSTEN Esq.

Collection

ANNUAL MEETING OF THE W.H.S.

The Annual Meeting will be held in the above Church on the same day at 6-0 p.m. Tea will be kindly provided for the members at 5-30 p.m. by Mr. and Mrs. John Austen. It is highly desirable that any members who are able to accept the invitation should inform Rev. F. G. Stafford, 118 Upperthorpe, Sheffield 6, two or three days in advance. The Church is near the Victoria Hall.