

CHAPTER XVIII.

Wesley was steadily defending the order he had established and the preachers we have described. In a very able letter to a friend, written April 10th, 1761, he expresses sentiments which are as valid to-day, as then, against high-church claims. Concerning preaching said to be subversive of the order of the church, he says: "This preaching is not subversive of any good order whatever. It is only subversive of that vile abuse of good order of our church, whereby men who neither preach nor live the gospel are suffered publicly to overturn it from the foundation; and in the room of it, to palm upon their congregation a wretched mixture of dead form and maimed morality. What is it that you have deliberately engaged to defend? The constitution of the Church of England. And is not her doctrine a main part of that constitution; a far more essential part thereof than any rule of external order? But have you deliberately engaged to defend her orders to the destruction of her doctrine? Are you a guardian of the external circumstance, when it tends to destroy the substance of her constitution?"

It was objected that "They maintain it lawful for men to preach who are not episcopally ordained! In some circumstances they do; particularly when thousands are rushing into destruction, and those who are ordained, and appointed to watch over them, neither care for nor know how to help them. 'But hereby they contradict the 23rd Article to which they have subscribed!' They subscribed it in the simplicity of their hearts, when they firmly believed none but episcopal ordination to be valid. But Bishop Stillingfleet has since fully convinced them this is an entire mistake."

It was asserted that orders, &c., were "essentially constituent parts of our Establishment." Wesley replies: "We will not quarrel for a word. Perhaps the doors may be essentially constituent parts of a building we call a church. Yet, if it were on fire, we might innocently break them open, or even throw them for a time off the hinges. Now this is really the case. The timber is rotten, yea, the main beams of the house; and they want to place that firm beam, salvation by faith, in the room of salvation by works. A fire is kindled in the church, the house of the living God; the fire of love of the world, ambition,

covetousness, envy, anger, malice, bitter zeal; in one word of ungodliness and unrighteousness. O, who will come and help to quench it? Under disadvantages and discouragements of every kind, a little handful of men have made a beginning; and I trust they will not leave off till the building is saved, or they sink in the ruins of it. 'But they are irregular!' I answer, that is not their choice. They must either preach irregularly or not at all. Is such a circumstance of weight to turn the scale against the substance of the gospel? If it is, if none ought to speak or hear the truth of God, unless in a regular manner, then—to mention but one consequence—there never could have been any reformation from Popery. For here the entire argument for church order would have stood in its full force. Suppose one had asked a German nobleman to hear Martin Luther preach; might not his priest have said—without debating whether he preached the truth or not—'My lord, in every nation there must be some settled order of government, ecclesiastical and civil. There is an ecclesiastical order established in Germany. You were born under this establishment. Your ancestors supported it, and your very rank and station constitute you a formal and ancient guardian of it. How, then, can it consist with the duty arising from all these, to give encouragement, countenance, and support to the principles and practices that are a direct renunciation of the established constitution?' Had the force of this reasoning been allowed, what had become of the Reformation? Yet it was right; though it was a subversion of the whole ecclesiastical constitution with regard to doctrine as well as discipline."*

On April 16th, 1761, the following places appear in the circuit book.

Benroyd, by Thos. Priestley	...	...	10s.
Fewston, by W. Rodd	...	...	14s.
Redshaw, by W. Rodd	...	...	3s.
Top o'th Coal Pits, by Jonathan Catlow			7s.

James Oddie, Thomas Greaves, and Isaac Brown were the travelling preachers in the circuit.

I cannot find any particulars respecting Thomas Greaves, save that he began to travel in 1756, and left the itinerancy in 1766, to be ordained in the Church of England. He must have continued friendly to Methodism, as he assisted Wesley in administering the Sacrament at West Street Chapel, London, on Jan. 22nd of that year.

Isaac Brown was a native of Hawksworth, near Otley, and as thus called early to superintend the round in which he was born,

*Wesley's Works, 13—200.

having begun his career as an itinerant preacher in 1760. After travelling for forty-three years he was, in 1803, forced by increasing infirmities to desist. He settled in Pontefract, where he preached as his strength would allow. He was well known and greatly beloved by Mr. Wesley, who generally spoke of him as "honest Isaac Brown." A childlike innocency appeared in his spirit, and his whole deportment was such as becometh the gospel of Christ. He laboured hard and long for the Lord, and died in peace in the year 1814.

On the 6th of July, 1761, Wesley once more entered the Haworth round. We find him preaching at Otley and carefully examining the society, especially those who professed Christian perfection. He also preached next day at Fewston, near Otley, where he says, "The whole congregation seemed just ripe for receiving all the promises."

Again in a letter from Otley, July 7th, 1761, to Alexander Coates, he defines his teaching on this important doctrine. "The perfection I teach, is perfect love; loving God with all the heart: receiving Christ as prophet, priest, and king, to reign alone over all our thoughts, words, and actions. . . . To say Christ will not reign alone in our hearts, *in this life*, will not enable us to give him *all* our hearts."

The remainder of that July week Wesley spent at Guiseley, Bingley, and Keighley. On Sunday, the 12th, he says, "I had appointed to be at Haworth, but the church would not near contain the people who came from all sides. However, Mr. Grimshaw had provided for this by fixing a scaffold on the outside of one of the windows through which I went after prayers, and the people likewise all went out into the church yard. The afternoon congregation was larger still. What hath God wrought in the midst of these rough mountains!"*

On such occasions as this we may be sure that the old parsonage would be full of guests, and can picture them surrounding the massive oaken table which until recently remained in its large room. Grimshaw was a lover of hospitality, and he had occasionally many visitors in the summer season. When the house was full he would give up his own bed and retire to sleep in the hay loft, without giving his friends the least intimation of his purpose. A friend who often lodged with him, surprised him early one morning, cleaning the boots of his guest, who he supposed was still asleep.

This early riser, on Monday, 13th July, heard a sermon preached by Wesley for his special benefit. Wesley says, "At five I preached on the manner of waiting for 'perfect love,'

* Journal, 3-67.

the rather to satisfy Mr. Grimshaw, whom many have laboured to puzzle and perplex about it. So once more their bad labour was lost, and we were more united both in heart and judgment than ever."

After that sermon Wesley rode to Colne, preached there at noon, and in the evening at five in Padiham, "a place eminent for all wickedness." On the morning of the 14th he preached at Bentley Wood Green, on, "Be ye perfect, as your Father which is in heaven is perfect." He says, "Mr. Grimshaw afterwards told me that this perfection he firmly believed and daily prayed for, namely, the love of God and man producing all those fruits which are described in our Lord's Sermon upon the Mount." About noon Wesley preached at Bacup, then a village in Rossendale. He says, "The new preaching house is large, but not large enough to contain the congregation." The deed of this chapel contains the following curious clauses respecting the doctrine and life of preachers occupying its pulpit:—

"Provided always that such preachers preach no other doctrines, namely, than the great doctrine of universal redemption by Christ, justification by faith alone, conditional perseverance of the saints, and entire sanctification in this life; such doctrine to be preached without a written or printed sermon." It was moreover provided that should Bacup ever be made the head of a circuit, the trustees should "immediately see to uprighteousness, sober life, and conversation of the preacher."*

Other chapels in this part of England contained peculiar clauses in their deeds. The first deed of Denholme Chapel, dated October 26th, 1792, states that the chapel shall be used as a place of public worship of Almighty God, by the Methodist Denomination, who shall teach the doctrines of the Church of England. The land was conveyed by the Rev. Robt. Ogden, Michael Ogden and Edmund Ogden, to John Ogden, Thomas Ogden, Edmund Ogden, Jonas Hey, Thomas Driver (Norbury), Joseph Foster, and Henry Illingworth.

The revival then in progress, as is generally the case, was attended with some wild-fire. Hot-headed men used unscriptural expressions and brought the work of God into contempt. Grimshaw was sorely distressed at the conduct of these imprudent persons; hence the anxiety of Wesley that he should clearly understand his teaching on advanced experimental religion.

Grimshaw, on July 21st, 1761, after apologising for not attending Wesley, who had been itinerating in the West

* M.S. in possession of Mr. Jessop.

Riding, especially about Leeds and Birstall, goes on to say, "The disappointment is more my own loss than yours, for there are several things which have for some time been a matter of so much uneasiness to me, that I thought, could they not at this time be somehow accommodated, I should be obliged to recede from the Connexion, which to do, would have been one of the most disagreeable things in the world to me. I would fain live and die in this happy relation I have for many years borne, and still bear to you.

Two of the most material points were concerning *imputed righteousness*, and *Christian perfection*. But as to the former, what you declared to be your notion of it at Heptonstall, is so near mine, that I am well satisfied. And as to the other, your resolutions in Conference are such, if John Emmet informs me right, as seem to afford me sufficient satisfaction.

There are other matters more, but to me of not equal importance, to which, notwithstanding, I cannot be reconciled; such as asserting,—'a child of God to be again a child of the devil, if he give way to temptation. That he is a child of the devil, who disbelieves the doctrine of sinless perfection. That he is no true Christian, who has not attained to it, &c., &c.' These are assertions very common with some of our preachers, though in my apprehension, too absurd and ridiculous to be regarded, and therefore by no means of equal importance with what is above said; and yet have a tendency, as the effect has already shewn, to distract and divide our societies. You will perhaps say, 'Why do you not admonish them? why did you not endeavour to convince them of the error of such absurd assertions?' In some degree, I have, though perhaps not so fully or freely as I ought, or could have wished to have done; for I feared to be charged by them, perhaps secretly to yourself, with opposing them or their doctrines. These things I mentioned to brother Lee, who declared, and I could not but believe him, that you did, and would utterly reject any such expressions. I am therefore in these respects more easy, and shall, if such occasions require, as I wish they never may, reprove and prevent them with plainness and freedom.

"*Sinless perfection* is a grating term to many of our dear brethren; even to those who are as desirous and solicitous to be truly holy in heart and life, as any, perhaps, of them who affect to speak in this unscriptural way. Should we not discountenance the use of it, and advise its votaries to exchange it for terms less offensive, but sufficiently expressive of true Christian holiness? By this I mean (and why may I not tell you what I mean?) all that holiness of heart and life,

which is, *literally, plainly, abundantly*, taught us all over the Bible, and without which no man, however justified through faith in the *righteousness of Christ*, can ever expect to see the Lord. This is that holiness, that Christian perfection, that sanctification, which, without affecting *strange, fulsome, offensive, unscriptural* expressions and representations, I, and I dare say, every true and sincere hearted member in our societies, and, I hope, in all others, ardently desire and strenuously labour to attain. This is attainable; for this, therefore, let us contend; to this let us diligently exhort and excite all our brethren daily; and this the more, as we see the day, the happy, the glorious day approaching.* Could any definition of scriptural holiness be plainer or more comprehensive than the above, provided *faith* be added to strenuous labour?

Grimshaw goes on to say, "I have only to add, that I am determined through the help of God, so far as I know or see at present, to continue in close connexion with you, even unto death, and to be as useful as I am able, or is consistent with my *parochial* or other indispensable obligations; chiefly in this round, and at times abroad, to strengthen your hands in the great and glorious work of our Lord, which you have evidently so much at heart, elaborately so much in hand, and in which He, blessed for ever be His name, has so extensively and wonderfully prospered you. I am, dearest sir, your unworthy, but affectionate younger brother,

W. GRIMSHAW."

In the circuit record of October 15th, there are four travelling preachers in the round receiving payment; Thomas Johnson, John Gibbs, Jonathan Catlow, and William Rodd; and also a probationer, George Hudson.

Thomas Johnson was born at Wakefield in the year 1720. He is another instance of a man called remarkably by the Holy Spirit for long-continued, useful service in the church. His mother was left a widow when Thomas was six years old. She was a churchwoman living up to her light, and the testimony he bears to her training and its effects ought to encourage parents of to-day to form godly habits in their children. To do this more extensively would greatly counteract the looseness and indifference which marks the life of our young people. Mr. Johnson says, "I was the youngest of three children, two of us she always took to the church, and to the sacrament, as soon as we were of a proper age. She kept us in the house on a Lord's Day, where we constantly read the chapter

* Myles, 39.

out of which the text was taken, the lessons and psalms for the day, and the *Christian's Pattern* by Thomas à Kempis. We were so accustomed to this method that we had no inclination to spend the Sabbath in any other way. Indeed, her conduct was such towards us that we both feared and loved her."

When eighteen years of age he went to learn the business of a carpenter, and fell into sinful courses of life, but though stung by remorse was held back from the grosser forms of transgression. Ten years later, 1748, the Methodist preachers came to Horbury where he was living, and he went to hear them, and liked what they said, but was much influenced by the hostile attitude of the vicar and curate, and in doubt as to whether he should go near them any more or not.

The next door neighbour, a Methodist woman, was the instrument of Mr. Johnson's conversion. One evening she called at the house and engaged in religious conversation, to which he listened with great interest. Observing this, she said, "Young man, if I am not mistaken, you have had convictions."

"Her words," he says, "went to my heart in such a manner as I had never felt under any sermon. I wished to be alone. As soon as she was gone I retired, and began to ponder on the word *Conviction*. I said to myself, 'Conviction! what can this be? I do not know what conviction means.' However, I thought, it means something very good; something from God. I fell upon my knees before the Lord, and prayed as I had never done before, and desired that he would give me convictions. The Lord regarded my simplicity, and answered my prayer. I saw and I felt myself a hell-deserving sinner. The hair of my head seemed to stand upright through fear; and I felt as if Satan himself was standing behind my back. However, I cried unto the Lord for help, and that distressing temptation was suspended. For several days I longed for the return of the evening, that I might be with the Methodists, in order to have some spiritual assistance. I asked several how long they were under conviction, before they found the peace of God? Some told me a longer, others a shorter space of time. I thought I could never bear my trouble so long; and on the other hand, I thought I was not sufficiently in earnest to find the blessing very soon. But God remembered that I was but dust, for in a few days, as I was passing from our next door neighbour's house, the burden which I felt fell off in a moment, and whether I was in the body, or out of the body, I could scarcely tell. I was as light as a feather. When I heard the preaching now, I found life and immortality were indeed brought to light by the Gospel."

Mr. Johnson became a local preacher, and in 1752 entered the ranks of the Itinerancy, labouring faithfully thirty-two years in various circuits, and thirteen as a supernumerary located at Birstall. In the early part of his ministry he suffered much from cruel and unreasonable men, but he never shrunk from the cross, and went triumphantly to receive the crown on October 18th, 1797, in the 78th year of his age.

John Nelson visited him in his dying moments, and found him triumphing in the God of his salvation. He said, " ' It is finished! It is finished! ' and looking upon us with a heavenly smile, added, ' Christ is precious. He is all in all. There is no other foundation; and I want no other. He is all-sufficient. God over all. I am fixed upon the Rock, the Rock of Ages. ' "

In the lives of the early Methodist preachers, as in this case, it is a notable fact, that despite the widespread corruption and indifference of the time, there were God-fearing men and women to be found in town and village. Bigoted they were in many cases, and persecutors often of the Methodists, until they knew them better, but bringing up their children in some fear of God and practice of righteousness. Such soil was infinitely better prepared for the reception of the truth than a community pervaded by Roman or Ritualist teaching. The country was substantially Protestant and open to Bible truth, enforced by men filled with the Spirit's power and illustrating it by their lives.

Of John Gibbs and George Hudson no record exists; but we know something of William Rodd, and Jonathan Catlow. William Rodd is described as low of stature, but possessed of a great and noble mind, deeply serious, pious, and devoted to God; and remarkably zealous in promoting the present and eternal happiness of men. His conscience was tender in the extreme; and for want of better information, and from a fear of sinfully indulging the flesh, he even denied himself food, in quantity sufficient to support his constitution. This, in the judgment of his friends, shortened his valuable life. Atmore says he departed this life in the sure and steadfast hope of the complete and eternal fruition of God in the year 1760. Myles gives the year 1761. Both must be wrong, as he was in the Haworth round in 1762, the last payment made to him being July 15th.

Jonathan Catlow, the third on the list of preachers for 1761, belonged to a godly family of Methodists. John Catlow, of Scar Top, in the Keighley circuit, was a man of exemplary piety, and a useful class leader and local preacher. Another member of the family, Samuel Catlow, of Twolaws, near Haworth, for nearly sixty years walked humbly with God,

having scarcely ever lost a sense of his acceptance. For more than eight years he was seldom in bed, being the subject of painful affliction; yet he never murmured. He died March 8th, 1826 in his eighty-third year.

Soon after Jonathan Catlow's conversion to God, he was deeply impressed with a conviction that he was called to preach the gospel. He opened his mind to his mother, and, though he was only sixteen years of age, she encouraged him to make a trial. He preached his first sermon in a house called Lough, near the edge of the moor, his auditors being a few old women, and as his mother was the better reader of the two, she gave out his hymns. Jonathan, it was said, had done very well, and from that day he continued in the work.

We find him attending the Conference of 1753 in Leeds, and appointed as one of the four preachers in the Newcastle round. The assistant in this round that year was Christopher Hopper, whom we have already had to notice as one of Wesley's most notable preachers. Catlow was afterwards stationed in Ireland, where he married. He narrowly escaped being taken for a soldier by a press-gang on the vessel in which he returned to England. Jonathan Catlow was blessed with a considerable degree of heavenly wisdom, and fervent zeal for the honour of God and the salvation of souls. He had to share the common lot of early Methodist preachers. In one place where he had been preaching, the mob contrived to dig a deep pit in the middle of the road on which he had to return home. They had filled the pit with water, with the intention that he should tumble into it. When he came near the place he perceived their design and quietly turned aside, thus escaping the danger. The foremost of the mob, supposing Mr. Catlow had fallen into the pit, came rushing forward and fell in themselves; and their fellows, before they were aware of their mistake, shared in their fate and folly, while the object of their malevolence quietly proceeded home.*

Catlow was in the Haworth round in 1761. In the year following he left the ranks, on account of some difference with Wesley on the subject of sin in believers. He took up his abode in Keighley, just at a time when the town was visited with a malignant fever, of which many of the inhabitants died. Being invited to attend the funeral of one of them, and it being the custom to carry the corpse to the grave by hand, he carried at the head, and used his pocket handkerchief to take hold of the handle of the coffin. When the corpse was set down, he wiped his face with the handkerchief. It is supposed that by

* Atmore Memorial, etc.

this means he caught the fever. After suffering much he died exceedingly happy, in the flower of his age, about the year 1763. He desired the well-known hymn to be sung at his funeral:—

Jesu, Thy blood and righteousness
My beauty are, my glorious dress;
Midst flaming worlds, in these arrayed,
With joy shall I lift up my head.

He likewise requested a sermon to be preached at his funeral from I. John iii., 2. It is worthy of remark that in connection with the event such a revival of the work of God took place in the town and neighbourhood as had never been known before.

His nephew, the Rev. Jonathan Edmondson, says—"My uncle lived and died a holy man." He was remarkable for preaching in his sleep, some particulars of which Mr. Wesley has given in his journal. His widow, Maria Catlow, lived at the preacher's house, and entertained the preachers on their visits to the Keighley society, and her name frequently appears in the accounts for payments for food, washing, &c. She was married a second time, in 1780, to John Clark Gardiner, and died 1816, aged 80 years.

I introduce another unpublished letter of John Nelson, which reveals the influence upon his mind of the reported high church views expressed by Charles Wesley:—

"To the Rev. Mr. Charles Wesley, at the New Room, in the Horse Fair, Bristol, 8.

Clayworth, Oct. 31st, 1761.

Dear Sir,

This is with my best love to you and earnest prayers for you and yours, and all the Church of God in that place. I received your letter a long time after the date of it, wherein you ask if I have forgot you. I answer, No. I do not know that there hath one day passed since I left Bristol but you have been brought to my mind when I bow my knees before the Lord to pray in private. But I omitted writing to you when I was about to write, through Mr. Venn sending a letter from London, in a triumphant manner, that Mr. Walker had converted you to his notions, and that you was contradicting what you and your brother, and all of us, had been preaching for two and twenty years. It put a stop to me, though in my heart I did not believe him, for men of his principles will do all they can to keep people from perfecting holiness in the fear of God. But God will work in spite of all His opposers, and I think I never saw a greater work than we had in York round last year.

There was four in and near Thirsk that died as great witnesses that Christ had saved them to the utmost as ever I saw, or ever read of; and in three months we had three score and seven professed to have received forgiveness of sins, and twelve that professed to receive the full liberty of the sons of God; and upward of a hundred joined in the round in the same time. Not unto us, not unto us, but unto Christ be all the glory given.

“ I was in hopes to have seen you at London and to have told you of these things. When I was last near Hulton Ridley, in York round, there came an old man into the house where I was, with hair as white as wool. He pulled off his hat, kneeled down on the floor, and lifted up his hands and said, ‘ O God I bless Thee; I praise, I desire to give thanks unto Thee with my whole heart for sending Thy servants to this place to preach the gospel. But above all for sending Thy Son to save such a poor hell-deserving sinner as me. O Lord, I have provoked Thee to Thy face for fourscore and four years, and after all I had done to damn my soul by infecting them with cursing and swearing, by drunkenness and Sabbath-breaking, Thou hast blotted out all my sins with the blood of Thy dear Son.’

“ I think it would have made the hardest heart in the world to melt to hear him, and to see the tears drop off his chin to the ground, that made marks on the floor as big as a shilling. After he got up he told that the first time he heard he was pierced to the heart, and that hour he received power over drunkenness and swearing, and all outward sin. But he never had assurance that God for Christ’s sake had forgiven his sins till Sunday noon preaching at Richard Dobson’s; but now he was as sure it was so as that he had ever sinned against the Lord.

“ The same day a girl of eleven years talked with me and gave as clear account of God convicting and converting her soul as any woman could do. Indeed I found it good for my soul to be in that round, and God was good to me in supporting my body, for I was not hindered by affliction from preaching once in the whole year, and I bless His holy name that I find Him present in this round, for several professes to have found pardon since we came from the Conference; and in Epworth God is both deepening His work in the souls of them that have been from the beginning, and widening His work by increasing the number of believers. On Sunday three weeks, one that had been joined 16 years received a clear sense of pardon, that used to say she was like Gideon’s fleece, always dry when the whole floor was watered. But, she said, ‘ I have not waited in vain, for God hath poured His Spirit into my

heart like a well of water. O that I may praise Him to all eternity.' A young man belonging to Epworth died last Saturday in full triumph; he had professed faith two years. He had always attended class and band; his name was Michael Sutton. Sunday before he died he declared that the Lord had finished His work, and that there was nothing between God and his soul. He believed that that promise in our Lord's sermon belonged to him, for he said the Lord had appeared the second time, and had broke in upon his soul in such a manner that his tongue could not express, but he was sure that by His blood and His Spirit his heart was made clean, and he should see the King in His beauty, and sing praises to the great Three-one for ever and ever. Sister Smith and Sister Scasons was with him when he died. A few minutes before he expired he took Sister Smith by the hand and said, 'Help me to pray and to praise.' She kneeled down and besought the Lord to receive his soul, and he said, 'Amen, amen,' and sweetly fell asleep in the arms of God. There is two more dead at Amcoats, near Crool, since I came into the round, David Hill and Thomas Belton, and they finished their course with joy, and their deaths hath stirred up many to hear the word that would not hear before. My wife joins with me in love to you and yours, and all friends at Bristol; she is at Epworth. Mr. Hulton and Mrs. Hulton, and Brother and Sister Smith, joins in love to you, and would be glad to see you once more in the land of the living; and I desire you to give my kind love to friend Viget and all his father's family; they are often brought to my mind at the throne of grace; and I beg an interest in all your prayers, and all the church to pray for me as I do for you all, and I should be glad to hear from you. I shall but stay two weeks at Epworth, and then go to Grimsby and stay till Christmas. This from your unworthy Brother in Christ, and as a son to serve in the gospel.

I pray you tell our son we give our blessing to him, and love to all at Kingswood, and tell them we are all well. I should be glad to hear how Sister Jones and Brother Gee finished their course. May God bless you and yours. Amen.

JOHN NELSON."

January 14th, 1762, Bacup and Miller Barn contribute £1 1s. 6d. by Wm. Rodd. Oulerton 12s. by Wm. Rodd. To Mr. Rodd £1 10s. is given toward paying for a horse. Alex. Coates again appears as one of the round preachers; and Richard Henderson, who that year began to travel, receives 6s.

April 14th, Walton, near Preston, contributes 10s. 6d.; Bishopside, £1 14s. 7d.; Lofthouse, 6s. 10d.; and Hawksworth, 14s. 6d.

October 14th, Fall Barn, 6s., by W. Darney; Booth Fold, 6d., by W. Darney.

The preachers on the round, after the Conference of 1762, were Jeremiah Robertshaw and Wm. Darney.

Of Mr. Robertshaw little is known beyond the fact that he continued in the itinerancy until he was completely worn out in the Master's service, and after many years of great physical suffering died at Bradford, February 7th, 1788.

As we have already traced the earlier part of Darney's career, and shown that as a pioneer in this round he deserves to be known and remembered, despite his eccentricities, we will now give all that can be gathered respecting the future of his life, because no memoir of the man has hitherto been compiled.

When Darney was stationed a second time in the Haworth round, the stipend had somewhat improved, for we find January 16th, 1763, W. Darney, £3 5s., which shows that the yearly income of preachers was then £13. For his horse he received £3 1s 7d. For his journey to London, July 7th, 1763, I presume to attend Conference, £1 15s. 6d.

At the Conference of 1763 Darney and other five preachers were appointed to labour in Cornwall, one of these being Thomas Rankin, from whom we learn what Wesley then thought of Darney:—

“My companions in the west were Messrs. Brammah and Stevens; those in the east were Messrs. Oldham, Darney, and Whitehead, who were truly alive to God, and they were blessed to the people wherever they preached. Brother Darney had preached for years; he had been eccentric in his manner of labouring in the Connexion, and Mr. Wesley, with my brethren, thought I might be able to cure him. For a season he behaved pretty well, and was ready to be advised; but he relapsed into his former conduct, and advanced opinions in public contrary to the Methodist doctrine and discipline; so that we were obliged to call in a young man to labour in his place, and dismiss him from the circuit, and that by Mr. Wesley's express approbation. The greatest hurt he did was in the society at Plymouth Dock, where he nearly divided the people. My other fellow-labourers were steady and alive to God, and much blessed in their labours. The work of God more or less prospered in every society in the county. In two or three months hundreds were added to the societies in the west, and many savingly brought to the knowledge of the Lord Jesus Christ. Many backsliders were restored, and a most wonderful change took place in every parish where the gospel was preached. Most of the country villages were like Eden,

and as the garden of the Lord! It was not uncommon for ten or twenty to find peace with God in one day, or at one sermon or love feast, in many places."

Mr. Rankin evidently found the cure of Darney an impracticable work and appealed to Wesley for help. Writing from London, Nov. 6th, 1764, Wesley says "I shall write to Plymouth Dock this post. I hope John Cattermole (a sound man) will come and help you. I shall either mend William Darney, or end him. He must not go on in this manner."

Cattermole did not come. In a letter to Rankin, Dec. 15th, 1764, Wesley says, "John Cattermole sticks fast at Kingswood and can get no farther. I will send a man down to W. Darney, that is as rough as himself, namely, T. Bryant. But he is much changed for the better, and I think will not now jar with you. You need not, indeed, be very near one another: Cornwall is wide enough. Otherwise let T. Bryant stay in Devonshire and Peter Price move westward. I wish you could conquer J. Paynter, too. And who knows? Love may do the deed."

We have seen from Rankin's narrative that his authority, and Wesley's, in the end prevailed, and Darney was removed to London, where doubtless it was hoped he would be more under control, and might keep to the preaching of the standard doctrines of Methodism.

In private life, at least, he adhered to his opinions. This we gather from the Life of the Rev. J. Valton. Mr. Valton was at that time living in London, and passing through trying exercises of soul. He afterward became a very useful itinerant preacher.

October 18th, 1765. He says, "I heard Mr. Darney at 5. expound the 63rd Psalm. This preacher was a native of Scotland and educated in high Calvinistic opinions. On joining Mr. Wesley he professed a belief in the Methodist doctrines, yet the doctrine of justification as taught by Mr. Wesley he did not believe; and his favourite doctrine of the final and unconditional perseverance of the saints he never renounced. Notwithstanding these opinions, Mr. Darney was a most laborious missionary man for more than 20 years, chiefly in the manufacturing districts and in the North of England. It is true he did not preach these doctrines very openly, but he would do it in conversation with a friend, and in remote corners of the land."

October 21st, 1765. "This evening Wm. Darney drank tea with me at my lodgings, and the conversation proved hurtful to me. I told him that for some time I had been wrestling with God for a clean heart, and for an instantaneous deliverance from inward impurity. To my great surprise and

discouragement he said there was no such thing attainable on earth; that the notion was quite unscriptural; that while we are on earth, we must be growing in grace, and always receiving fresh supplies of strength; and consequently that the notion of an instantaneous deliverance was quite unfounded.

"I retired and wrote as under:—'Then, Lord, if this be true I shall one day fall by the hand of Satan, who is ever following men for destruction. Where, then, is Thy great salvation? Ah! Come death, thou great sanctifier, thou joint saviour with Christ, thou that preparest us for glory, and deliver me from sin! Christ has done His part in the purchase of redemption, and in preparing me for thy finishing hand.' After this discourse I almost despaired of holding out to the end. I would have given a thousand pounds, had I so much money at command, not to have heard it. Otherwise I was blest under Mr. Darney's sermons. I see when we enter the field against the world, the flesh, and the devil, we must hang out the bloody flag—to conquer or die;—no quarter to the old man;—and victory is sure to the persevering soul."

"The Calvinists liked to hear Darney, and gave him the appellation of 'Scotch Will.' Once he was indeed put to confusion in a very remarkable manner, as was related to me by an aged Baptist minister in the North. He preached in a yard, and during his discourse reverted to this favourite subject of perseverance. He declared that the saints could never fall; no, so sure as he stood there, they could never fall. The preacher here augmented the emphasis of his words by a heavy stamp of the foot, when in went the head of a large cask on which he was standing, and along with it the preacher. Being corpulent, his friends had great difficulty in extricating him."*

In the year 1766 Darney travelled in the Yarm circuit; in 1767 in Newcastle; and in 1768 in Derbyshire. Beyond the places of appointment we have no record of those years.

From the History of Methodism in Almondbury, published in 1864, we learn that in 1770 Darney resided at Thong, near Holmfirth.

As a supernumerary he would have a mere pittance to live upon, the Preachers' Fund only allowing about 4s. per week to those recognised. It is not clear whether Darney was in that position, as his name does not appear upon the Minutes after 1768. Probably he and other preachers able to follow some occupation, preferred to take their place among the local preachers, and make a better livelihood by trade than the society's allowance afforded. He might resume his rounds as

* Rev. Joseph Sutcliffe, M.A., 1830.

a pedlar, at the same time preaching the gospel; and we infer that he did so, or he could never have found his way weekly to Almondbury, near Huddersfield, which, in 1770, he was accustomed to do.

At first he found seven members in society; they increased, however, in one month to thirty-two; and this rapid accession seems to have infuriated the enemies of Methodism in the place, and raised up violent persecution. To this the rabble were incited by their clergyman, Mr. Amstead, who had often told them from the pulpit that he was quite sufficient for the ministerial work in the place, and that they should have no other teacher. A person named John Kaye was then both clerk and deputy constable. He, together with the minister, was greatly enraged against the Methodist preachers. One evening, when Darney had been preaching, the clerk came into the house where he lodged and said that he wished to speak to him. When Darney came out of his room, the clerk seized him, in order to drag him out to the mob that was collected outside the door; but two members of the society, perceiving Darney's danger from the madness of the people if he went outside, got hold of him; and thus, in a violent struggle between friends and foes, Darney's coat was rent; but his friends succeeded in rescuing him from the mob for that time.

The week following Darney visited Almondbury again, and the people peaceably assembled to worship God in the house of Squire Studdurth, licensed for the purpose; but very soon after the service had commenced, a mob gathered about the house. He had taken his text from II. Thes. i., 7-10, "And to you who are troubled rest with us, when the Lord Jesus shall be revealed from heaven with His mighty angels, in flaming fire taking vengeance on them that know not God, &c.," and while he was exhorting the persecuted followers of the Lord Jesus Christ to take courage, the clerk came in, followed by the enraged people, and, holding his constable's staff in his hand, said, "I charge thee in the name of King George to come down." Darney immediately replied, "I charge thee in the name of the King of Kings that thou let me go on with my sermon." To this the clerk made no other reply than, "Pull him down." The mob forthwith seized Darney, tore his venerable white locks, and he fell heavily on the ground, much injured; for he was a very corpulent man. His friends rallied round him, and, with great difficulty, led him to his chamber, where they hoped he would be safe from further violence; but notwithstanding all their efforts, the mob followed him there, and dragged him into the street. There they threw him down, fell upon him, and kicked him most unmercifully with their iron-

shod clogs. They then forced him down the street as far as the vicarage, and there again threw him down, and used him in the most barbarous manner, until it was feared that his life would be sacrificed to their rage. He, however, at length escaped to his lodgings, though much injured.

To these barbarities the Almondbury Methodists would have tamely submitted, had not their friends from Tong come over and insisted on the propriety of seeking protection from the law. The poor persecuted Methodists, with their all-but-martyred preacher, applied to the Rev. Mr. Nauch, vicar of Sandal and Justice of the Peace. Before they arrived at Sandal, they were informed that letters had been sent by the clergyman of Almondbury against them, evidently intended to prejudice the magistrate.

On the day appointed by the magistrates, the clerk, with his accomplices, arrived, bringing as a vindication of their conduct and that of the lawless mob, the notorious Five Mile Act, passed in the reign of King Charles II. The justice, to his honour asked Kaye why he had brought that Act to him? "That Act," said he, sternly, "is for thee and thy mob; and as Mr. Darney is a licensed preacher, and was preaching in a licensed house, you might as well have pulled me down when preaching in my own church; and if you do not settle this business before the quarter sessions, both you and all concerned in this brutal affair will be transported." It appears they had gone to Sandal in high spirits, assuring themselves of victory, and had given orders that the bells should commence ringing on their return. They were, however, painfully disappointed, and had to slink into the town in disgrace. The matter was soon after settled between the two parties.

But although the violence of persecution was somewhat abated by these proceedings, the Methodists had still to meet with considerable opposition, for in this year, 1770, the class meeting was held at five o'clock on Sunday morning in order that persecution might be eluded; and the attendance was very regular even at that early hour. One of the members of that class, Abraham Moss, who was a Methodist for seventy years, frequently adverted in his latter days to those days of trial, and his testimony shows how God, as on eagles' wings, supported His triumphant people. "How did we then love each other! How glad we were to see each other! and how happy we were when we met together." The Rev. Robert Roberts, then travelling in the Birstall circuit, visited Almondbury, and was entertained at Abraham's house. The mob surrounded it and did considerable damage by pelting the door, &c., with stones

and mud. Abraham went out and endeavoured to appease the people; but they used him most shamefully, beating him with the bough of a tree besmeared with offensive filth, thus spoiling his new clothes. Meanwhile the preacher fled by the back door, and was invited into the house of a publican, who protected him until he could escape to Huddersfield.

Some idea of the thirst for the word which these early Methodists felt, and the labour they put forth to have it, may be gathered from the fact that, owing to no regular preaching being established for some time at Almondbury, Abraham Moss had to walk to Halifax, Bradford, and Leeds, to hear the Methodist preachers. The nearest places were Tong, Southroyd, and Huddersfield.

We have seen how the Lord made members of Darney's congregations to triumph in persecutions, let us hear his own words on the subject. "I have known, by happy experience, that when I have been in the greatest extremity of sufferings for my dear Lord and Master's sake, when I have been preaching in several places, among the inhabitants of this land, when at times I did not expect to escape with my life, God in rich mercy, and in His great wisdom and mighty power, made always a way for my escape. I say, I have found in the greatest extremity of suffering, always most of God's presence, when the sons of wickedness have been permitted to abuse my body, and tear my clothes in pieces. Yet my soul in the same time was like a watered garden, and I could say experimentally with holy David, 'Thou preparest a table before me in the presence of mine enemies; Thou anointest my head with oil, my cup runneth over.' Psalm xxiii., 5. I have at times tasted of the martyrs' cup, praised be my God Who counted unworthy me worthy of this honour for His name and gospel's sake. There was one time in particular, when the persecutors had taken and tumbled me over head and ears into a nasty hole, full of mire, with my enemies dancing and pushing one another on the top of me. Indeed, I was infinitely more happy in that hole than all my enemies could have been if they had been lying on beds of down, for there my soul did lean on my beloved's breast. I found such a manifestation of God's love as made me that I found not pain, but I experimentally felt something of the heaven of heavens in my soul."*

Having given all that can be compiled respecting this pioneer of Methodism in Yorkshire and Lancashire,—faults and failings, as well as zeal and good works—we must leave him in full hope that at the end his own words would be his experience. "For my own part I believe if I were to die this day,

* Fundamental Doctrines, 196-7.

I should die happy in the Lord Jesus, because He hath given me to know in Whom I have believed (thanks be to His holy name), without doubting for many years past, and I am assured (glory and praise be to God, yea even my God for ever and ever) that He hath sealed unworthy me to the day of eternal redemption. Yet I believe that if I were to live a hundred years longer in this world, I should always stand the same need of Christ to keep and save me every moment, and be my advocate with the Father till He is pleased to take me up into glory with Himself, to enjoy the fulness of His glorious presence for ever in a happy eternity."*

It is not known how long Darney continued to live at Thong; probably only a year or two.

"It is well known that Darney spent several of the later years of his life at Southfield, near Colne, and that he afterwards removed to a cottage at Upper Houses, Barley, and died there in the year 1779, preferring the neighbourhood of Pendle Forest, because it resembled the scenery of his native country, Scotland. The old house is still standing, though unoccupied, surrounded by two or three farmsteads, not far from Windy Harbour, to which, it is said, Darney walked every week for a pound of butter, which would then cost him three pence. He is described as a very feeble, white-haired old Christian. It is probable Darney was buried at New Church in Pendle. In the decline of life he possessed the peace which passeth all understanding. His communion with God was deep, and he died in the unclouded hope of a blessed immortality."†

In this village of Barley the erection of the chapel illustrates the devotion to Methodism on the part of our forefathers, even so lately as the year 1831. There was in the village a general desire to build. How the site was acquired is not related, but permission was obtained to get stone in a quarry at the back of Barley Green. Mr. Robinson Hartley, who in the days of hand loom weaving kept a dandy shop, facilitated the erection of the chapel by stopping the dandy shop on Monday afternoons, and supplying the necessary tools for quarrying. Many of the weavers, and all interested in the building of the chapel, exerted themselves in the conveyance of the stone to the chosen site. A cart was borrowed, and two men, James Heyworth and John Crabtree, alternately did the work of a shaft horse, whilst others pushed behind, and thus the stone was conveyed. Various tenders were presented, but the proposition of one of the people that no tender should be accepted but that all should help to erect the chapel, free of expense,

* Fundamental Doctrines, 168.

† From a newspaper cutting given me by Rev. W. Jessop.

being unanimously agreed to, the chapel was built at a very trifling cost.

In the year 1762 Lady Huntingdon and her circle of ministerial friends appear to have been in very friendly relation with Wesley and his preachers, for on the 9th of August she attended the Conference held in Leeds when Messrs. Romaine, Madan, Venn, and Whitefield, were also present.*

Lady Huntingdon's catholicity, and that of Grimshaw, are seen in the aid they gave to Titus Knight when he left the Methodists and took charge of a Congregational church in Halifax.

When Titus Knight changed his doctrinal views, and set up as an Independent in Halifax, and a chapel had to be built for him, Grimshaw undertook to beg for it. "He was no bigot; he made no distinction of sect or party the measure of his love to Christians. He used to say, 'I love Christians, true Christians, of all parties; I do love them, I will love them, and none shall make me do otherwise.'" He thus writes to Lady Huntingdon, on Nov. 20th, 1762:—

"Madam,—Your last letter has remained a long time unanswered; but I know you will excuse what may appear neglect, when informed I have been about my Master's business. Indeed, I have the pleasure of assuring you that the Lord's work prospers amazingly among us. My exhortations are visibly blessed, and I bless God daily and hourly for it. The societies are everywhere in a good state. The Lord is adding to them many seekers of the blessed Jesus—many lively souls who have come to a sense of the pardoning love of God, and are eagerly hungering and thirsting after your inestimable Redeemer and mine.

"I have had two visits from Mr. Knight. He professed great love and respect for your ladyship, and acknowledges his deep obligations for the light and knowledge you were instrumental in communicating to him. He is actively labouring to rescue sin-slaved souls from the kingdom of darkness, and the Lord has put honour on his testimony, by giving him souls to his ministry. The people among whom he is sowing the seed of the kingdom are poor, their means are very limited, yet the Lord has put it in their hearts to build a house for the preaching of His word. Now I have come to the point—can your ladyship spare a mite to aid these worthy souls? The demands on your generosity I know to be great, and on that account I feel a repugnance at asking, because I am persuaded you would give, even to the gown on your back, if the case required it. Blessed be God, Who has furnished you with means, and with

* L.H., 1-281.

a heart inclined to dispense the unrighteous mammon for the good of others. But you are the Lord's; all you have is His, and bless and praise Him night and day for employing you in His service. May He bless you, sanctify you, and make you abundantly useful in your day and generation! He has raised you up for the accomplishment of a mighty work in the land. I may not live to witness it, but I shall assuredly see some of the triumphs of the cross, the blood-bought slaves, the ransomed captives, rescued from the tyranny and slavery of the great enemy of souls, in the chapels of your ladyship, all arrayed in robes of dazzling white, and washed from every defilement in the fountain opened for sin and uncleanness, praising and blessing Him Who hath made them kings and priests unto God and the Lamb for ever. Yes, when I am before the throne—then I shall see, and hear, and know what you have been made the instrument of accomplishing upon earth; and at last we shall meet as *two poor worthless sinners*, stripped of every fancied good, to bless and praise Him through eternity!

"I hope ere long to see my dear brother Whitefield in his own pulpit again. When will your ladyship revive us with another visit? What blessings did the Lord shower upon us the last time you were here! and how did our hearts burn within us to proclaim His love and grace to perishing sinners! Come and animate us afresh—aid us by your counsels and your prayers—communicate a spark of your glowing zeal, and stir us up to renewed activity in the cause of God. All the dear Apostles go on well—all pray for your dear ladyship, and all long for your coming amongst us again. I have been a long round since you were here, and have seen brothers Ingham, Venn, Conyers, and Bentley, all alive, and preaching Christ crucified with wonderful success, and inexpressible benefit to the souls of many.

"Excuse this long, incoherent scribble, and assure yourself I am your ladyship's very unworthy and unprofitable friend and brother,

WILLIAM GRIMSHAW."

To this appeal Lady Huntingdon responded with her accustomed liberality, and a chapel was built which became the home of the Independent Church in Halifax, now located in the Square.

At the commencement of the great revival Wesley had to contend with Antinomianism, through the false teaching to which the Moravians yielded. Then followed contests with Calvinism, which Whitefield embraced, and dissenters, as well as evangelical clergyman, preached in different parts of England, in its most extreme form.

After that, when the doctrine of Christian perfection began to be earnestly preached by the Methodists, and experienced by believers throughout England and Ireland, the devil drove men into enthusiasm which once more merged in Antinomianism.

Thomas Maxfield, whom we have met as one of Wesley's first lay preachers, and George Bell, a converted Life Guardsman, in the year 1762, became leaders in an enthusiastic movement, which eventually resulted in a great division of the societies in and around London.

They were doubtless, in the early part of their religious life, good men, and professed to have attained to high spiritual experiences. But neglecting the caution not to be high minded, they merged into censoriousness and fanciful teachings of an extreme and antinomian tendency, which extended over the years 1761 and 1762, and ever increased in mischievous effects upon the societies.

Grimshaw, in a letter to Charles Wesley, written only a month before his death, deals very faithfully with the fanaticism that was then discrediting the doctrine of sanctification, and also with Bell's prediction of the end of the world. This hitherto unpublished letter is very characteristic of the straightforward writer, destined so soon to leave this world of toil and strife:—

“Haworth, Mar. 5th, 1763.

Dear Sir,

God bless you and yours and Brother Downs. Who wrote last I know not—you or I—judge as you please—this I know, I love you dearly. And as to the Witnesses of Perfection you ask me three questions.

“1st. What think I of their testimony, that at such a time the root of sin was taken away, and the spirit witnessed, &c. In answer to this I say—they are strangers to their own heart or are deluded by the Devil, or fantastically, if not wilfully, belie the Holy Ghost; and if they repent not, I fear at last the devil will have them.

“2nd. That whereas they affirm that a newly-awakened person may receive the promise of perfection before he has either done or suffered the will of God. I answer to this: they may as well take a shorter cut and affirm that a newly-awakened person may receive the gift of sinless perfection, before he has either done the will of God or suffered it. I ask further of these, where is such a thing promised in all the book of God?

“3rd. *Crede, say they, quod habes, et habes.* This I grant in a qualified sense, but not in their's I trow. What our Lord

(Mar. xi.-24) says, I'll swear that whatsoever things ye desire when ye pray, believe that ye have them, &c. But then what is asked must be within compass of his promises, *Non ultra*. But the things they aver or pretend to are *ultra* as I think, and therefore are not to be expected.

"Then you say, 'I shall add no more at present.' But I'll add more at present, and you may add more when you please. Last Monday should have been the Day of Judgment. Therefore to have answered your letter sooner would have been waste labour, time and paper. Something else should be a-doing when the judge is at the door. Besides, the day itself would have revealed the verity or vanity of those perfectionists. But who was mistaken, God or Bell? Just as much truth, I suspect, in all their other reveries. Scriptural or Christian Perfection I allow and avow. Sinless perfection I disclaim. Sinless is not only an unscriptural expression, but I fear, though I will not certainly affirm, has given birth and being to all those extravagant, presumptuous, scandalous and irreligious vagaries among our London brethren. I fear also that some of our own preachers, though honest, good, well-meaning men, have through ignorance of the Holy Scripture, partial quotations of it, self-conceit, and blind zeal, contributed no little to the birth and growth of these extravagances. Where they will end I know not. You said to me two or three years ago, that you feared that the spirit then appearing in them would drive into Ranterism, and so I think it is come to pass. I suppose your good brother has trouble enough to reduce and suppress this wild spirit. It is my comfort to think and assure you that we know little of it in these parts. I hope we never shall. When you write again, and write soon, let me learn more of your sentiments of these witnesses, &c., and I perhaps may also do the same.

"The work of God prospers in these parts. We have took above one hundred of Mr. Ingham's scattered members into society, who behave well, and are very solicitous for the life and power of godliness. I hope we shall pick up many more of them. I rejoice and give God thanks that He hath so renewed your strength, &c.

W. GRIMSHAW."

CHAPTER XIX.

IN the year 1762, the Halifax society appears to have consisted of but thirty-one members, the principal person among them being the talented and influential Titus Knight. His name stood at the head of the trustees for the preaching-house, he was already in fact a star of increasing magnitude, and when he left the connexion, and embraced the Calvinistic belief, he drew many of the congregation, and half of the society, after him. It was a sorrowful time when the remnant met the preacher who next officiated at the preaching-house in Church Lane. At the close of his discourse he requested the members who were still attached to Methodism, to remain a little while longer. After the congregation had departed, the reduced society of sixteen members came into the singers' pew: the preacher, Mr. Wm. Thompson, descended from the pulpit, and they sang, and prayed, and wept. Some were of opinion they had better give up the cause, but the preacher exhorted them to cling to one another, and through God's help they followed his advice, and so weathered the separation; and several who had left the little band afterwards returned to the fold.

It is pleasing to be able to state that Mr. Knight, whilst honest and straight-forward in the search for and exposition of truth, was not narrowed by bigotry. He remained on the most friendly terms with those from whom he had conscientiously seceded, and ever exhibited toward them benevolent and kindly feelings.* We must never think harshly of these seceders. In those days men were thoroughly in earnest in their beliefs, as also in practice, and some of them as sincerely read the Bible in a Calvinistic, as others did in an Arminian sense. Also such was the harassing and excessive fatigue imposed upon the early preachers, that comparatively few could bear up under the load; those who did survive were men of iron constitution. Out of two hundred and eighteen preachers, whom Mr. Myles terms the first race of that order, no less a number than one hundred and thirteen desisted from travelling, and a majority of the rest fell prematurely in the work.†

* Walker's, Halifax, 106.

† Walker's, Halifax, 112.

In the early part of 1763, Haworth was afflicted with a virulent fever, of which many persons died. Grimshaw had a strong presage on his mind that some one of his own family would be added to the number, and he repeatedly exhorted them all to be ready. As for himself, he was not the man to decline calls of duty and affection through apprehension of danger. The fever was highly infectious, and in visiting sick parishioners he caught it. He knew in Whom he believed and felt His support in the trying hour, saying, "Never had I such a visit from God, since I knew Him."

Ingham visited Grimshaw, and in a letter to Lady Huntingdon, gives the following account of his interviews with him:—
 "From the moment he was seized with the fever, he felt the sentence of death in himself. When I first saw him he said, 'My last enemy is come! the signs of death are upon me, but I am not afraid—No! no! blessed be God, my hope is sure, and I am in His hands.' When I was pouring out my soul in prayer to the Lord, I mentioned the further prolongation of his life, that he might have more opportunities of being useful; and when I had concluded he said, 'My dear brother Ingham, if the Lord should raise me up, I think I could do more for His glory than I have hitherto done. Alas! what have my wretched services been? and I have need to cry, at the close of my unprofitable course—God be merciful to me a sinner!' On my next visit I found him much worse, and evidently sinking. I mentioned having received a letter from your Ladyship, and delivered your message. He seemed much affected, but after a few moments recovered a little. When I had prayed with him, he said, 'I harbour no desire of life, my time is come, and I am entirely resigned to God.' Then lifting his hands and eyes to heaven, added, 'Thy will be done! Tell her Ladyship, that dear elect woman, that I thank her from the bottom of my heart for all her kindnesses to me during the years that I have known her. With my dying breath I implore every blessing, temporal and spiritual, to rest upon her. May the God of Abraham, of Isaac, and of Jacob, bless her—bless her body, soul, and spirit. I can never repay the spiritual good I have reaped at her hands. O that she may be eminently useful in her day and generation!' At another time he said, laying his hand upon his breast, 'I am quite exhausted, but I shall soon be at home for ever with the Lord—a poor miserable sinner redeemed by His blood.' Mr. Venn having arrived, I shortly after took my leave, but never after saw my dear brother Grimshaw alive."

A dear old friend, Jeremiah Robertshaw, one of the Methodist preachers on the round, called to see Grimshaw

in his last sickness. When they parted, Grimshaw took hold of his hand and said, "The Lord bless you, Jerry; I will pray for you as long as I live; and if there be such a thing as praying in heaven, I will pray for you there also." At another time he said to his housekeeper, "O Mary, I have suffered last night what the blessed martyrs did: my flesh has been, as it were, roasting before a hot fire. But I have nothing to do but to step out of my bed into heaven; I have my foot upon the threshold already." Being asked by one how he did, he said, "As happy as I can be on earth, and as sure of glory as if I was in it." His last words were in perfect conformity with the spirit of his laborious life, "Here goes an unprofitable servant."

Thus died this eminent servant of the Lord Jesus Christ, on the 7th of April, 1763, in the fifty-first year of his age, and in the twenty-first from his settlement at Haworth, the centre of his wide field of usefulness.

Thos Colbeck wrote a letter to Charles Wesley on May 21st, 1763, describing the circumstances of Grimshaw's death. As this letter has never been published, and is the only fragment extant from the pen of Colbeck, I insert it.*

"Rev. and dear Sir,

I should have answered your letter sooner, but expected to have an opportunity of looking over Mr. Grimshaw's papers; and if I could meet with anything for your purpose, I intended to send you a copy; but I believe Mr. Venn desired to peruse them before he published the sermon; and they are in his hand. Before this time I suppose you have had an opportunity of seeing Mr. Venn's sermon, to which is annexed a short sketch of Grimshaw's life.

"It would be an acceptable service to thousands in these parts, to be favoured with an elegy on the mournful occasion. You cannot exceed the truth in describing the humility, uprightness, unintermitted labours, and universal love of that man of God who is now inheriting the promises.

"Our dear and much regretted friend was divinely persuaded that, as life had not, so neither could the ghastly tyrant separate him from the love of God, which is in Christ Jesus our Lord. His consolations, from almost the moment the fever seized him, were neither few nor small. He frequently expressed himself as if he was as happy as it was possible to be while clothed with mortality, and as fully satisfied that when the silver cord of life should be loosed, an abundant entrance would be ministered to his joyous soul, into

* Methodist Bookroom.

the holiest, through the blood of atonement, as if he had already been an inhabitant of the heavenly Jerusalem.

"The Apothecary, and all who visited Mr. Grimshaw, were not in the least degree apprehensive of any symptoms attending his disorder, which seemed to threaten dissolution; yet he seemed to have some intimation that the Master called for him: for before he was confined to his bed, he gave directions in writing about his funeral; requesting that he might have a poor man's burial-suit, and a poor man's coffin; and that about twenty of his spiritual brethren and nearest relations, might pay their last respects to what of him could die, by attending his corpse to the place of interment.

"He desired that a Methodist preacher at least might be invited to preach upon Phil. i-21., 'For me to live is Christ, and to die is gain;' a scripture which he caused to be engraved upon the candlestick, pulpit, and walls of the church, and which was exemplified in the whole of his ministerial labours, for about twenty years. He did not cease frequently, and oftener than he sat down to his own table, to distribute to famishing souls the bread of life; and truly he was an able scribe, not accustomed to deal in the false commerce of unfelt truths, but ready to bring out of the treasury of a rich experience things new and old. It was the meat and drink of Mr. Grimshaw to labour for God; and he never appeared to be so much in his proper element as when he was about his heavenly Father's business."

The forethought and piety of Grimshaw's funeral arrangements will be appreciated, if we consider what was then the custom at funerals,—and even in comparatively recent times. At the funeral of the Rev. J. Charnock, the second minister of Haworth in succession to Mr. Grimshaw, in 1819, about eighty people were bidden to the arvill, or funeral feast, the cost of which averaged 4s. 6d. per head, a considerable item in those days, all of which was defrayed by the friends of the deceased.

In compliance with his own desire, Grimshaw's remains were taken to Ewood, the farm house, near Hebden Bridge, where his son resided, and from thence they were followed to Luddenden church by great numbers, who, with intermingled sighs and tears, sang, at his dying request, all the way from the house to the church. The Rev. Henry Venn, of Huddersfield, preached his funeral sermon in the church yard at Luddenden, and the next day (Sunday) at Haworth, to a numerous and deeply affected assembly, many of whom came from a great distance to testify their respect and veneration for their departed minister.

"Grimshaw was twice married, and survived his second wife. By the first he had a daughter who died young, and a son who survived him about two years. Young Grimshaw married a worthy woman, but drinking was his besetment. He would say to the horse he rode, which formerly belonged to his father, "Once thou carriest a saint; but now thou carriest a devil." The many prayers offered up for him, however, were not in vain. The Lord gave him true repentance, and just before he died, he exclaimed—"What will my father say when he sees me in heaven?"

"No entry is made in the register of the death of Mr. Grimshaw's daughter. I suppose she was buried at Ludden, where he was buried himself, in consequence of a promise he made to his first wife. But for this promise made to the wife of his youth, it was his wish not to be separated in death from his flock—from the children he had begotten in the Lord, and who were to him more dear than life itself."*

In the Methodist Magazine we have a portrait of Grimshaw which the Rev. R. S. Hardy says is taken from a painting by a village artist, and was still in the possession of the painter's daughter. "It may represent the general outlines of his features, but the vigorous life of the man has created in imagination a bright and beaming presence, radiant with the joy of God which filled his soul, and infused into his daily acts the fire and energy of a seraphic zeal."

Among Charles Wesley's papers in the Book Room is a neatly written document of five pages of deepest interest to those who hold in high regard the apostle of Northern Methodism. The writer was Mrs. Joseph Jones, whose husband travelled in the round in 1753, and her testimony confirms a number of particulars in Grimshaw's life which might otherwise be regarded as local reports somewhat exaggerated. Mrs. Jones says, "I was taken ill at Mr. Grimshaw's house, and confined there for six months, during which time he was more than a father to me. I had then the happiness of seeing the glorious life he lived, showing forth the power and goodness of his Saviour and Master (as he was wont to call Him) Whom he loved, honoured and obeyed, in every action, and in every breath. He would often say, 'I love my God and Saviour, but how shall I love Him enough?' He was so filled with love, that at only mentioning the name of God, he has stood still, when I was walking with him, and not been able to speak for ten minutes together. At last he said, 'What shall I do, what can I do to love and serve my God better?' I have seen him

*Extracts from a letter of Rev. C. Radcliffe to Rev. J. Everett, dated Haworth, December 12th, 1826.

so overpowered with love, that he seemed as though he would have taken wing and fled from the altar to the throne of God. At the sacrament, in singing the psalm or hymn, his voice has been so raised that it seemed more than mortal. In prayer afterwards, he had often these words, 'Lord, we have taken hold of the horns of the altar, and will not let Thee go till thou hast blessed us.' There has scarce been a dry eye among the communicants: whose number was seldom short of a thousand.

His love to man was without bounds, and impartial to Christians of all denominations. He used to say, 'I love my God first and best, but not enough. Next to Him, I love my dear brothers Wesley, with whom I am heartily joined, and hope never to be parted in time or in eternity. Next to them I love my dear brother Whitefield, and next to him all the labourers, and all that love and desire to love the blessed Jesus. And I love mankind as well as them.'

If he had rested a day from his outward labour of preaching, he spent at least six hours of it in private prayer, beside reading, meditating, and other Christian duties. In labours he was most abundant and quite indefatigable. He never preached less than twenty times a week. I have known him to preach twenty-eight times. Once he told me he had preached that week thirty-one times. Indeed his whole life was scarce anything else than preaching, prayer, and praise.

Yet he never exacted his dues of the people, but would often tell them in the church, 'I will never have your curses when I am dead, for what I received from my poor labours among you; for I want nothing more than your souls for God, and a bare maintenance for myself.' This he made appear throughout his life; he wore very mean apparel, and lived upon very coarse food, 'which is more than I deserve,' said he.

'I have often heard him tell his parishioners from the pulpit 'If you will be damned, it shall be long of yourselves, (a real Yorkshire expression), 'for I will be clean of your blood.' He used every means he could to save them from the pit. When he knew any that would not come to church, he would give public notice there, that at such a time he should preach at such a man's house, and when there he would say, 'I know I am not welcome, but I will speak to every one under my care concerning his soul. If you will not come to hear, you shall hear me at home. If you will perish, you shall perish with the sound of the gospel in your ears.' When any such were sick and sent for him, he dealt very faithfully with them and said, 'The hand of God is upon you, and the devil is ready to take you, and hell to swallow you up; and now it is, send for

Grimshaw in all haste!' He has talked thus to the most hardened sinners till their beds have shook under them; and many have been thereby brought to a knowledge of themselves and Christ.

"He told me once, 'I have buried eighteen of my parishioners this year, and I have good reason to believe that sixteen of them are now in the Kingdom of God.' He used all means to make his people keep their church. When the law of God could not prevail he made use of the law of man. While the clerk was singing the last psalm, he often stole out of church and visited the public houses, and drove all he found there to church before him. He informed against the ale-house keepers, and made them pay the fine for drawing beer in time of Divine Service. As many as he found in the church yard, he sent to church in like manner; telling them, 'You came here to go to church and I will make you hear me.' If he saw any that were trifling or sleeping in the time of service, he would shame them before the whole congregation. On sacrament days he continued in the church from nine to five in the afternoon, and would then often go three or four miles to visit the sick, or some new-born infant likely to die; and at night say 'I have done nothing for God to-day.'

"In his family duty he exceeded all I ever saw. He rose at five, began singing, 'Praise God from whom all blessings flow,' spent an hour in private prayer; then called the family, and read the psalms and lessons for the day, sang a hymn and went to prayers. He then took his leave of them, as if he should see them no more, with 'God bless you in your souls and in your bodies, and in all you put your hands to this day, and whether you live or die, the Lord grant you may live or die to Him.' He observed a like form going to bed, which he usually did at eleven.

"In his charity he was so liberal that his friends were afraid he would die in debt. I asked him about it, his answer was, 'Were I to die to-day, I am not worth an half-penny.'

"When there was any quarrel among Christians, how would he labour to reconcile them. After he had taken much pains to make up a difference between two persons, I heard him say, 'I beg you upon my knees: I will put my head under your feet, if you will but love one another.' He then fell upon his knees, and broke into prayers and tears, till all in the house were melted down into tears and perfectly reconciled. In short he aimed at nothing but the glory of God, and the good of all that came in his way. If any had used him ill, as soon as he saw the least repentance in them, or heard the least confession from them, he would take them into his bosom again. I think

in all things from the beginning to the end of my acquaintance with him, I never saw a mortal man like him. The mean opinion he had of himself is hardly to be expressed. He preferred every soul before himself, extolled the weakest messenger of God's sending, praised God for all, and told his people, 'If they despised any of them God might justly take them all away.' After hearing any one of them (Mr. Gilbert in particular) he used to say, 'O how shall I ever preach again after this man!'

"He embraced Christians of all denominations, saying, 'I love them and will love them, and none shall make me do otherwise: and my house shall always be open to them all.' He never stuck at any weather, or suffered it to hinder his labour. In the coldest he never complained of the cold, but thanked God for whatever He sent. He was sometimes very much afflicted in body, but bore it with invincible patience. He often said, 'I expect my stay upon earth will be but short, and I will endeavour to make the best of a short life; and so devote my soul to God as not to go creeping into heaven at last.' He fulfilled his word by redeeming his 'precious, precious time,' as he called it. He could not bear to hear people say they had faith, while their lives said the contrary. He hungered and thirsted after righteousness and pursued it in all he did, saying, 'Holiness is a precious gift and precious privilege. How would he bless God for Jesus Christ, and for all the benefits of His passion, for the gospel and its being preached; for all the means of grace and the hope of glory! It seemed as if he could never praise God enough. 'O God, what hast thou done for us! And what wilt thou do for us hereafter! Surely there is no God like unto our God!'

"He spoke of death with pleasure, as letting him into a better world, and bringing him into the arms of his Saviour. In his conversation, he was edifying at all times. He was always happy in Christ, and never lost sight of Him from the first day of his conversion; yet no one groaned under the bondage of corruption more than he did: and he frequently said, 'O, if the people knew what a heart I have they would not love and honour me as they do!' God had showed him at the beginning of his course, that he should endure unto the end; which he declared to a very few of his most intimate friends; but he never preached Perseverance as a doctrine, or encouraged others to think themselves past danger of falling. He used great plainness and simplicity in his conversation with all men, sparing neither poor nor rich, but boldly reproofing all as necessity required. He often prayed that at last he might give up his account with joy: and he now enjoys the fruit of his prayer in Paradise."

The local result of Grimshaw's labours is described by Newton, of Olney. "The last time I was with him, as we were standing together upon a hill near Haworth, and surveying the romantic prospect around us, he expressed himself to the following purport, and I believe I nearly retain his very words, for they made a deep impression upon me while he spoke:—"When I first came into this country, if I have gone half a day's journey on horseback towards the east, west, north or south, I could not meet with or hear of one truly serious person—and now, through the blessing of God upon the poor services of the most unworthy of His ministers, besides a considerable number whom I have seen or known to have departed this life, like Simeon, rejoicing in the Lord's salvation; and besides five dissenting churches or congregations, of which the ministers, and nearly every one of the members, were first awakened under my ministry, I have still at my sacraments, according to the weather, from three hundred to five hundred communicants, of the far greater part of whom, so far as man, who cannot see the heart (and can therefore only determine by appearances, profession and conduct) can judge, I can give almost as particular an account, as I can of myself. I know the state of their progress in religion. By my frequent visits and converse with them, I am acquainted with their several temptations, trials, and exercises, both personal and domestic, both spiritual and temporal, almost as intimately as if I lived in their families."

"A stranger who had stood upon the same spot, from whence he could see little but barren mountains and moors, would scarce think this declaration credible. But I knew the man well, and of all the men I ever knew, I can think of no one who was less to be suspected of boasting than Mr. Grimshaw."

At that time manufactories would be completely absent, and nothing visible save farm houses, and buildings wide apart. Many of these are still standing, the village of Stanbury, and a few houses clustering together at Sawood, Scartop, and near Oakworth, would be the only hamlets visible in the wide expanse of upland country.

The number found in the Methodist society in Haworth and the hamlets surrounding it at the death of Grimshaw, cannot be taken as indicative of the spiritual results of his work. Though a true Methodist, he was also a staunch churchman,—quite as staunch as Charles Wesley himself, which is clearly proved from the letters inserted in this narrative. He therefore would keep his converts and parochial communicants in the position of avowed members of the Church of England as much as possible; though by building a chapel and preaching

house for the Methodists he seemed to foresee separation at his death, especially as he had formed his church into classes, and appointed leaders, some of whom already ministered as preachers in the Haworth round, and became itinerant preachers before his own death.

Newton, of Olney, confirms this view. He says, "Though Mr. Grimshaw's desire of usefulness, and the pressing invitations he received from different and distant places, induced him to break through the rules of strict parochial order, he was in all other respects a staunch friend to the Established Church; and I believe the number of those who remained in communion with him to the end of his life was much greater than those who withdrew from him. With regard to the latter, the most that can be said against him (if it be indeed against him) is, that he found them little better than heathens, and left them evangelical dissenters."

Among the dissenting ministers and founders of churches in this part of Yorkshire who owed their conversion or spiritual upbuilding to Grimshaw and Methodism, were Titus Knight, of the Square Chapel, Halifax; Dan Taylor, Haley Hill, Halifax and London; Richard Smith, Particular Baptist, Wadsworth; — Wood, Baptist, Halifax; James Crossley, Booth Chapel; James Hartley, Baptist, Haworth; and Dr. Fawcett, of Wainsgate Chapel, Hebden Bridge.

All these, in the earlier years of their spiritual life, came under the influence of Grimshaw, and his treatment of Titus Knight shows us how brotherly and full of Christian sympathy that was.

CHAPTER XX.

At the Conference of 1763 the preachers appointed to the Haworth round were William Fugill, Daniel Bumstead, John Pawson, and Paul Greenwood.

Wm. Fugill was a native of Rothwell, near Leeds, and began to travel in 1748. When he came to Keighley it pleased God to bless the town with an extraordinary revival, of which we shall hear more anon. Mr. Pawson, one of his colleagues, says of this visitation, "It seemed as if the word of God would carry all before it, men, women, and children were converted on all sides. This continued till the next year when that unhappy man, Wiliam Fugill, quenched the sacred fire by his bad conduct. He certainly was a deplorable instance of human instability. He had been savingly converted, became a preacher, was blest with very considerable ministerial abilities, and for some years was much esteemed by the people, and was made a blessing to many. His besetting sin was drunkenness, and in process of time this got the victory over him. In him the words of the wise man were remarkably verified: 'Pride goeth before destruction.' Pride and uncharitableness got hold of him to a high degree, and then his besetting sin easily overcame him." He was put out of the Connexion in the year 1765. However, at the Conference of 1767 he was tried again for a short time, but it was too soon apparent that sin had dominion over him, and, consequently, he was again put away from the Connexion. He then returned to Rothwell, where he spent the residue of his days in poverty and disgrace, and departed this life in the year 1800. We deeply regret to have such a record as this to give, but true history cannot be written unless dark incidents as well as bright are allowed to find a place upon her page.

Until the advent and growth of the temperance movement, the temptations in the way of Methodist preachers were very great. Fermented liquors were believed to be good and useful, and were freely offered to both local and travelling preachers by a hospitable people. Nothing but the grace of God could have kept so many from becoming the victims of alcoholism.

Daniel Bumstead was born at Colchester, in Essex. He was religiously trained among dissenters, but did not attain to a clear assurance until he joined the Methodists. His experience shows

that among the early societies there were cases where the indirect witness, rather than the direct, was the ground of peace.

Mr. Pawson, who knew Mr. Bumstead intimately, says: "I well remember the way in which our deceased brother was brought to be fully satisfied respecting the state of his own soul as to the knowledge of salvation. He was at a certain time exceedingly happy in the love of God, and the words of the Apostle were brought to his mind, attended with divine power, 'Love is of God; he that loveth is born of God, and knoweth God.' Hence he was led to reason thus: That holy heavenly love, which I now feel in my heart, must certainly come from God, according to His own word; therefore it is a sure evidence of His love to me. I can only love God from a sense of His love to me; but I am conscious that I do love God; therefore it is evident that He loves me. I will, and do rejoice in Him as the God of my salvation." From that time he was blest with a sense of his acceptance with God; and I do not know that he ever lost it.

"My acquaintance with him began in the year 1763, when at the Conference in London we were appointed to labour together in the Keighley circuit. In the course of this year he read the Life of Gregory Lopez, and was captivated with his austere way of life; this induced him to imitate Lopez in everything except retiring into the desert. He therefore fasted two days in the week, seldom or never went to bed, but either sung and prayed all night, or lay down a short time upon the ground, or in his clothes upon the bed. By these means he brought upon himself a violent attack of sickness, and narrowly escaped death. But being convinced of his mistake, he changed the course of his life, and was mercifully spared for greater usefulness. The work of the Lord abundantly prospered in our hands, and we saw a revival in many parts of the circuit.

"From my own knowledge of Mr. Bumstead I can affirm that he was a holy, upright, faithful man, zealous for the glory of God and the salvation of souls. He was endued with considerable ministerial gifts, and blest with much success in his labours. He constantly visited the poor and sick. To the former, he was sometimes too bountiful, and gave away what was really wanted at home. When his amiable partner expostulated with him, he would answer, 'My dear, we shall not repent of it at the day of Judgment.' The sick he sometimes visited at the hazard of his own life; once in particular, by so doing, when stationed at Birstall, he caught a malignant fever, from which he recovered with great difficulty."

Mr. Bumstead was tempted to relinquish the itinerant ministry on account of his family connections, and was prevailed

upon to engage in secular things, and settle in London. Mr. Pawson says—"It was a great pity he ever left the public work: he certainly went out of the divine order, and I am inclined to think suffered not a little in his mind on that account." Mr. Atmore says—"It is no little matter to give up that call to man, which has been received from God. This step which Mr. Bumstead took was an unguarded one, and proved very unsuccessful. It cost him much pain and he lamented it even in his last moments. He continued, however, united to the people, and occasionally preached. He departed this life in peace, and went to God in the year 1797."

John Pawson, when appointed to Keighley was in his twenty-sixth year, and the second of his ministry. He was a man who attained a position of great influence in the Methodist Connexion, and was the third President of Conference after the death of Wesley.

We have already seen that James Oddie, then travelling in the Haworth round, was the instrument in awakening young Pawson to concern about his soul. That concern was deep and lasting, and enabled him to confront bitter family prejudice and opposition. A greatly revered father and mother, and all his relatives, in vain tried persuasion and threats. He says: "It gave me inexpressible pain to displease my father, but the salvation of my soul was at stake. My uncle was a single man, and in good circumstances. He had often promised what he would do for me; but he sent me word that I should never be the better for anything he had, except I left this way; and he made his resolution good some years afterwards, when he was carried out of time into eternity."

The story of this family opposition is deeply interesting. John's steadfastness and consistent conduct in the end broke it down, and the Methodists were invited to preach in his father's house at Thorner.

Pawson did not easily find the peace of God. For some time he had conviction without feeling. Then he describes a remarkable experience. He says: "I went to a village called Barwick, to hear that heart-searching preacher, Mr. Hosman, and the mighty power of God was present. All on a sudden my heart was broke in pieces, my spirit was deeply wounded, my head was as water, and my eyes fountains of tears; and before I was aware I was crying aloud with an exceeding bitter cry. The trouble and anguish of spirit I then felt far exceeds all description. I frequently walked eight or ten miles to hear the word preached, and constantly walked six miles to meet my class. I have gone over Black-moor, so called, many a dark night, quite alone, and

when it has been knee-deep in snow. Such were the desires which the Lord gave me, that nothing appeared difficult, nothing hard, that I had to pass through. The love of this world, and all desire of making a figure in life, or of conforming to the customs or fashions of mankind, got their death wound in my mind at that time, and have never recovered strength to this day, and I am persuaded never will."

Pawson heard of the sudden conversion of a poor man who had lived many years without God in the world, and was deeply affected by it. He says: "I returned home and retired to my bed-chamber, but here I had not room sufficient to vent my extreme distress. I therefore went into the barn, where I thought no one could either see or hear me. Here I wept, and prayed, and roared aloud, my distress being greater than I was well able to bear; yet I was not without hope, but had an earnest expectation that, unworthy as I was, the Lord would be gracious unto me. But I was not private as I supposed; I found that my brother was in another part of the barn, in as deep distress as myself; and my father and mother soon heard our cries, and came to see what was the matter. My sister and her husband came also; so that we were now six in number, all in the same state of mind, and in the deepest distress. It was, indeed, an affecting sight, and the more so as we had no one to assist us in any degree, either by prayer, or Christian counsel. But still we were none of us delivered.

"I am satisfied there was nothing, which I believed to be contrary to the will of God, that I had not given up. I was perfectly willing to be saved upon God's own terms, and in His own way, and yet I could not believe. So that, after more than forty years' experience of the mercy and love of God, I am constrained to believe, that faith is the gift and work of God, and that the soul must be under a peculiar influence of the Divine Spirit in the act of believing. The infinitely wise and blessed God is frequently acquainted with the deceitfulness of the human heart, and well knoweth that, in general, what we obtain at an easy rate, we too often set but little value upon. Therefore, that we may highly prize, and properly improve, His grace when we obtain it, He gives us deeply to feel the want of it, and, in a good measure, to know the worth of it, before He imparts it.

"A meeting for extraordinary prayer was appointed for Sunday, March 16th, 1760. I went to that meeting deeply distressed, yet with full expectation of finding the salvation of God. Before the service began a person who tenderly pitied me said, 'Fear not; the Lord graciously visited your father last night, and you will find the blessing this morning; you have been an

instrument in His hand in bringing all the family into the way, and He will not leave you behind.' These words afforded me no comfort, as I knew very well I must not expect salvation because I had done something good, but wholly by grace, through faith in the blood of Christ. . . . I was on my knees in the middle of the room, and, if possible, in greater anguish than ever. I found trouble and heaviness; then called I upon the name of the Lord. He heard me from His holy hill; He spoke, and I heard His voice. He graciously applied that blessed word to my mind, Isaiah, xliiii., 1, 'Thou art mine.' In a moment I was perfectly delivered from all my guilty fears; my deep sorrow, my extreme distress were entirely gone. The peace of God flowed into my conscience, and the love of God was shed abroad in my heart abundantly. The deliverance which the Lord had wrought for me was so great, and the change in my mind was so extraordinary, that I never could doubt of my acceptance with God through Christ to this day."

Six weeks after his conversion Pawson was made a class-leader, and he says: "This was a heavy cross, but I dare not refuse taking it up. The first time I met the class, I was brought into a much brighter state of grace than before. From that time I enjoyed the abiding witness of the Spirit; my mind was constantly stayed upon God, and I enjoyed uninterrupted communion with Him. For many years after this, no evil temper, unholy desire, or carnal affection, had any place in my soul; but I was favoured with the continual presence of God."

In the year 1761, Mr. John Johnson, the superintendent of the Leeds circuit, put Mr. Pawson on the plan before he had ever preached at all, being persuaded the Lord had called him to preach the gospel. He durst not decline the work, or refuse, at Mr. Johnson's pressing invitation, to attend the Conference in 1762, when Mr. Johnson, again without Mr. Pawson's knowledge, recommended him for the itinerant ministry. Having, in a conversation with Mr. Wesley, consented to make trial of the work, he was appointed along with five others to the York circuit.

A remark Mr. Pawson makes on this first appointment forcibly shows the nature of the Methodist ministry of that time. "I entered upon my circuit with a single eye, having nothing in view but the honour of God in the salvation of souls; and such was the labour and the many and great hardships the preachers had then to endure, that I rejoiced in hope I should soon be worn out, finish my course, and be happy with God for ever."

Mr. Pawson gives us interesting information respecting the Conference in connection with his visit to that of 1763, held in London. "This was the first time I ever was in London, and

the Conference was held in Spitalfields Chapel. We had no money matters to settle in those days; but after the preachers' characters were examined, and they were stationed next year, all the time was taken up in speaking upon spiritual subjects."

Howell Harris was present, and when some of the preachers began to question the power Mr. Wesley exercised over them and the societies, he pleaded effectually for that man of God, saying among other things—"If Mr. Wesley should, at any time, abuse his power, who will weep for him if his own children will not?" These simple words had an astonishing effect upon the minds of the preachers; they were all in tears on every side, and gave up the matter entirely."

Up to that time no provision had been made for aged ministers, or the widows and children of those dying in the work. At this Conference the Worn Out Preachers' Fund was established.

On the discussion that took place Mr. Pawson says—"Being young and inexperienced I was utterly amazed at hearing this. For I thought that every Christian minister had an entire confidence in God, respecting temporal as well as spiritual things, so as to be perfectly free from all care as to what might befall either himself or family. However, although Mr. Wesley did not greatly approve of what was proposed, as he always thought it worldly, and not Christian prudence, to provide for a rainy day, yet he consented to it, and the fund was begun.

"As our Conference in those days only lasted from Sunday morning till Friday noon, my stay in London was very short; it being thought very wrong for the preachers to stay in town at all after the Conference was concluded." This shows how thoroughly absorbed in their work were the Wesleys, and their early preachers. I have not found in the lives of these pioneers any references to the sights of London, and in Wesley's Journal few accounts of visits to remarkable places.

The only thing, outside Methodism, which Pawson mentions, is a visit to a Jewish synagogue. Taking horse, probably in company with his colleagues, he travelled to his second appointment, the Haworth round. Mr. Pawson speaks thus of the state of religion in the round.

"Upon coming into the circuit we found all the people mourning the loss of that eminently faithful servant of God, the Rev. W. Grimshaw, who had died in April that year. Many, very many had, I am inclined to think, put that excellent man in God's place, and seriously thought that the prosperity of the work entirely depended upon him. Hence they thought, 'Now he is gone, all is over with us; we shall surely come to nothing.' God

we know is a jealous God, and will not have us ascribe that to any creature which we ought to ascribe to Him alone. As the people, I am satisfied, did this, the Lord called His faithful servant away; and it was very remarkable, the work prospered wonderfully, and I believe there was much more good done in the circuit in that one year than had been done in seven years before that time. In Keighley also, and the neighbourhood, there was a glorious revival of the work of God, such as no one then living could remember to have seen.

"We had an extraordinary lovefeast at Keighley at the end of this year. The people sung more like angels than men and women, and we certainly were blessed with a high degree of heavenly felicity while assembled together."

This revival does not appear to have affected Haworth so much as Keighley, Morton Banks, and Bingley. Unfortunately we have no return of members previous to the revival, but from the manner in which the names are written in the register, June, 1764, it is evident that numerous additions had been made the previous quarter, or half-year, in the Keighley society especially; while at Haworth the number of members is only 15. The Keighley preachers at once took into their hands the shepherding of the people of Haworth. Pawson says: "I was present at the next tide, or feast, after the death of Mr. Grimshaw. We occupied the chapel which he built us. Mr. Jaco and Mr. Paul Greenwood preached. Mr. Thomas Colbeck gave an exhortation and prayed, and I concluded the service, and by thus following the example of Mr. Grimshaw we kept the worship of God nearly the whole afternoon." Pawson says of a second year appointment, "Good old James Greenwood was then the steward of the circuit. He earnestly entreated me to stay with them another year. This appeared to me so strange a thing that I could not consent to it on any consideration, and when the year was expired I attended the Conference in Bristol in August, 1764. Having been very much united to Mr. Bumstead the preceding year, he, being appointed to Norwich, requested Mr. Wesley to let me go along with him, which was granted."

The ministry of Mr. Pawson was long and peculiarly useful. He was held in honour both by the people and his itinerant brethren, and in the closing days of his life was enabled to bear glorious testimony to the power and love of his Redeemer.

Mr. Pawson's public ministry concluded with a sermon preached in Wakefield on February 3rd, 1806. On the 23rd he wrote a farewell letter to Mr. Joseph Entwisle:—"The pain and sickness I have been called to pass through I cannot describe. Human language falls far too short. But the sweet peace, the

heavenly tranquillity, the holy, delightful, and heavenly joy which my precious Saviour communicated to my soul, very far exceeds all description. This day fortnight, O with what rapture, with what supreme delight, did I view my heavenly inheritance ! My soul mounted up to the throne of God, my altogether lovely Saviour, the Kingdom of immortal glory. No ; glory to God in the highest ! No clouds, no doubts, no fears. No ; all was quietness and assurance for ever."

Two days afterwards, in conversation with a friend on the necessity of doing all things to the glory of God, he declared that he had never purchased a single article since his conversion, but with an eye to eternity, and said, " I have nothing to do : all is ready." In this frame of clear assurance and rapture, Mr. Pawson continued to the last moment, which came on Wednesday, March 19th, 1806.

Another unpublished letter of John Nelson to Charles Wesley belongs to this year.

" Birstall, Nov. 11th, 1763.

Dear Sir,

This is with my duty to you and my earnest prayer for you and yours and all the church of God. Glory be to God His arm is bared in these parts ; multitudes flock to hear the word, and above a hundred joined since we came, and great part of them profess faith, and I think those that are dead, did die as great witnesses for God as ever I saw. An ancient woman that lived at Leefair—she had known the Lord about six years. I was with her a few hours before she died ; she said she had many trials in that time, but she did not know that there had been one day that she had not felt the loving presence of the Lord, and she said, ' I am going to praise Him for ever.' She was near eighty years old and died praising the Lord. I suppose you have heard of the death of Bro. Watson, of Leeds, the preacher ; I wish all may follow him as he followed the Lord. He had known the Lord about one and twenty years, and had preached seventeen, and he was never known to be a weather cock one day in all their trials they had through false brethren. He stood as a beaten anvil to the stroke, and died in full triumph of faith. Just before he died, he said, I have fought the good fight, I have kept the faith, &c. He was buried on the tenth of this month, and on that day he was buried sister Betty Bates, of Halifax died. She died of a consumption. I was with her some time before she died. She had known the Lord about seventeen years, and she said she had gone through all the temptations that a woman could be tempted with, but the Lord had stood by her, and had showed her a way to escape ; and she cried to Him

and He had helped her to escape them all, and she wanted a thousand tongues to praise Him. A little before she died she had violent pain for an hour together, so that the sweat dropped off her finger ends like drops of rain. When she could speak she said, 'I never felt such pain in all my life before, but glory be to God, I find His love superior to it all, and this night I shall be with Him and see Him as He is. O tell the preacher to tell the people on Sunday that I have fought the good fight and come off conqueror through Christ that hath strengthened me.' She desired all about her to abide in the old Methodist doctrine, then sweetly fell asleep in the arms of God. She was a single woman about 40 years old. She had been a great witness for the Lord, both in life and in death. On Friday, the 11th, Sister Mary Hall, of Bradford finished her course, so that in four days we had three dear friends translated into the realms of bliss. Sister Hall was young in years, and young in grace, about 22 years old, and had found pardon on Christmas Day last, and was taken badly soon after she found the Lord, and died of pining sickness. She hath had light in all her trials, and when any did visit her in her illness, they generally returned with their hearts warmed with the love of God, and praised Him in her behalf. Indeed she hath left a good savour behind her, and desired that her funeral sermon might be preached from the last verse of the 3rd Psalm 'Salvation belongeth to the Lord, and thy blessing is upon thy people.' There are more dead in the round, but I was not with them, but I heard good accounts of them. O sir, pray for us, as we do for you. God hath made us of one heart and He blesses our labour together. I can bless God that I have two such partners to labour with as Bro. ——— and Parson Greenwood is. My wife joins in love to you and yours and to all friends at Bristol as well as London. I hope you will remember me in particular to Mr. Vigor and all that family, and Mr. Greavs, and Mrs. Farley, and I beg of you to talk to Charles as if he were your own son when you see him. My wife hath had a sore fit of sickness again, so that her life was despaired of for many days; but she is better through mercy. I beg of you to write to me, for I am as one that is dead, for none writes to me. This is with my best prayers from your unworthy Bro. and son to serve in the gospel,

JOHN NELSON.

If you have opportunity I pray you let your Brother see this with my duty to him."

We have no regular publication of Minutes of Conference until the year 1765. But in 1763 Wesley published a summary of minutes passed previously to that date. Some of these are of

importance as illustrating Wesley's views on practical religion, and must have exercised a great influence upon the preachers and people in this round. They are applicable to our day, if we wish to carry out the principle for which Wesley says Methodism was raised up, namely, "To reform the nation, and, in particular, the Church, and to spread Scriptural holiness over the land."

Among these minutes are the following: "The greatest hindrance to field preaching is to be expected from the rich, or cowardly, or lazy Methodists. But regard them not, neither stewards, leaders, nor people. Whenever the weather will permit, go out in God's name into the most public places, and call all to repent and believe the gospel. Every assistant, at least, in every circuit, should endeavour to preach abroad every Sunday; especially in the old societies, lest they settle upon their lees."

Wesley believed as strongly in the obligation of Government rights as of private rights; hence—"Read the sermon upon evil speaking, in every society. Extirpate smuggling, buying or selling uncustomed goods, out of every society, particularly in Cornwall and all seaport towns. Let no person remain with us who will not totally abstain from every kind and degree of it. Extirpate bribery; receiving, directly or indirectly, for voting in any election. Show no respect of persons herein, but expel all who touch the accursed thing. Let this be particularly observed at Grimsby and St. Ives."

The following is a summary of what Wesley required of the preachers:—

"The preachers were requested to offer constantly and fervently, at set times, private, family, and public prayer. They were constantly to read the Scriptures, Wesley's tracts, and the Christian Library. They were to devote their mornings to reading, writing, prayer, and meditation. They were always to have a New Testament in their pockets; and to see that Wesley's notes thereon were in every society, and were to explain them to the congregations. They were to devoutly use the Lord's Supper at every opportunity. They were advised to fast every Friday, Wesley avowing his purpose generally to eat only vegetables on Friday, and to take only toast and water in the morning. They were to meet every society weekly; also the leaders, and the bands, if any. They were diligently to inquire into the state of the books, to do all they could to propagate them. They were to keep watchnight once a month, and lovefeasts twice a year for the whole society. They were to visit every society once a quarter; to take a regular catalogue of the members at least once a year; and to write Wesley an account of the defects of 'the common preachers,' which they could not them-

selves cure. They were steadily to watch against the world, the devil, themselves, and besetting sins; and to deny themselves every useless pleasure of sense, imagination, and honour. They were recommended to use only that kind and degree of food which was best both for the body and the soul; to eat no flesh and no late suppers; and to take only three meals a day. Preachers on probation were 'not to ramble up and down, but to go where the assistant directed, and there only.'

These were strict requirements. To what extent were they carried out? In answer to the question, "Had the office of an assistant been thoroughly executed?" he replies, "No, not by one assistant out of three.* I fear many of the quarterly meetings are formal, not spiritual. The societies are not half supplied with books; not even with *Kempis*, *Instructions for Children*, and *Primitive Physic*, which ought to be in every home. You have not provided a private room everywhere for the preacher; nor a bed to himself; neither the 'Library,' for want of which some still read trash."

Wesley believed as much as ever in the class meeting, and hence says, after a tour in Wales, in 1763, "I was more convinced than ever that the preaching like an apostle, without joining together those that are awakened, and training them up in the ways of God, is only begetting children for the murderer. How much preaching has there been for these last twenty years all over Pembrokeshire? But no regular societies, no discipline, no order or connection; and the consequence is, that nine in ten of the once awakened are now faster asleep than ever."

On this utterance Tyerman well remarks:—"These are weighty words, and well worth pondering by those, in modern days, who advocate a revision of the laws respecting Methodists meeting together in weekly class. Wesley spoke from experience; there are theorists who, in the absence of experience, will do well to hesitate before they step."†

*As the assistants in 1765 numbered 25, it was not a small thing if eight reached Wesley's high standard.

†Tyerman ii, 480.

CHAPTER XXI.

IN the year 1763, Keighley became the head of the circuit, and a great expansion took place, as the list of societies in the circuit book shows.

Mr. Pawson has told us that James Greenwood succeeded Grimshaw as circuit steward at the December quarter, 1762, and was thus in office when that notable man died. The book, however, shows that he only remained one year in office, as Mr. Thomas Colbeck takes the stewardship at the December quarter, 1765, and continued to hold it until Nov. 1779.

In this year, 1763, the following places appear for the first time in the circuit book, January 13th: Blackmires and Mixenden, 17s. 2½d.; Menoth, or Menworth Hill, and Nidderdale, £1 8s. 8d.; Lupton, nr. Kirby Lonsdale, and Kindale (Kendal?), 5s. 7d.; Blackburn and Preston (Long Preston?), £1 5s. 5d.; Wigglesworth and Skipton, 12s. 3d.; Asquith and Burley, 7s. 2d.; Barley, nr. Pendle Hill, 4s. 3d.; Guiseley and Cowen (Cowling?) Head, 14s. 6d. April 14th, 1763: Coat Gap and Balden, 15s. 6d.; Cockshott House, Fylde, and Padiham, £1 0s. 0d.; W. Taylor's and Bacup, 17s. 3d.; Mill End and Dunockshaw, 19s. 1d.; Burshall and Gawksholme, £1 4s. 5d.; Newhurst and Gisburn, 3s. 0d. July 7th, Shefinside, 4s. 4d.; Boursal (Bewersal?) and Facit, £1 12s. 7d. October 13th, Skythorn, 6s. 0d.; Holden House, 3s. 0d.

The earliest list of leaders for the Keighley circuit we can compile is for the years 1764 and 1766. Thomas Colbeck, Keighley, two classes; John Wilkinson, Keighley, two classes in 1766; Samuel Whitaker; Edward Sunderland, Keighley; John Dawson; John Laycock, leader at Ingrow, or Bracken Bank, two classes (one of them in the town); John Cowling; John Binns, Hainworth Shay; Joseph Emmott, Morton Banks; John Taylor, Morton.

Of the three first on the list I have given such particulars as could be obtained. Edward Sunderland, the fourth, was born at Denholme, and apprenticed in the parish of Northwram, near Halifax, to the business of a sorter or woolcomber. He afterwards came to reside at Keighley, and was employed by Mr. Greenwood. He was married and living at Keighley when the Methodists began to preach there. His wife, Sarah, went to hear

them, and the Lord opened her heart to attend to the things spoken by His servants, and she immediately decided to give herself to the Lord, and become a member of the infant society.

Sarah Sunderland often told her husband, on returning from preaching, of the wonders of grace she had witnessed, how such an one had fallen down in distress and begun to cry to the Lord for mercy; when he would coldly reply to her by saying, "It was only a woman."

However, at length she succeeded in persuading him to accompany her, and he then soon had proof in his own experience, that the gospel is the power of God to humble men as well as women, for he began to enquire in earnest what he must do to be saved.

Having obtained salvation through Christ, he gave himself to God and His Church; and in thus serving God continued to the end of a long life. His wife died in the Lord some time before him, and he then went to reside with his grandson at Damside, Keighley, where he died in the full triumph of faith, aged 91.

Edward Sunderland is frequently mentioned in the circuit book as providing preachers with food, shaving them, and attending to their horses.

From a society book containing the first extant list of members in the round, written by Mr. W. Fugill in 1763, we find that Whitehaven, with 114 members, is grouped with the following places: Cockermouth, 19 members; Workington, 11; Lorton, 6; Branthwaite, 11; Coldbeck, 9; Brackenhill, 10; and Wigton, 8.

On June 22nd, 1764, Wesley entered the round at Whitehaven, and says respecting that place: "What has continually hurt this poor people is offence. I found the society now all in confusion because a woman had scolded with her neighbour, and another stole a twopenny loaf. I talked largely with those who had been most offended; and they stood reprov'd. Sunday, 24th, about seven, I preached at the Gins, and the people flocked to hear me from all quarters. The want of field-preaching has been one cause of deadness here. I do not find any great increase of the work of God without it. If ever this is laid aside, I expect the whole work will gradually die away." Wesley meant the work of aggression on the outside world. The organisation might last by support of adherents, and through family and other interests, but the world, let alone, would go its way, and Methodism would be merely the dead frame of a former Divine body instinct with power.

Proceeding onward in the round, Wesley says, Monday, 25th,

"I rode by Keswick to Kendal. The clouds shaded us most of the way, and the wind was just in our face; otherwise we should scarce have been able to bear the heat. A few years ago the fields here were white for the harvest; but the poor people have since been so harassed by seceders, and disputers of every kind, that they are dry and dead as stones; yet I think some of them felt the power of God this evening; and can He not, "out of these stones, raise up children into Abraham"? Tues. 26th, "I preached abroad at five, and I believe, not in vain. Between nine and ten we reached Black Burton, where there was a general awakening till the jars between Mr. Ingham and Allan laid the people asleep again. However, some are united again in a quiet, loving society, zealous of good works. I preached about eleven. Thence we rode to Long Preston, being still fanned by the wind, and—unless a few minutes now and then,—shaded by the clouds. The congregation was exceeding serious. Hence I rode to Skipton, where some time since, no Methodist preacher could appear. I preached in the evening near the bridge without the least interruption. Nor did I find any weariness, after preaching four times and riding fifty miles." This indicates the peculiar vigour of Wesley who was then 61 years of age.

There are statements in the Magazines of 1822 and 1826, as to the introduction of Methodism into Skipton, which need correction. The first is in an obituary of Francis Watson, who died May 18th, 1822, aged 72. It is said of him that he was the honoured instrument of introducing Methodism into Skipton where it has ever since flourished.

We are told that at the age of twenty-two, which would be the year 1772, he was deeply convinced of sin, and obtained pardon and peace about a fortnight afterwards.

The circuit book shows that in the year 1763 Skipton and Wigglesworth contributed for the first time 1s. 3d. to the funds, and in the same year twelve members are named as meeting in class at Skipton under the leadership of Peter Garforth.

Mr. Peter Garforth was a class-leader and local preacher at Skipton. He was a member of the Wesleyan society and probably the only leader in 1763. The society afterwards declined. From 1782 to 1802 Mr. Garforth subscribed 10s. 6d. per quarter to the funds of the Keighley circuit board.

When the society revived again his subscription was added to the society's quarterage of 3s. or 4s.

The first preaching room in Skipton was over the Devonshire Arms Inn, a chamber rented from the landlord.

Thus nine years previous to the spiritual awakening of Francis Watson, Methodism had members in Skipton and

Wigglesworth. This holy man, as was frequently the case in those early days of Methodism, had the honour not only to believe in Christ, but also to suffer for His sake. He endured not only scorn and reproach, but bodily harm; and in some cases even his life was endangered. This would probably be in places outside Skipton, as our quotation from Wesley's Journal of June 26th, 1764, not only confirms the earlier date of introduction of Methodism into that town, but also shows that violent persecution had ceased there. As a local preacher, Francis Watson laboured usefully for nearly half a century, during which time we are told he never neglected an appointment given him. He was a man of strong faith in God; of great love to souls, and especially a man of much prayer. Regularly did he pray three times a day in his closet, and twice in his family; and sometimes he rose at midnight to pray and give thanks. To a friend who asked him, a little before he died, if his prospects of another world were still bright, he replied with peculiar emphasis, thrice over "Glory is before me!" After a short pause, collecting all his strength, he said, "Glory! glory! glory! Help me to praise God:" and added, "Happy! happy!" and then his voice failed him.

In an obituary of Miss Jane Baynes, who died at Skipton, October 2nd, 1826, we are told that she came with her mother to reside in that town in the year 1786, and also that about that time the Methodist preachers were invited to this place by a member of the society who had providentially been led to take up his abode there. If this refers to the holding of regular services it may possibly be correct. It is said that the preachers accepted the invitation, and that Miss Baynes became a regular hearer, and in 1787 joined the society, of which she continued a consistent member for thirty-six years. At that period Methodism was low in the esteem of many in Skipton; the society was very small; they had no chapel, only an inconvenient and disagreeable room, for public worship; and the disapprobation of her friends and relatives made her cross very heavy.

That the inhabitants of her native place, and her tenants at Eastby, might be privileged with those means of grace she so highly valued, Miss Baynes built a good chapel, with a cottage adjoining it, nearly at her own expense, which she secured to the Methodist Connexion. The cottage was to be occupied by an old servant of hers, a local preacher, and after his death the rent to be appropriated to the support of the gospel in the Skipton circuit, with the proviso that whoever lived in it should entertain the preachers whenever they visited Eastby.

Returning from our digression respecting the introduction

of Methodism into Skipton, we find that Wesley was at Otley on July 27th, 1764. He says—"In the evening we had a large congregation at the foot of the great mountain (probably the Chevin). After preaching in the morning, I examined those who believe they are saved from sin. They are a little increased in numbers since I met them last; and some of them much increased in love. This evening I preached at Guiseley; the next at Keighley; and on Saturday, 30th, at Bradford."

At the Conference of 1764, the appointments to the round were—W. Fugill, Martin Rodda, Mosely Cheek, John Murray, and John Morgan. Of Martin Rodda we can learn nothing beyond the statement that he entered the itinerants ranks in 1763, and retired from the work in 1781. He receives the quarterly allowance of £3 on January 7th, 1765, but not on the next quarter day, April 8th. On July 15th, however, he again receives £3. It may be that he was working in some distant part of the round, in Lancashire, or the neighbourhood of Whitehaven, for there are significant disbursements immediately below his name.

Mosely Cheek, the third preacher, appears to have commenced his career as a preacher in 1764, and ended it five years afterwards by becoming a clergyman of the Established Church.

John Murray is another preacher about whom we can learn nothing, save that he began to travel in 1760, and left the work in 1774. He receives nothing at the January quarter day, 1765, so must have been paid elsewhere. The circuit provides him with a horse at a cost of £6.

In the payments of January 7th, 1765, we have Br. Morgan, £8; April 8, Br. Morgan, £5 8s.; July 15, Br. Morgan £5 10s.

These are so different in amount from the usual stipend, and his advent so peculiar in time, as to need explanation.

Travelling expenses, £2 1s. 9d.; to Mr. Rodda, towards paying for a house, £1 3s.; to take the preachers into the rounds, £6 6s.

Why is the plural used with respect to the last item? The probability is that instead of one round the Haworth appointment covered at least four roughly defined circuits, viz., Haworth, comprising places west thereof in Yorkshire and Lancashire; Colne, with towns and villages in North Lancashire; the south round, comprising Wharfedale, Nidderdale, and Upper Airedale; and Whitehaven, including Workington, Cockermouth, Kendal, &c. There is an entry, January 17, 1764—"More cash from Whitehaven, &c., £3 6s." Whatever was raised in some of the distant places seems to have been spent there as a rule, and Mr. Rodda may have received his allowances thus.

The large family of John Morgan may perhaps account for the extra payments made to him.

In part, the following is Wesley's testimony respecting him : " He was a plain, rough, honest, pious man. He was engaged in the work as an itinerant preacher for many years, and was possessed of great and singular talents. He had a large family and various trials. It pleased God to exercise him with a long and painful illness, which he bore with patience and resignation to the Divine will ; and in the end he joyfully committed his soul, his wife, and his eight little children to God, as to a faithful Creator." He died sometime in the year 1782.

The income of the round in 1764, was £123 13s. 7d. The four preachers, Messrs. Fugill, Rodda, Cheek and Murray, received £12 each per annum. Mr. Fugill had a family and therefore has an allowance of £6 8s. extra per annum.

A few additional entries will show how the circuit income was disbursed.

	£	s.	d.
Bro. Fugill's travelling expenses	0	8	0
„ Greenwood's „ „	0	7	0
„ Bumstead's „ „	0	5	0
„ Fugill for shaving, &c.,	0	3	7½
Dinners	0	10	0
Bro. Guildford for expenses at Whitehaven and } removed from thence to Keighley.	1	2	10

In the year 1765, Wesley was two days in a remote corner of the round. Under date Thursday, April 11th, he says, " We rode on (from Garstang) to Francis Gilbert's, at Kendal, where there is now a real work of God. The genuine Gospel now takes root, and sinners are converted to God."

Miss Mary Gilbert, writing under the same date, says : " At noon we had the pleasure of the Rev. Mr. Jno. Wesley's company to dinner ; and in the evening he preached on Jer. viii.-22—'Is there no balm in Gilead, &c.' His conversation was very edifying, and God blessed it to my poor soul." Of the next day she records :—" At five in the morning Mr. Wesley preached on Psalm lxxxiv.-1—' How amiable are thy tabernacles, &c.' "

On another occasion in this year Wesley touched at Whitehaven on his return from a visit to Ireland. On Friday, April 2nd, he says, " About ten we went on board the Felicity, bound for Whitehaven. In about an hour we set sail. Soon after the wind turned, and was against us most part of Saturday and Sunday. On Sunday, I preached to our little congregation, thirteen in all, on ' The Kingdom of heaven is at hand ; repent ye, and believe the Gospel.' In a short time, the wind sprung up fair, but with intervals of calm ; so that we did not reach Whitehaven quay till Tuesday 6th, between twelve and one in the morning. After sleeping two or three hours, I hastened away, and in the afternoon came to Carlisle."

CHAPTER XXII.

At the Conference of 1765 the preachers appointed to the Haworth round were—Isaac Brown, John Atlay, Nicholas Manners, James Stephens, and Robert Costerdine.

Robert Costerdine, however, for some cause unexplained, did not then come to the circuit, but from the *Magazine* of 1814, we learn that he took the place of John Poole, appointed to Grimsby, and Poole came to Keighley. The circuit book confirms this. As Messrs. Atlay and Stephens are only mentioned once in the accounts, it is probable that the Northern part of the round was worked by them, and found them maintenance.

James Stephens was admitted into full connexion this year, and Myles says that he was expelled in 1772, but no mention of the fact is made in the Minutes, his name being dropped after 1770.

John Atlay, the second in the Haworth round, became conspicuous among his brethren a few years later. He had been two years in the ministry when he came to Keighley. He is mentioned in Wesley's Journal, June 25th, 1766. "We rode on to Whitehaven. Here I spent the rest of the week. Sunday, 29th, I appointed the children to meet me; and desired Mr. Atlay to meet them for the time to come." This is incidental proof that Whitehaven was then in the Haworth round. He was still at Whitehaven the year following, though not mentioned in the circuit book at all during that year. In April, 1767, Wesley was at Cocker mouth, and writing on the 25th, says,—“The mare T. Dancer rode being now quite lame, I left him to cross over at Whitehaven, and Mr. Atlay, who came just in time, offered to accompany me to Portpatrick. Thursday, 26th. We rode through miserable roads to Solway Firth; but the guides were so deeply engaged in a cock-fight, that none could be procured to show us over. We procured one, however, between three and four. But there was more sea than we expected, so that notwithstanding all I could do, my legs and the skirts of my coat were in the water. The motion of the waves made me a little giddy; but it had a strange effect on Mr. Atlay. He lost his sight, and was just dropping off his horse, when one of our fellow-travellers caught hold of him. We rode on nine or ten miles, and lodged at a village called Ruthwell.”*

*Journal iii.-275.

Twelve years later, 1777, Mr. Atlay became Wesley's first book steward, an office which he held until 1788. In 1785 he appears to have been offended because his name was not in the Deed of Declaration constituting the Legal Conference, and when, in 1788, the trustees of the Methodist chapel in Dewsbury unjustly alienated it from Methodism, Mr. Atlay accepted an invitation to become their minister. He showed worldly wisdom in the bargain he made. "He insisted upon having an income of sixty pounds per annum, with the chapel house to live in, settled upon him during his life, before he would relinquish his place under Wesley." The trustees lived to "repent deeply of their conduct in this instance." In vain they represented to the man of their unhappy choice how lamentably their congregation had declined, and how hardly they could sustain the expenses they had incurred. The answer was short; they might employ other preachers if they should think it proper; but the dwelling-house and the stated income belonged to him!*

Thus early was illustrated the superiority of connexionalism to unrestrained local authority in dealing with houses of worship, and the wise balance of power established by Wesley between trustees and the Methodist ministry. "Of the Dewsbury society only two members—a good man and his wife, of the name of Drake—adhered to Wesley. Many were scattered, some of whom went into the world and never returned, and the rest continued for a time under Mr. Atlay, who, with the assistance of Mr Eels and others, formed societies at Newcastle, Shields, and other places. These societies, however dwindled away and came to nothing."†

The last we know of Atlay is that in 1790 he was circulating most infamous reports reflecting on Wesley's moral character; which that good man met in the following dignified and Christian manner—"If John Atlay has a mind to throw any more dirt upon me, I do not know I shall take any pains to wipe it off. I have but a few days to live, and I wish to spend those in peace."

Nicholas Manners was born in 1732 at Sledmere, on the Yorkshire Wolds. He tells us that his parents, despite their living in a place where priest and people were far from what they should have been, were careful concerning their children's tuition and religion.¹

When he was nineteen years of age, after passing through a period of conviction by the direct agency of the Holy Spirit, altogether apart from human instrumentality, Mr. Manners first

*Moore's Life of Wesley, ii.-296.

†Rev. Joseph Entwisle.

heard the Methodists. Under their preaching light shone into his soul, deepening his knowledge of his desperate state of sinfulness. In this he continued for a period of fourteen months. He says—"Notwithstanding the littleness of my hopes, and the seemingly unsurmountable difficulties that were before me, I still walked on in the fear of God, carefully watching every motion of my mind, nor suffering an idle, nor if possible a worldly thought to continue in it, and added earnest prayers, both early and late, and filled up every vacancy with religious exercises."

If a man could have been saved by reformation of life and earnest effort, surely this man would. But the only result was that—"Having no hope of deliverance, total despair and exquisite distress took place, and all seemed to be lost for ever, and I lived in a continual looking for of death and damnation." Great as was the distress, so great and instantaneous was the deliverance. "Lo! in a moment, in the twinkling of an eye, the light of heaven so shone on my heart that I seemed to be in a spiritual world, a world of glory; and on what resembled, as I thought, a white cloud, with the eye of my understanding I saw written in capitals, BELIEVE, which I immediately did, and guilt and fear were entirely taken away."

In the year 1759 Manners was called to the itinerant ministry, and, in the irregular fashion of the time, stationed in London four months. He says of that period, "When I began to preach in the country, I could have spoken before anybody; but, alas! in London a sense of my weakness increased so much that I could hardly preach at all. However, it induced me to diligence in reading, to improve my understanding and increase my knowledge. For I perceived that though a person properly called to preach, is helped by the Lord; yea, and sometimes far above his ability, yet, generally, He only helps according to it, by bringing such things to our remembrance as we know, and by giving energy to them. Hence it necessarily follows, that although without the Lord's call to, and help in preaching, it will be unprofitable; yet still, he that will not study men, books, and things, will be a dunce all his days. On the other hand, if studies destroy the life of religion, knowledge costs too great a price; for this also is certain, that abstracted from extraordinary help, the more lively any man is by the inward principle of grace, the more powerful is his preaching."

After giving experiences in various circuits, Mr. Manners says:—"In 1765 I travelled in the Haworth circuit. This is a rough, hard part of the country, the reverse of Lincolnshire (his previous circuit). But it produced many hearers, and we did

not labour in vain. And yet I preached with greater difficulty, in respect of my mind, than I had done for several years. The beginning of it indeed was in Lincolnshire; for the last time I preached there I was uncommonly straitened. And it continued, in the general, all the next year. The reason of which I never could certainly discover. However, let what would be the cause, it rendered preaching so extremely disagreeable that I was often tempted to give it up. And one time in particular I was so cast down in soul that I was concluding, let what would be the consequences, to go home, when these words shot into my mind, 'And hast not fainted.' I remembered the person to whom they were first spoken; and, being none of the best, I saw I was sinking lower than one who had left his first love. The conviction consequent on it, made me instantly alter my resolution, so that instead of going home I was determined to go on, let me suffer what I would."

This peculiar experience as to preaching, indicative of morbid self-consciousness, was followed by yielding to self-indulgence, for which he makes slight excuse, evidently accompanied by condemnation of conscience. "In this year I broke a habit which I had been contracting seven years. From my beginning to travel, I had generally preached at five in the morning. And if I did not preach then I was sure to awake. But this being a part where the people could not attend, I lost the habit of waking, and the ease of rising at that time, and therefore, though I have often preached in the morning since, yet not with the same agreeableness. Such is the disadvantage of doing things without custom."

John Poole had been six years in the itinerant ministry when he came to the Haworth round. He travelled thirty years with an unblemished character. A reserved manner somewhat hindered his usefulness, meekness and patience however were valuable counterbalancing features. During twelve years of superannuation he resided at Redruth in Cornwall, labouring as strength would permit until the time of his death. In his last sickness he evinced unshaken confidence in God, and a lively hope of eternal blessedness.

William Barker was sent to the Haworth round before being admitted on trial, which took place at the Conference of 1766, when he was appointed to Cornwall West circuit. Despite this circumstance, he received the same allowance as the other preachers on the round. We have no record concerning him, save that after twelve years he left the itinerancy for want of health to continue the work.

The omission of the name of Mr. Barker in the appointment

for Keighley, and the unrecorded change in the cases of Messrs. Costerdine and Poole, show that the Minutes of Conference cannot be absolutely relied upon as to preachers travelling in any particular circuit. The old books of the round reveal other instances.

The circuit appointment in 1766 was Isaac Brown, John Shaw, and Robert Costerdine.

According to the circuit book John Shaw resided at Bewersall with one John Clegg, to whom 15s. od. was paid on October 13th, for three weeks' board.

He appears also to have lodged at Long Preston, for on April 2nd, 25s. od. is paid on his account.

John Shaw was converted to God at an early period of his life, and in the year 1763 became an itinerant preacher. He was for many years a remarkably corpulent man, which sometimes made travelling a great burden to him, yet he continued in the work to the close of his life. For thirty years he maintained an unexceptionable character, and was greatly beloved, and very useful in all the circuits in which he laboured. He was a sensible, upright, pious man, whose heart was thoroughly in the work of God. His last circuit was Pocklington, where he concluded his life and labours in 1793. The Lord was with him in his last moments, and he died with unshaken confidence in his God.

Robert Costerdine was born in the parish of Flixton, near Manchester, in 1726. He was awakened under a sermon preached by John Nelson. Soon after, he heard Whitefield, and for several weeks was in great distress, but he says: "In November, 1748, the Lord visited me in a manner which I shall never forget, with a sudden transition from death unto life, from sorrow to joy; my sins were pardoned, and my person accepted through Him Who died for sinners. Some time after, he believed he was moved by the Holy Ghost to call sinners to repentance, and acted for some years as a local preacher. During this part of Mr. Costerdine's life a very important institution of Methodism sprung into existence in Lancashire, viz, prayer meetings. One of the most eminent of the early local preachers raised up by Methodism was a chief instrument in their establishment.

Mr. Matthew Mayer, of Portwood Hall, near Stockport, having been converted, came into the neighbourhood of Ashton, calling sinners to repentance. His first efforts were made in conjunction with John Morris, a young man from Manchester, by establishing weekly prayer meetings at Davy-Hulme, Dukinfield, Ashton, and other places. As numbers of persons attended these meetings who were utterly ignorant of the things of God, these

young men exhorted them "to flee from the wrath to come." The effects were surprising; upwards of sixty persons were awakened and added to the society at Davy-Hulme, in a few weeks after the establishment of these meetings in that village.

This was the commencement of public prayer meetings, as a social means of grace, amongst the Methodists in the North.

On Sunday evening, while the prayer meeting was in progress at James Wood's, "the heavens were opened, and great grace rested upon the people." Many were in distress; and Morris and Mayer, who conducted the meeting, were completely exhausted by their exertions. Just at this moment, Robt. Costerdine, came into the room. Robert was a sensible man, but not very friendly to these meetings, which he looked upon as novelties in Methodism, and not much calculated to promote the calm and steady growth of experimental religion. With some reluctance he engaged in prayer; and he began in his usual slow and deliberate manner. This was ill suited to the burning zeal and fervent piety of young Morris; who, kneeling beside him, whispered in his ear, "Brother if you would fill this house with God, you must be more earnest." Costerdine elevated his voice, and quickened his utterance, and pleaded in prayer until himself and the people were filled with the Holy Ghost.*

In the year 1764, Mr. Costerdine entered the ministry, being appointed to the Epworth circuit, and in 1765 to Grimsby. His licence to preach is a singular document and manifests considerable adroitness on the part of his legal adviser. Unwilling to avow himself a Dissenter, he was precluded from the benefit of the Act of Toleration, passed in the reign of William and Mary: hence the circuitous routine here substituted.

His licence contains the following curious declaration:— "Lincolnshire (Lindsey).—These are to certify, that at the General Quarter Sessions of the Peace, holden at Caistor for the parts of Lindsey in the County of Lincoln on Wednesday, Jan. 16th, 1765, Robert Costerdine, of Grimsby, in the said parts and County, yeoman, did in open court, take, repeat, and subscribe the oaths of allegiance, supremacy, and abjuration, appointed to be taken, repeated, and subscribed, in and by an Act of Parliament made in the first year of the reign of His late Majesty King George the First, intituled, 'an Act for the further security of His Majesty's person and Government, and the succession of the Crown, in the heirs of the late Princess Sophia, being Protestants, and for extinguishing the hopes of the Pretended Prince of Wales, and his open and secret abettors;' and that the said Robert Costerdine, did then and there, in open Court, make and

*Life of Revd. G. Lowe, 38 and 40.

subscribe the Declaration against Transubstantiation, mentioned in an Act of Parliament, made in the 25th year of the reign of His late Majesty King Charles the Second, intituled, 'An Act for preventing Dangers from Popish Recusants: ' and that the said Robert Costerdine did also then and there, in open Court, declare his approbation of, and subscribe the Articles of religion, mentioned in the statute, made in the 13th year of the reign of Her late Majesty, Queen Elizabeth, except those words in the Twentieth Article,—'The Church hath power to decree Rites or Ceremonies, and authority in controversies of Faith; ' and also, except the 34th, 35th, and 36th Articles.

Dated the said 16th day of Jan., 1765.

ROBERT CHAPMAN.

Deputy Clerk of the Peace."

From the terms of this licence we gather that Mr. Costerdine was one of those preachers who held Mr. Wesley's views of the position of Methodists in regard to the Church, expressed in the Minutes of Conference for 1766.

Mr. Costerdine says, "At the Leeds Conference, 1766, I was appointed to Keighley, in Yorkshire, with brother Brown, who had the care of the circuit the first year, and I the second. It extended from Otley to Whitehaven, a distance of one hundred and twenty miles. It is now divided into ten or eleven circuits." This was written in 1810, when Mr. Costerdine was in his 84th year. He goes on to say, "I was four years in this circuit at two different times. We had long rides, through a very mountainous country, and were exposed to several other inconveniences; but the Lord was with me, and preserved me amidst seen and unseen dangers. During the four years which I laboured in the circuit the Lord deigned to make me useful, both to the souls and bodies of the people."*

Costerdine was evidently engaged in the north-western portion of the Haworth round, for we have in his autobiographical sketch, in the *Magazine* of 1866, a story of the way in which he dealt with a case of religious depression at Olerton, near Preston. He must have been regarded by Wesley as peculiarly useful in this sphere of labour, from the fact that he was appointed to the circuit two years in succession.

In the year 1767 the debt on Connexional property was £11,338, which Wesley was most anxious to remove. He issued a circular and sent it to the various circuits through his assistants. In an accompanying note, addressed to Mr. Costerdine, he refers to leading Methodists in the Haworth round at that time.

*Methodist, Magazine, 1814, p. 76.

"London, November 24th, 1767.

My Dear Brother,

I have wrote to T. Colbeck, James Greenwood, John Greenwood, Sutcliffe, Southwell, Garforth, and Littleedale. The rest in your circuit I leave to you. Leave no stone unturned. When you receive the printed letters, seal, subscribe, and deliver them in my name to whom you please. Be active. Adieu!"

We have evidence that he was employed about Whitehaven from a letter written to him by Mr. Wesley.

"Canterbury, November 24th, 1767.

My dear Brother,

I am glad you spent a little time at Whitehaven; the poor people there need every help. There, and in every other large town, both you and your fellow-labourers should take care of those two principal points: (1) To instruct the children; and (2) To visit the parents from house to house according to the plan laid down at the last year's Conference. Then you will see the fruit of your labour, and the work of the Lord will prosper in your hands. Wherever you are you should encourage the people to *read* as well as *pray*, and to that purpose it is well to carry little books with you. Peace be with your spirit!

I am your affectionate friend and brother,

J. WESLEY.*

In another characteristic letter of Mr. Wesley to Mr. Costerdine, he says:

"London, October 25th, 1771.

My dear Brother,

Do what you can and you do enough. No debt is properly included but that which was contracted three years ago. However, in such cases as that of Birmingham, we may make an exception. You are in the right to stop all who would tell you stories of past things. Tell them, 'Now is the day of salvation,' and strongly exhort them to embrace it. Recommend the books wherever you go. Meet the children, and visit from house to house.

I am, dear Robert,

Your affectionate friend and brother,

J. WESLEY.†

If the early preachers did as Wesley so constantly exhorted them, no wonder that they gained the hold they had upon the

* Methodist Magazine, 1845, p. 577.

† Methodist Magazine, 1845, p. 579.

people. They would be felt by parents and children to be pastors indeed, and win heart-felt gratitude and affection everywhere.

Costerdine travelled twenty-nine years with an unblemished character. He was a man of a meek and quiet spirit, a useful preacher, and a peaceful fellow-labourer. He found the great truth which he had preached to be the support of his happy soul in his last conflict, and entered into the joy of his Lord in 1812 in the eighty-fifth year of his age.

The first place in the round which Wesley visited in 1766 was Whitehaven. He says: "Wednesday, June 25th, we rode on to Whitehaven. Here I spent the rest of the week. Sunday, 29th, I appointed the children to meet me; and desired Mr. Atlay to meet them for the time to come. At one, Robert Williams preached in the Market Place, to some thousands of people, all quiet and attentive. About 5, I preached near the town to a willing multitude, many of whom seemed to be cut to the heart." Approaching the circuit again in July, from the direction of York, we find Wesley at Pateley Bridge, on July 24th. Here from 1750 to 1752, Thomas Lee and the first Methodists were several times subjected to the grossest violence. Now the reception of Wesley presents a totally different picture. He says: "I preached at Pateley Bridge. Such a congregation, both for numbers and seriousness, I have not seen since we left Newcastle. As it rained, I desired the men to put on their hats; but in two or three minutes they pulled them off again, and seemed to mind nothing but how they might 'know the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ.' Friday, 25th, we rode to Skipton-in-Craven. I desired to preach in the Market Place, but the rain prevented. So I stood near Mr. Garforth's house, where many were under shelter; but many remained without, seeming not to think whether it rained or not. Will all these be barren and unfruitful?"

"Saturday, 26th, I preached at Addingham about nine, and at Guiseley in the evening."

The next place in the circuit visited on this occasion was Baildon, concerning which Wesley says: "Sunday, 27th, as Baildon church would not near contain the congregation, after the prayers were ended I came out into the churchyard, both morning and afternoon. The wind was extremely high, and blew in my face all the time, yet I believe all the people could hear."

In 1766 a number of societies in the neighbourhood of Halifax were taken from the circuit, and added to the Halifax portion of the Birstall circuit.

After preaching at Bradford, Wesley came again into the circuit on the 29th, at Colne. There he preached, and records a case of ghostly visitation such as recur here and there throughout his Journals. "In the evening," he says, "I preached at Padiham, and strongly insisted on communion with God, as the only religion that would avail us. Wednesday, 30th, I rode to Rossendale, which, notwithstanding its name, is little else than a chain of mountains. The rain in the evening obliged me to preach in the new house, near a village called New Church. As many as could crowded in, and many more stood at the door; but many were constrained to go away. Thursday, 31st, I preached at Bacup, and then rode on to Heptonstall. The tall mountain on which it stands, is quite steep and abrupt, only where the roads are made; and the deep valleys that surround it, as well as the sides of the mountain beyond, are all well clothed with grass, corn, and trees. I preached with great enlargement of heart on, 'Now is the day of salvation.' The renegade Methodists, first turning Calvinists, then Anabaptists, made much confusion here for a season; but as they now have taken themselves away, the poor people are in peace again.

"Friday, August 1st, I rode to Ewood. The last time I was here, young Mr. Grimshaw received me in the same hearty manner as his father used to do; but he too is now gone into eternity! So in a few years the family is extinct! I preached at one in a meadow near the House to a numerous congregation; and we sang with one heart:

Let sickness blast and death devour,
 If heaven will recompense our pains;
 Perish the grass and fade the flower,
 Since firm the word of God remains."

CHAPTER XXIII.

GRIMSHAW was succeeded in the living of Haworth by the Rev. John Richardson, a native of Crosby in Westmoreland, a man of polished manners, unaffected piety, and of a mild and amiable disposition. He died at Haworth a few weeks after Wesley died in London. Three years elapsed after the death of Grimshaw before we find Wesley preaching again in the churchyard of Haworth. He writes, August 3rd, 1766: "When the prayers at Haworth were ended, I preached from a little scaffold on the south side of the church. The communicants alone (a sight which has not been seen since Mr. Grimshaw's death) filled the church. In the afternoon, the congregation was supposed to be the largest which has ever been there; but strength was given me in proportion, so that I believe all could hear."

Whilst showers of blessing fell on people from afar who flocked to the ministry of Grimshaw, some of his own parishoners, both during his lifetime and after his death, answered to the graphic description given of them in Darney's rhymes:—

"But while the strangers do receive
The blessing from above,
There's many near the church that starve,
For want of Jesu's love."

Mr. Wesley felt deeply the spiritually dead condition of the people of Haworth, as the text from which he preached on the 3rd of August, 1866, shows: "If thou hadst known the things that belong unto thy peace!"

The numbers in society indicate it, for the society dwindled down to eight members.

Monday, August 4th, Wesley says: "I preached at Bingley, but with a heavy heart, finding so many of the Methodists here, as well as at Haworth, perverted by the Anabaptists. I see clearer and clearer, none will keep to us unless they keep to the Church. Whoever separate from the Church will separate from the Methodists."

Local tradition states that sometime between the years 1760 and 1764 a considerable number of persons left the Methodist society and founded the Baptist church in that town. Amongst the seceders was Mr. John Skirrow, a zealous and

useful local preacher. He died in 1785 in the 75th year of his age, and was interred in the Baptist chapel, Bingley. In consequence of this division, pecuniary difficulties compelled the Bingley Methodists to petition Conference for assistance. In the Minutes for 1766 we find, under the question, "What places petition for help?" that amongst other towns, Bingley is named as receiving £5. Various sums were afterwards granted; in 1769, £10; in 1770, £6 6s. 2d.; in 1772, £2 10s. od.; and in 1775, £24. Why did the Bingley Methodists require this help? They had built no chapel and consequently had no debt to meet. Probably lodgings were required for the preachers, the members generally being too poor to entertain them during their visits, and to assist them to meet expenses these sums were given.

Under date of August 4th, Wesley says—"I went to Otley, but the town seemed to be run mad. Such noise, hurry, drunkenness, rioting, confusion, I know not when I met with before. It was their feast day! A feast of Bacchus, or Venus, or Belial? O shame to a Christian country! However, both the small and great rabble were so engaged that they had no leisure to molest us; so that I preached to a large congregation under the hill with perfect quietness."

Tyerman says—"Every one must be struck with Wesley's almost unequalled labour—labours prosecuted, not for honour,—inasmuch as for the present, at all events, they only brought him contempt and ridicule; nor for fortune, inasmuch as he took nothing from the people among whom he laboured, except, occasionally when his purse was empty, a few shillings to pay his turnpike gates or his ostler's bill. Indeed money, like all his other talents, he devoted entirely to the work of God. He sometimes had it, but he never kept it. 'Hundreds and thousands,' says Thomas Olivers, 'are for ever draining Mr. Wesley's pocket to the last shilling, as those about him are eye witnesses.'"^{*}

The Keighley circuit book supplies many confirmations of this statement; thus we have, July 9th, 1767, this entry—"Mr. Wesley's mare, 15 nights, 7s. 6d."

In the old Todmorden Book we have entries, January 9th, 1762—"Received from Mr. Grimshaw towards the maintenance of Mr. Wesley and others, in all 6s.; May 31, 1753, Mr. Wesley's charges at James Rhodes, in General Wood, and others, 4s.; April 25th, 1755, to Jas. Rhodes for Mr. Wesley and others, 5s. 6d."

The successors of Grimshaw, the Revs. John Richardson and James Charnock, were regarded as evangelical in their principles, and as having preached the truth; but they were far behind the never-to-be-forgotten apostle of Northern Methodism.

^{*}Tyerman ii. p. 588.

In the month of June, 1767, Lady Huntingdon went on an evangelistic tour, attended by five clergymen who preached to large congregations wherever the party stayed. One of them was the saintly Fletcher, of Madeley. Lady Huntingdon and her party stayed some time at Aberford, with the Rev. and Lady Margaret Ingham. From that town her ladyship made an excursion to Haworth, accompanied by Mr. Fletcher and Mr. Townsend. As it was understood that they would preach, an immense assemblage of people collected from all parts. Application was made for the use of Mr. Whitefield's pulpit, but the incumbent, though a good man, was averse to out-of-door preaching. Lady Huntingdon remonstrated,—the multitude could not be sent away empty, and as she was attended by two clergymen, both of whom were willing to undertake the service, the congregation was addressed in the churchyard, first by Mr. Fletcher, and afterwards by Mr. Townsend.

The preachers appointed to the circuit at the Conference of 1767 were Robert Costerdine, Joseph Guilford, John Whittam, and Thomas Cherry.

Joseph Guilford became an itinerant preacher in 1761. He had been in the army several years, and during the time he was thus employed, the Duke of Cumberland, who was then Commander-in-Chief, was desired by some enemies of religion to put a stop to the meetings of the praying soldiers. One day the Duke was passing the place where a number of the men were gathered together praying. Mr. Guilford, it is said, was at the moment pleading with God, and while the Duke was listening at the door, he was earnestly entreating God in behalf of King George and all the royal family. The Duke, who had heard him with deep attention, seemed much affected, and said to those who were with him, "I would to God that all the soldiers in the British army were like these men." In his ministry Mr. Guilford manifested the spirit of a true soldier, fearing the face of no man. As a preacher he was a Boanerges, his sermons being very alarming, and his spirit full of zeal and fervour.

His ministry proved of great service to that eminent Methodist preacher, Mr. Samuel Bradburn, who resided at Chester in 1765, when Mr. Guildford was travelling in the Derbyshire circuit, which at that time included the Palatine City. He says of him—"His words, like a mighty torrent, seemed to bear down everything that stood in the way. One evening, being exceedingly cast down, and finding an uncommon weight upon my spirits, I went to preaching, and while Mr. Guilford was describing the happiness of the righteous in glory, my heart melted like wax before the fire. In a moment all that heaviness was

removed, and the love of God was so abundantly shed abroad in my heart, that I could scarcely refrain from crying out in the preaching house."

In 1776, Mr. Guilford travelled in the Sheffield circuit. In giving tickets at Rotherham to the members of Mr. Green's class, a female of the name of Betty Rowley was present to receive her token of church membership. Mr. Guilford having been informed of the violent persecution she experienced from her husband, said, "Betty, if you had no connection with the Methodists, and were persuaded that, by uniting yourself to them, you would meet with all the opposition you have hitherto had to bear, could you, do you think, join yourself to them, and cheerfully go through the whole?" "Oh yes, sir," she exultingly replied; "if I was aware that I had ten times more to suffer, I could undergo the whole in the service of the Lord." She sat by the side of a couch, and the words were no sooner uttered than she fell back and expired. Whenever this good woman went to chapel in the evening, she was invariably locked out by her husband. Under these circumstances, she frequently returned to the chapel and slept in one of the pews all night, with the Bible for her pillow, to be ready for five o'clock preaching next morning.*

Evidence of the connection of Whitehaven with the circuit is supplied by an entry in the book on April 4th, 1759—"Mr. Guilford's expenses at Whitehaven, and removal from thence to Keighley, £1 2s. 10d." Removal bills for married men were then light indeed.

In the year 1765, when Mr. Guilford travelled in the Derbyshire round, which then included Leicester, the opposition the Methodists had to encounter compelled them to seek the protection of the law. Mr. Guilford had formerly been a blacksmith in Leicester, and went before the magistrates as a witness. The mayor enquired why he took upon himself to preach; Guilford replied, "If, sir, I could satisfy my conscience, I would rather be a shepherd's dog than a Methodist preacher, but I feel that, 'Woe is me if I preach not the Gospel.'" Only a conviction like that enabled these men to face and endure the perils and privations they were subjected to in those days of persecution.

His wife was an eminently holy woman, and proved a very great blessing to him in his work. In consequence of unpleasantness, arising out of a second marriage, it was judged expedient that he should give up the itinerant life and become a local preacher. He settled in London, where he finished his course with joy, in the year 1777. On the Saturday before he died, he

*Everett's, Sheffield, 216.

got out of bed, and desired his wife to join with him in prayer. Praying in a most fervent manner, particularly for the prosperity of Zion, his wife, being fearful that in the extreme weakness of his body he would exhaust himself too much, requested him to desist for a time; but he replied, "Let me alone; for I never had such sweet communion with Jesus before. I see the heavens opened, and I shall soon join that glorious company above." When he lay down in bed, he sung an anthem, in which were these words—"In Thy presence is life: heaviness may endure for a night, but joy cometh in the morning." His soul was so swallowed up in God that he got no sleep the whole night. In the morning he arose remarkably cheerful, and repeated several verses of a hymn. He then, with eyes lifted up to heaven, leaning on his wife's shoulder, walked across the room, and said, "As the Lord liveth, and as thy soul liveth, there is but a step between me and death," and instantly, without sigh or groan, resigned his happy spirit into the arms of his beloved Saviour.

Mr. Wesley, in his Journal for Whit-Sunday, May 18th, 1777, writes,—“I buried the body of Joseph Guilford, a holy man, and useful preacher. Surely never before did a man with so weak talents do so much good! He died as he lived, in the full triumph of faith, vehemently rejoicing and praising God.”

Thomas Cherry entered upon the work of the ministry in the year 1767. He was a very pious, steady, useful young man. He laboured faithfully, and with success, for a few years, and then we find from Wesley's Journal that he fell a victim to his own indiscretion. May 7th, 1772, Wesley then in Scotland, when Cherry was supernumerary in Aberdeen, says, "I took Thos. Cherry away with me, but it was too late, he will hardly recover. Let all observe, (that no more preachers may murder themselves), here is another martyr to screaming!"

John Whittam, who this year commenced his itinerant career in the Keighley circuit, was a native of the district. He was born at Sutton, in the parish of Kildwick. At an early period of his life he was brought to a knowledge of the truth, by the instrumentality of the Rev. W. Grimshaw. He travelled forty-four years in England and Ireland.

He may have been sent to the Whitehaven section of the circuit to assist Mr. Guilford in the wide area which it covered, for we find mention of him in the manuscript already referred to. The writer says, "We may mention that holy man of God, John Whittam, a very striking example of Christian piety in his life and deportment. Holiness to the Lord appeared very conspicuous. Words fail fully to shew him in his

true character. Wherever he went he left a savour behind him, and the Lord blessed his labours in town and country." He travelled again in Whitehaven 1787, after it became a separate circuit.

Being interrogated as to the state of his soul, a little before his death, he replied, "I want to be filled with God," and afterwards declared that this desire was realised. In the extremity of his affliction he said, "Come, Lord Jesus, and take me to Thyself," and calmly resigned his spirit to God, in the 81st year of his age. He died near the place of his nativity, Feb. 16th, 1818.*

In Wesley's Journal there is no specific mention of a visit to Keighley circuit in 1768. He says, June 13th, "I left Newcastle, and in the residue of the month visited most of the societies in Yorkshire. A letter, however, written by him from Kendal, April 13th, to Mr. R. Costerdine, gives the dates when he expected to be in the circuit. He says,—"My dear Brother, if the debt of Colne House were given at Leeds Conference, it will be taken in of course. If it were not, I will lay Mr. Shaw's paper before the ensuing Conference. On Monday, June 27th, I hope to be at Pateley Bridge (coming from Tadcaster where I expect to preach at noon. One might meet me at Tadcaster.) Tuesday, 28th, at Skipton; Wednesday, 29th, at Otley; Saturday, July 2nd, at Keighley. You may have the three volumes. Do not spare to speak when you visit the classes again, and many will enlarge their subscriptions."

The preachers appointed to the circuit in 1768, were Thomas Mitchell, Joseph Guilford, Wm. Ellis, and Thomas Newell.

Thomas Mitchell, as we have previously seen, was born in the circuit, and laboured there as a local preacher from 1747 to 1751. He now returned as assistant to scenes which must have been of familiar interest to him. His experiences during the interval of seventeen years were in some instances very trying. Great violence was done to him in Lincolnshire; and in Lancashire he suffered not less in another way.

The entire devotion of this brave soldier of Jesus Christ to Wesley and to his Lord is seen in the following extracts from his autobiography, which also illustrates the difficulties from within, as well as without, with which Methodism had to contend. "Coming in Dec. (1751), into Lancashire, I found trials of quite another kind. The poor people were in the utmost confusion, like a flock of frightened sheep. John Bennet, who before loved and revered Mr. Wesley for his work's sake, since he got into his new opinion, hated him cordially, and laboured to set all the people against him. He told them in the open congregation,

* Minutes of Conference, iv., p. 397.

that Mr. Wesley was a Pope, and that he preached nothing but popery. Dec. 30th, I met him at Bolton. I desired him to preach; but he would not. So I got up and spoke as well as I could, though with a heavy heart. After I had done, he met the society, and said many bitter things of Wesley. He then spread out his hands, and cried, 'Popery! Popery! I will not be in connexion with him any more.' I could not help telling him, "The spirit in which you now speak is not of God. Neither are you fit for the pulpit, while you are in such a spirit." While I was speaking, a woman that stood by me struck me in the face with all her might. Immediately all the congregation was in an uproar; so I thought it best to retire. Afterwards I believed it was my duty to expostulate with Mr. Bennet; but it did not avail: it seemed to me that all love was departed from him. His mind was wholly set against Mr. Wesley, and against the whole Methodist doctrine and discipline; and he had infused his own spirit into the people in many places, so that I had hard work among them. But the Lord kept my soul in peace and love. Glory be unto His holy name!"

Two years later, when in Wiltshire, we find Mr. Mitchell describing his experience thus—"Here I formed a firm resolution of cleaving more closely to God than ever I had done before. I longed to be wholly freed from the enemies which I carried in my bosom. I saw no other could possibly hurt me, if I could but conquer them. I read the Bible and prayed much, and found many blessings from the Lord. And I found, in particular, an entire disengagement from all earthly things. My soul was even as a weaned child. I was willing to be anything or nothing. I had no desire for anything in the world but to live unto the glory of God. O how easy does it make everything, when we can give up all for Christ."

William Ellis commenced to travel in 1763, and ceased in 1773. We can learn no particulars respecting him. Of Thomas Newell Methodist history is also silent, although he was nineteen years in the work, viz., from 1761 to 1780.

Many of the young men called out into the itinerancy by Wesley had married, and hitherto no settled provision had been made for wives and families. The Haworth circuit was in advance of others in its sense of responsibility in this matter, for we find that on July 23rd, 1761, the circuit paid Mr. Gibbs, for himself and wife, the sum of £5 12s. 6d. In 1762 three payments were made to Jonathan Catlow's family; and to Mr. Jeremiah Robertshaw £3 os. od. was paid, and to his family £1 os. od.

From the quotations already made it will have appeared that the Conferences had been, to a great extent, gatherings of

preachers for council and stimulus in their great work of evangelising the nation. As the organisation necessarily increased through the multiplication of preachers and the acquisition of property; matters of business arose which curtailed the time hitherto devoted to spiritual topics. This Wesley deplored, and to secure continued attention to themes of higher importance, made a suggestion which, modified in its form, might save large portions of time to the Conferences of our day, and make them infinitely greater occasions for good than under present conditions is possible.

In the Minutes of Conference for 1769 the question [is asked :—

“Q. 20. We have this year spent above two days in temporal business. How may we avoid this for the time to come?”

A. Let the clerks do as much of it as they can by themselves, and it will save us half the time.

Conferences then usually occupied four days :—

1765, August 20 to 23	...	...	4 Days
1766, August 12 to 16	...	...	5 Days
1767, August 18 to 22	...	...	5 Days
1768, August 16 to 19	...	...	4 Days
1769, August 1 to 4	...	...	4 Days

At the Conference of 1769 the first division of the Haworth circuit took place. Whitehaven was separated from it, and as the undermentioned places are connected with Whitehaven in the society book of 1763, they would certainly form part of the new circuit :—

	Leaders			Members
Whitehaven	8	...	...	115
				(3 female bands, 1 male do.)
Workington	1	...	...	12
Lorton ...	1	...	...	6
Branthwaite	1	...	...	12
Coldbeck ...	1	...	...	9
Brackenhill	1	...	...	10
Wigton ...	1	...	...	8
Cockermouth	1	...	...	19

All places north of Settle and Black Burton also, disappeared from the book, and among them Kendal, with 2 leaders and 25 members. The preachers appointed to Whitehaven were Joseph Guilford and John Wittam, who had travelled in the Haworth circuit in the years immediately previous. March 29th, 1770, there is an entry in the circuit book of 9s. od. towards Brother Mitchell's expenses to Whitehaven. This was probably a final

visit of the Keighley superintendent to arrange matters in the new circuit.

On the early history of Methodism in Whitehaven we quote from a manuscript written by Mr. Briscoe, of Whitehaven, about 1823, in the possession of Mrs. Wilfred Wilson, who in 1892 was living at 138, Coronation Road, Bristol, and at that time was 86 years of age. Mr. Briscoe was Mrs. Wilson's grandfather by marriage.

"From the best information now attainable, two Methodist preachers visited Whitehaven in the summer of 1745, and preached in the Market Place for the first time, in the midst of much interruption and insult; but finding encouragement from a few persons, whose names I shall have occasion hereafter to mention, they obtained liberty to preach in an archway, or stable, on the property of Mr. Ray, in Howgill Street." Who were these two men? I think it very probable that they were Messrs. Christopher Hopper and Joseph Cownley. Mr. Hopper thrice refers to Whitehaven, between the years 1749 and 1753, and in the memoir of Mr. Cownley it is said; "The work in the north of England extended much by the united labours of Mr. Cownley, and Mr. Hopper, and their brethren. Several societies were founded, which continue to this day." Though these dates are later than 1745, that may be incorrect, as in Mr. Briscoe's narrative it is but suppositious. I am more inclined to the date of 1749, because Mr. Wesley, on September 22nd, preached at Whitehaven for the first time, "moved by the pressing instances of Mr. Cownley," and also, "explained the design, nature, and use of Christian societies," and "at eight endeavoured to mould as many as desired it into a regular society." This indicates that no classes had then been formed. Until the 30th he was more or less in the neighbourhood, and on the 28th, says, "John Brown and Mr. Hopper were with me."

"Shortly after this the Assembly Room in the same street was hired for the purpose of public worship, which was held there for some time. Yet preaching in the open-air was occasionally continued, tho' with much opposition. Much time had not elapsed when a small society was formed, and tickets given to 16 or 20 persons, male and female, who formed a body, and seconded the efforts of the preachers both in town and country. Finding the society to increase, the civil powers were sought unto for protection, and persecution gradually declined. The preachers and others who zealously advocated the cause, finding the great Head of the Church to bless them in their labours by a rapid increase of members desirous of serving God, a consultation took place concerning ground whereon to build a

chapel, and also in regard to ways and means how to accomplish so great a work. The rich and great of the town, holding influence with the Lord of the Manor, Sir James Lowther, who possessed all the vacant ground in or near the town; of that class of people few if any had countenanced the new sect; however, through the medium of the Lord's gardener and butler, who had joined the society, application was made to Sir James, who was then in the town, and the result was favourable. Soon after this a kind Providence influenced many good people to aid in building the ark, both by subscriptions and donations of manual labour.

"In April, 1751, Richard Gwyn was deputed to wait upon Sir James Lowther at the Castle, who, contrary to all expectation, pointed out the plot of ground whereon stands the present new chapel, as a free gift, except the payment of 27s. 4d. annually as Lord's rent. Seven trustees were then chosen and appointed to manage and superintend the building, viz., Wm. Benn, Jno. Cook, Thos. Walker, Jno. Moscrop, Jno. Roughley, Jas. Davinson, and Hy. Fox. Notwithstanding the ground being obtained and other help promised, yet much time passed over without fully entering into that spirit which the business required; but in process of time the building was erected, and upon what was then thought a large scale, and formed in a regular way, so as to seat about 400 persons. I cannot learn who first opened the chapel, perhaps our dear Revd. Father Mr. Wesley, or Mr. John Pawson, who was in Whitehaven at a very early period of Methodism. (Myles gives 1759 as the date of erection.) The chapel being opened the society and congregation increased rapidly, so that two preachers found sufficient exercise in town and country."

(If the chapel was opened by John Pawson it must have been finished in 1763, as he was in the round in that year.)

"As the subscriptions, donations, and labour gratis, were very encouraging, the trustees were induced, for the further convenience of the preachers, to build a respectable dwelling house next to the chapel, so that both the preachers were in that respect rendered comfortable. With the blessing of heaven which had ever attended this infant church, many souls were added thereto, and to the Lord. Respectability, regularity, and good order followed, after the church found a resting place and temple. What added much comfort to the people, and gave stability to the work of God, was to find that dear blessed man, Mr. Wesley, to own and regularly visit them.

"Our dear Revd. Father Mr. Wesley, has never been inattentive to his children in Whitehaven, but continued his visits as long as bodily strength permitted. His last visit I well re-

member, as also the last sermon he preached to us. It rained in torrents during the morning service from 5 to 6. After the sermon he gave out, 'Lift up your hearts to things above,' &c., to which he raised Wednesbury, and finding that we could join him, he said, 'I am glad to find you can sing my favourite tune.' Then in his last prayer he earnestly begged the Lord to stop the bottles of Heaven, which immediately took place, and he had a pleasant ride to Cockermouth."

"So far the Lord blessed this best of causes that, Jan. 14th, 1761, the chapel was registered at the Quarter Sessions, Cockermouth, for Divine Service, and in February new trustees were chosen to manage and let, in the place of those whom God had taken to their reward; for from what I have learned all died in the faith. Their successors were Robt. Swindells, John Brownrigg, John Gillespie, Jno. McCombe, Daniel Jenkinson, John Littledale, and Mr. Wilson, people whom I very well know.

"In the early months of 1791, there was a subsidence of the earth at Whitehaven, by which 100 houses were damaged. The chapel and preacher's house suffered greatly. A friend came to the aid of the cause from an unexpected quarter. James Haygarth, Esq., sent for the preacher and offered him a commodious house rent free. Mr. Haygarth had built a church for his tenantry. Through the interference of Lord L—, the bishop refused to consecrate it. Mr. Haygarth gave the Methodists the use of it, and allowed the stewards to let the pews and use the money. Sometime after Mr. Haygarth came to a lovefeast. After hearing some speak, he rose, and though making no profession of experimental religion, said, 'I am exceedingly pleased to see this place answering the end for which I built it. I was lately invited to dine with Lord L. In the course of conversation his Lordship said, 'Haygarth, what did it cost you to build that church?' '£1,600 my Lord.' 'I will give you that for it' (said his Lordship) 'but I will not promise that the Methodists shall have it.' I replied, 'My Lord, whilst the Methodists conduct themselves as they do, I will not sell the church for twice its value, and none shall dispossess them of it.' Lord L. said, 'I have often wondered what could induce me to advise the Bishop not to consecrate the place.' I answered, 'It was not you, my Lord, that prevented the Bishop, but a Higher Power, for a better purpose.'

"Mr. Haygarth concluded by saying, 'You poor Methodists, that cannot pay your rents, come to me, and I will find shelter for 30 or 40 of you.' A second preacher being appointed at the Conference, Mr. Haygarth found him a house and furnished it.

"Daniel Jenkinson and Wm. Wilson were very useful local preachers for many years, till God thought fit to take them in 1791.

"I now come to remark on the circumstances within the compass of my own recollection, being carried to the chapel from my earliest years by my parents, who were members of the society, and members also of Christ's mystical body, till they changed worlds. I very well remember that man of God, Mr. Joseph Guilford being here. With the blessing of God and his zealous and indefatigable labours, both in the pulpit and in going from house to house, many souls were brought to God, and multitudes also to hear the word, so that the chapel on Sabbath evenings proved too small. I think he had in early life been in the army, from many remarks made in the pulpit, such as, when a red coat entered the door 'Come in brother, I love the colour of your cloth, etc.'

"We then had, and for many years after, preaching, or an exhortation, every evening, Tuesdays excepted, which was set apart for class meetings. Morning preaching at five o'clock was strictly attended to, and field preaching also when the weather permitted. Stewards, leaders, and trustees appeared full of zeal, and were very useful in prayer meetings, reading sermons, and some in preaching. It is not intended to mention all the preachers' names in their regular succession, but only those in whom appeared either more grace and holy fire than ordinary, or otherwise something in their composition rather singular; therefore I shall next bring before you (1773) that champion in the Redeemer's cause, Mr. Jacob Rowell. I perhaps heard every sermon he preached in Whitehaven, and he might well be styled, wrestling Jacob. Words fail me fully to describe and set forth that blessed and dear man of God. If ever the devil's kingdom got a shake by the preaching of Christ crucified in Whitehaven, 'twas then. I am very sorry to observe that although the number of members in Whitehaven at that time was short of 100, yet on a week night we nearly had twice the number of hearers we have now when our members in society are so numerous. During J. Rowell's stay our chapel was overcrowded, which attracted the attention of the men in office. A meeting of the people took place, and it was determined not only to gallery the chapel, but also to have a circuit house for the preacher's use, as the circuit was then so extensive, taking in all the villages and towns on the coast Northward as far as Brampton, and Carlisle itself, which of late years has assumed a character clandestinely taken from Whitehaven, *the Head of the District*. Even Carlisle had its birth and nourishment from Whitehaven and its ministers."

There are side lights shed by this manuscript upon the domestic life of the preachers of those days. The writer says of a Mr. John Wiltshaw—"He had no wife when stationed here for the first time, and, being of a free, open disposition, had much opportunity of being useful. He loved every place, and everyone loved him. He lived in the single preacher's room, and cooked and waited on himself, but the chief part of his victuals he got among the people."

Of another he says—"Mr. John Peacock was a valiant champion in the Redeemer's cause, and he told me that in youth he was as valiant in the cause of Satan; for wrestling, boxing, &c., he was not easily vanquished. He brought with him a numerous retinue—wife, two sons, and three or four daughters, one of whom he thought so good from her birth that she had scarcely tasted of the fall. A family like this very ill suited our circumstances at that time. The carriage of them and their boxes cost, I think, £6; and while all was confusion in the house, this great family with all their appendages, and the leaders, stewards, &c., a general thought struck, I believe, the whole, and Joseph Browning, a leader, trustee, and steward, said—"What can we do with such a brood as this?" Resentment kindled in the good minister, and he stood up and extended his gigantic arm, supported by the other, and said, 'As the Lord liveth, if I hear any more of this, I break you every man.'

The state of things above described was so intolerable that an attempt to remedy it was made in the Conference of 1769.

The preachers appointed as colleagues to T. Mitchell in 1769 were George Hudson, Thomas Wride, and David Evans.

Of George Hudson we learn nothing more than that he became an itinerant preacher in 1761, and retired from the work in 1780. Myles names him as one expelled, and there is this note in the Minutes for that year, beneath the list of those desisting from travelling—"As we admit no one as a travelling preacher, unless we judge him to have grace, gifts, and fruit; so we cannot receive anyone as such any longer than he retains those qualifications."

We know little more respecting Daniel Evans. He began to travel this year, and continued in the work until 1783. He also was one of the weaker brethren in the itinerancy, for Wesley kept him on trial longer than was his wont, and says of him, in a letter to Christopher Hopper, October 31st, 1778. "At a general Conference, David Evans was judged unqualified for a travelling preacher." He, however, only remained without appointment one year.

Thomas Wride was an original both in the pulpit and out of it. Though not destitute of preaching qualifications, yet he indulged too much in quaintness and mimicry, the recollection of which is more vivid than any special instance of usefulness. He had naturally a mechanical genius, which displayed itself in the regulation and repair of clocks and watches, which he met with at the houses where he lodged, and he often astonished his friends in the Dales by his ingenuity in suspending the fire irons to his own time piece so as to make them fall at any given hour in the morning at which they might wish to be awakened. This was, of course, on the same principle as an alarm clock, but at that time it excited no small amount of wonder.*

Wride was also a quack doctor, either for profit or fancy, and several of his prescriptions are still extant in his own handwriting. They illustrate the barbarous methods of treating disease which for centuries had been practised.

One of these I give as a curious specimen of painless dentistry: "Seethe the brain of a hare in red wine, and therewith anoint the tooth, and it will fall out without pain."

Another:—"Put in the hollow tooth ashes of worms, or the brain of a partridge, and anoint the tooth on the outside with the powder of red coral. It will make it fall out."

Such prescriptions as these, and other supposed remedies surviving from ancient practice, serve to explain why Wesley is so often emphatic in his letters respecting recommendation of his *Primitive Physic*, and reveal the necessity and benevolence of such a medical work, on simple and more common sense lines than those under which the poor were then treated.

I close the year with another unpublished letter of John Nelson, "to the Rev. Mr. Charles Wesley, at the Foundry, near Moorfields, London."

"Sunderland, December 5th, 1769.

Dear Sir,

This, with my duty to you, and best love to you and yours. I can say that there is not one day passes that you are not brought to my remembrance when I pray in private, and here is multitudes in this round asketh after you. There is many of your children about Sheephill, and Spen, and Horsley, and other places that say they would go 20 miles to see you once more in the flesh, for they bless God that ever they heard you. Sister Tinkler has gone in full triumph since I came, and several lately that were the fruit of your preaching at Tanfield Cross, and we had a young man near Horsley that I visited, died happy. Our congregations is large in every place; I think Durham was

*Steele's Barnard Castle, 138.

never in so prosperous a way before. There is several fresh members joined in several parts of the round and many backsliders come again, and some hath found peace after their great revolts ; to God be all the glory. I think if God give you strength and direct you once more into the North I believe it will be a blessing to thousands, and to your own soul, for I find it to be a blessing to my soul to find so many of our first fruits stand so fast in the way they were called, and to hear of so many that is gone off in such a triumphant manner, and to see others come in to fill up their places. I desire an interest in your prayers and in all the church of God. I hear my wife is in but a poor state of health. O sir, pray for her as I do for you and yours, and I shall be glad to hear from you, and how the work of God goes on with you in that place. My kind love to all enquiring friends, from your unworthy brother in Christ and as a son to serve in the Gospel,

JOHN NELSON."

Wesley approached the Haworth circuit once more, by way of York, on June 25th, 1770. He says: "I preached at Tadcaster at noon, and at Pateley Bridge in the evening. It rained as usual, all the time ; but the congregation stood as still as the trees ; and God did satisfy the hungry with good things, many of whom have given him all their heart. Sunday, 26th, it rained all the time I was preaching at Otley, to a numerous congregation ; and they drank in the words of life, just as the thirsty earth the showers. The next evening I preached in a house at Yeadon, the rain not suffering me to stand abroad."

From Yeadon we find that Wesley went direct to the valley of the Calder. "Thursday, 28th, I rode to Mr. Sutcliffe's at Hoohole (near Mytholmroyd), a lovely valley, encompassed with high mountains. I stood on the smooth grass before his house (which stands on a gently rising ground), and all the people on the slope before me. It was a glorious opportunity. I trust many 'came boldly to the throne, and found grace to help in time of need.'

"I can hardly believe that I am this day entered into the sixty-eighth year of my age. How marvellous are the ways of God ! How has he kept me even from a child ! From ten to thirteen or fourteen, I had little but bread to eat, and not great plenty of that. I believe this was so far from hurting me, that it laid the foundation of lasting health. When I grew up, in consequence of reading Dr. Cheyne, I chose to eat sparingly, and drink water. This was another way of continuing my health, till I was about seven-and-twenty. I then began spitting of

blood, which continued several years. A warm climate cured this. I was afterwards brought to the brink of death by a fever; but it left me healthier than before. Eleven years after, I was in the third stage of a consumption; in three months it pleased God to remove this also. Since that time I have known neither pain nor sickness, and am now healthier than I was forty years ago. This hath God wrought.*

From Mytholmroyd, Wesley went to Heptonstall, Colne, and Keighley, on Friday and Saturday, preaching in each place. Sunday, July 14th, he says: "Being much concerned for the poor parishioners of Haworth, who hear and hear, and are no more affected than stones, I spoke to them in the most cutting manner I could. May God apply it to their hearts!" On Monday and Tuesday he preached at Bingley and Bradford, and on Wednesday rode to Halifax. This concludes all the record we possess concerning Wesley's visit to the circuit in 1770.

The preachers appointed to the circuit in 1770 were Richard Seed, George Hudson and Daniel Evans.

The two latter were noticed in connection with the preceding year.

Richard Seed began to travel in 1768, and died in 1805. The only information obtainable concerning him is the Conference notice, "He was an old, well-known preacher, who travelled several years with a fair character, and finished his earthly course with an apoplectic fit; which, although a sudden call, we are well satisfied, found him prepared for his heavenly inheritance."

The extracts from Wesley's correspondence and the Minutes of Conference have indicated his great concern that the Methodist Societies should consist of holy people zealous of good works. Antinomianism had wrought havoc in many places, and the extreme Calvinism of that day not only limited the offer of salvation to all men, but tended to weaken the obligation to a life of strict godliness. Hence in the Conference of 1770, the question was asked, "What can be done to revive the work of God where it is decayed?" The points in the answers given to it all show that to stimulate holy living was the sole object of the leader of Methodism.

The Minutes of Conference for 1770 were so important in their practical character, and in the consequences resulting from them, as to demand special attention by the student of Methodism. "We must needs visit from house to house, were it only to avoid idleness. I am afraid we are idle still. Do we not loiter away many hours in every week? Try yourselves. Keep a diary of

*Wesley's Journal.

your employment but for a week, and then read it over. No idleness can consist with growth of grace. Nay, without exactness in redeeming time, it is impossible to retain even the life you received in justification."*

Minutes 2, 3, 4, 5, refer to circulation of useful books, field preaching, morning preaching, singing, fasting, and deliverance from sin, the appointment of four fast days, children and the church, and the 5th regulates preaching in the interests of the Church of England.

The consequences of what was stated under the 6th head were so serious, as to make it essential for the vindication of Wesley and his preachers, that the connection between the foregoing items of counsel should not be lost sight of.

No. 6 was "Take heed of your doctrine. We said, in 1744. 'We have leaned too much towards Calvinism.' Wherein?"

1. With regard to *man's faithfulness*. Our Lord Himself taught us to use the expression, and we ought never to be ashamed of it. We ought steadily to assert, on His authority, that if a man is not 'faithful in the unrighteous mammon,' God will not give him the true riches.

2. With regard to *working for life*. This also our Lord has commanded us, 'Labour,' literally, 'Work for the meat that endureth to everlasting life.' And, in fact, every believer, till he comes to glory, works *for* as well as *from* life.

3. We have received it as a maxim, that 'a man is to do nothing in order to justification.' Nothing can be more false. Whoever desires to find favour with God should 'cease from evil and learn to do well.' Whoever repents should do 'works meet for repentance.' And if this is not in order to find favour, what does he do them for?

Review the whole affair.

1. Who of us is *now* accepted of God? He that now believes in Christ with a loving obedient heart.

2. But who amongst those that never heard of Christ? He that feareth God and worketh righteousness, according to the light he has.

3. Is this the same with 'he that is sincere?' Nearly, if not quite.

4. Is not this 'salvation by works?' Not by the *merit* of works, but by works as a *condition*.

5. What have we then been disputing about these last thirty years? I am afraid about words.

6. As to *merit* itself, of which we have been so dreadfully

*Can we find a better method of visiting than that set down in the Minutes of 1766, pp 63-68.

afraid ; we are rewarded ' *according to our works,*' yea, ' *because of our works.*' How does this differ from *for the sake of our works?* And how differs this from—as our works *deserve?* Can you split this hair? I doubt I cannot.

The grand objection to one of the preceding propositions is drawn from matter of fact. God does in fact justify those who, by their own confession, neither feared God nor wrought righteousness. Is this an exception to the general rule?

It is a doubt, God makes any exception at all. But how are we sure that the person in question never did fear God and work righteousness? His own saying so is not proof: for we know how all that are convinced of sin undervalue themselves in every respect.

8. Does not talking of a justified or a sanctified state tend to mislead men? almost naturally leading them to trust in what was done in one moment? Whereas, we are every hour and every moment pleasing or displeasing to God, ' *according to our works*' ; according to the whole of our inward tempers and our outward behaviour."

Writing in defence of these Minutes, the Revd. John Fletcher shows the state of things in some of the societies at that time. He was well acquainted with both Wesley's and those of Lady Huntingdon, and from his relations of close friendship with Wesley, may be taken as revealing the view of things held by his friend. He says, "I could not help seeing that it was only to guard them (the preachers) and their hearers against Antinomian principles and practices, which spread like wild fire in some of his societies, where persons who spoke in the most glorious manner of Christ, and their interest in His complete salvation, have been found living in the greatest immoralities, or indulging in the unchristian tempers."

The Wesleys and their saintly helper, John Fletcher, of Madeley, had maintained the warmest christian friendship with the Countess of Huntingdon, Whitefield, and many of the evangelical clergy who held Calvinistic opinions. At times the conflicting doctrines disturbed the relations between them, but love for souls and concern for the glory of God enabled them to bear with each other, and work for one end.

When establishing her Theological College at Trevecca, the Countess of Huntingdon induced Fletcher to become president of the institution, and Joseph Benson, one of Wesley's preachers, to take the position of classical tutor. Fletcher's position was becoming increasingly influential in the Connexion, and he is brought into great prominence during the controversy now to be noticed.

These Minutes of Conference fiercely re-opened the Calvinistic controversy, and were therefore of much importance in their effects upon the course of the revival of the eighteenth century. Wesley expected to accompany the Countess of Huntingdon into Wales very shortly after Conference, but her ladyship was so horrified by the doctrinal minutes of that assembly, as to write him saying, that until he renounced such doctrines, she must exclude him from all her pulpits.

As the Minutes of Conference became widely known, they gave great offence to the Calvinistic clergy and their followers, and Lady Huntingdon's stand against them brought her at once into collision with her classical tutor, Mr. Benson, and she dismissed him from his position at the College of Trevecca.

Fletcher, the president of the college, nobly defended both Benson and the Wesleys, in a letter which he wrote to the Countess on Jan. 7th, 1771. "Mr. Benson made a very just defence when he said, he held with me the possibility of salvation for all men; that mercy is offered to all; and yet may be received or rejected. If this is what your ladyship calls Mr. Wesley's opinion, free will, and Arminianism, and if 'every Arminian must quit the college,' I am actually discharged also; for, in my present view of things, I must hold that sentiment, if I believe that the Bible is true, and that God is love.

For my part, I am no party-man. In the Lord, I am your servant, and that of your every student; but I cannot give up the honour of being connected with my old friends, who, notwithstanding their failings, are entitled to my respect, gratitude, and assistance, could I occasionally give them any. Mr Wesley shall always be welcome to my pulpit, and I shall gladly bear my testimony in his, as well as in Mr. Whitefield's. But if your ladyship forbid your students to preach for the one, and offer them to preach for the other at every turn; and if a master is discarded for believing that Christ died for all; then prejudice reigns, charity is cruelly wounded, and party spirit shouts, prevails, and triumphs."

Wesley did all that was reasonable to set the Countess and her friends right as to his meaning in the Minutes, and had they acted in the spirit which breathes through his reply to Lady Huntingdon, the bitterness of that day's Calvinistic controversy would have been avoided. Writing from Ireland to the Countess, June 19th, 1771, he says, respecting the Minutes of 1770: "It is probable, at least, that I understand my own meaning as well as you do; and that meaning I have yet again declared in the sermon (on Mr. Whitefield's funeral) last referred to. By that interpret those ten lines, and you will understand them better;

although I should think that any one might see, even without this help, that the lines in question do not refer to the condition of obtaining, but of continuing in the favour of God. But whether the sentiment contained in those lines be right or wrong, and whether it be well or ill expressed, the gospel which I now preach God does still confirm by new witnesses in every place; perhaps never so much in this kingdom as within these last three months. Now, I argue from glaring, undeniable fact. God cannot bear witness to a lie; the gospel, therefore, which He confirms must be true in substance. There may be opinions maintained at the same time which are not exactly true; and who can be secure from these? Perhaps I thought myself so once. When I was much younger than I am now, I thought myself almost infallible, but, I bless God, I know myself better now. To be short. Such as I am, I love you well. You have one of the first places in my esteem and affection; and you once had some regard for me. But it cannot continue if it depends upon my seeing with your eyes, or on my being in no mistake. What if I was in as many as Mr. Law himself? If you were, I should love you still, provided your heart was still right with God. My dear friend, you seem not to have well learned yet the meaning of those words, which I desire to have continually written upon my heart, 'Whosoever doth the will of my Father which is in heaven, the same is my brother, and sister, and mother.'*

I am, my dear lady, your affectionate

JOHN WESLEY."

Lady Huntingdon took action against Wesley, and appears to have intended to go in person to the Conference of 1771. The writer of her Life says that she issued, through the Rev. Walter Shirley, a circular inviting all denominations to join her in visiting the Conference, to compel its members to revoke their Minutes. Immediately on receipt of this circular Fletcher wrote to Lady Huntingdon, threatening to take the field in defence of the Minutes, if the meditated attack on Wesley were not given up. To Mr. Shirley Fletcher also complained bitterly of the hurt done to Wesley's character by the circular. "Thousands of his friends you have grieved, offended, or staggered; and confirmed thousands of his enemies in their hard thoughts of him, and in their unjust contempt of his ministry."†

That Wesley did not mean to teach salvation by works is clear from the following incident. A deputation of ministers and laymen, connected with the Countess of Huntingdon, sought

**Methodist Magazine*, 1797, p. 563.

†Lady Huntingdon's Life, ii, p. 240.

admission to the Conference of 1771, and after a long conversation, the Rev. Walter Shirley produced a written declaration which he wished the Conference to sign. Wesley examined it, and made some alterations, which Shirley says were "not very material"; and then Wesley and fifty-three of his itinerant preachers appended to it their signatures. The declaration was as follows: "Whereas the doctrinal points in the Minutes of a Conference, held in London, August 7th, 1770, have been understood to favour justification by works; Now the Rev. John Wesley and others assembled in Conference, do declare that we had no such meaning, and that we abhor the doctrine of Justification by Works as a most perilous and abominable doctrine; and, as the said Minutes are not sufficiently guarded in the way they are expressed, we hereby solemnly declare, in the sight of God, that we have no trust or confidence but in the alone merits of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, for Justification or Salvation, either in life, death, or the day of judgment, and, though no one is a real Christian believer, (and consequently cannot be saved) who doth not good works, where there is time and opportunity, yet our works have no part in meriting or purchasing our salvation from first to last either in whole or in part."

The trading of some of his preachers was still troubling Wesley, hence the following question in Conference. "Two years ago it was agreed that Itinerant Preachers ought not to follow trades. How can we secure the observance of this?"

Answer. It is agreed by all the brethren now met in Conference, this 9th day of August, 1770, that no preacher who will not relinquish his trade of buying and selling, or making and vënding pills, drops, balsams, or medicines of any kind, shall be considered as a Travelling Preacher any longer; and that it shall be demanded of all those Preachers who have traded in cloth, hardware, pills, drops, balsams, or medicines of any kind, at the next Conference, whether they have entirely left it off or not.

"But observe we do not object to a preacher's having a share in a ship." These resolutions undoubtedly had reference, among others to James Oddie, who, from correspondence extant, had shares in a ship, and ultimately left the ministry to engage in trade.

He had been two years supernumerary at Newcastle, and was entered on the Minutes this year as supernumerary at Yarm, probably as an act of discipline. As he disappears from the Minutes at the Conference of 1771, it may be supposed that he refused to comply with the discipline on this question of trade. This is the more probable, as we find Wesley naming

Oddie as dissatisfied, in a letter written to Mr. Merryweather, of Yarm.

“ My Dear Brother—

I have the credit of stationing the preachers ; but many of them go where they *will* go, for all me. For instance, I have marked down James Oddie and John Nelson for Yarm circuit ; yet, I am not certain that either of them will come. They can give twenty reasons for going elsewhere. Mr. Murlin says he must be in London. 'Tis certain he has a mind to be there ; therefore, so it must be ; for you know a man of fortune is master of his own motions.

I am, your affectionate brother,

JOHN WESLEY.”

Then, as now, it seems, stationing difficulties were not uncommon.

Preachers who married found themselves in very straitened circumstances, and, in some cases, the wife had to carry on a small business at home, while the husband was travelling the round. He sometimes embraced the opportunity which the enlarged sphere of his labours presented, of disposing of the goods which his shop contained.*

One of the old preachers, Mr. Matthew Lowes, obliged, like many of his brethren, by the meagre allowances of those days, to devise some expedient by which to augment his scanty income, prepared an excellent balsam, which attained great celebrity, and was sold as late as 1857 by the name of Lowes Balsam. Several of the first preachers, as well as himself, disposed of a considerable quantity of it, and he no doubt found the profits arising from this source to afford a seasonable relief for the wants of a dependent family.

The rule putting a stop to all forms of trade was necessary to prevent the preachers from becoming more intent on trade than on their great work. While persecution was the common lot of the itinerants, and very slight provision existed anywhere for their comfort or maintenance, these tests of sincerity, and the necessities of the case, rendered trading permissible. But as times became more quiet, as houses were built for them, and they began to exercise a wider influence, it became necessary that every precaution should be taken to prevent suspicion of personal and worldly motives, and to keep them strictly to the high calling they had embraced.

Mr. Wesley and the Conference did not make an arbitrary rule,

*Steele, 57.

but carefully considered the case of married men, and provided to the best of their ability to meet this self-denying ordinance.

From the Minutes of the Conference of 1769, it appears that the married preachers were, before this time, sent only to the circuits which could maintain them. This was productive of many inconveniences, as there were very few circuits which could do this. To remedy this evil, every circuit was required to do a little towards paying the stipend of the preachers' wives; so that a married preacher might be sent into any circuit, whether it could wholly provide for his family or not. Hence in the old book of the Haworth round we have:—

October 18th, 1748, to Mr. Darney's wife	... £1 10 0
April 18th, 1749, do.	... 2 2 0

Further provision was made for wives and families in 1770. The names of the preachers' wives that needed support were published, and the circuits which were to provide for them were also mentioned. There were then forty-three to be provided for by the circuits in general. The children were to be supported by the circuits in which their parents laboured. It was now agreed that a preacher should receive £12 a year for his wife, and £4 a year for each of his children, to be paid quarterly; the boys till they were eight.

An entry in the circuit book of 1/6, paid April 1st, 1771, for sending a horse from Colne to Rochdale, indicates that the Lancashire portion of the circuit was making Colne its head.

Another entry of the same date points to the admission of Settle into the round of regular appointments: "Rent for a room to preach in at Settle, 10s." There is also a payment of 5s. to Joseph Waterhouse for supplying the round in Mr. Seed's absence.

The same Joseph Waterhouse appears ten years later in a list of local preachers, entered into the society book by Mr. Bradburn. The number in society was 1241.

On June 29th, 1772, Wesley was again in the Keighley circuit, approaching it from York by way of Tadcaster. He says: "I preached about ten at Tadcaster, and in the evening at Pateley Bridge." At the quarterly meeting, held July 16th, Mr. Robertshaw brought in a bill of £1 1s. 10d. for mending Mr. Wesley's chaise, and his expenses from Tadcaster to Keighley. This sheds light upon the manner in which the travelling expenses of the head of the Methodist societies were paid. From the next entry in the Journal it appears that Mrs. Wesley accompanied her husband.

"Tuesday, 30th, calling at a little inn on the moors, I spoke a few words to an old man there, as my wife did to the woman of the house. They both appeared to be deeply affected. Perhaps

Providence sent me to this house for the sake of these two poor souls. In the evening I preached in the new house at Otley, as neat as that at Hull; and the people appeared to be much alive; so that I was greatly comforted among them."

On July 4th, Wesley says: "I rode to Ewood, to S. Lockwood's, formerly the wife of young Mr. Grimshaw; afterwards married to Mr. Lockwood, and now again a young widow.

"At one I preached at Heptonstall to some thousands of people, who stood just before the preaching house on a lovely green, which rises slope above slope like artificial terraces. Hence, we climbed up and down wonderful mountains to Keighley, where many from various parts were waiting for us." Wesley would come to Keighley by the romantic road leading to Oxenhope by Pecket Well. The valleys of the Hebden and Worth at that time would be extremely lovely, woods, pure streams, and broad stretches of moorland, in the height of summer glory, before the advent of mills, must have presented views of exquisite beauty to the appreciative gaze of the great evangelist.

Sunday, 5th, he says: "Not half the congregation at Haworth could get into the Church in the morning, nor a third part in the afternoon; so I stood on a kind of pulpit, near the side of the Church. Such a congregation was never seen there before; and I believe all heard distinctly."

Wesley appears to have spent the Sunday night at Haworth, for on Monday he preached at Bingley; and tradition says, at Exley Head, he encountered a crowd of people from Keighley assembled at a bull-baiting. It is said that he alighted from his chaise, and spoke so kindly to them that they invited him to preach. He gladly accepted the invitation, and his sermon made a good impression on the multitude.

After preaching to a large congregation at Bingley, Wesley went to Bradford, and thence to Halifax, where, although Titus Knight offered him the use of his chapel, he preferred to preach in the Cow Market, judging that more people would attend in the open-air. An incident occurred as he was either going to, or returning from, that place, which illustrates the treatment Wesley was called upon to endure, and the spirit in which he met it.

Such a bitter spirit of malignity had been engendered in the minds of the populace against the Methodists, that a man of the name of Bramley, unable longer to subdue his fiendish rage, burst through the crowd and running towards Wesley struck him a most violent blow on the cheek, with the flat of his hand. The holy saint paused, and though tears started into his eyes from the smartness of the blow, remembering the admonition of his Master, "Whosoever shall smite thee on the right cheek, turn to

him the other also," turned to his assailant the other cheek. The coward was so struck with the circumstance that he slunk back into the crowd.

From correspondence between Mrs. Marshall, of Park House, Guiseley, and Mrs. Hopper, the wife of Mr. Christopher Hopper, one of Wesley's itinerants, we learn that this lady accompanied the great evangelist on this preaching tour in 1772. Writing on July 16th, 1772, she says: "I have taken a little round with Mr. Wesley; I have had a good profitable time. My old friend, Miss Hurrell, was along with me at Keighley, Haworth, Bingley, Bradford, Dawgreen, Birstall, Leeds and Ledsham, and Mrs. Crosley at some of the places. I was also two days and a night at Miss Bosanquet's, and indeed she seems to have all the qualifications of a gentlewoman and Christian; what a pity so good a woman should be imposed upon in any degree."

The Miss Hurrell, to whom Mrs. Marshall alludes, was awakened from the sleep of sin under the ministry of the Rev. J. Berridge, of Everton. She travelled through many counties of the kingdom preaching the unsearchable riches of Christ, and was rendered very useful in this part of Yorkshire, as also in Lancashire and Derbyshire. For some cause unknown, she in some measure, after years of active service, buried the precious talent committed to her by the Lord. When death stared her in the face she deeply lamented her unfaithfulness, and for some time was overwhelmed in distress. "I am going to die," she said, "I am entering the eternal world, but all is dark before me; neither sun, moon, nor stars appear. O that I had my time to live again, I would not bury my talent as I have done." It pleased the Lord, however, to lift up the light of His countenance upon her, ere she departed hence, and enable her to bear ample testimony to His almighty power to save to the uttermost.

The circuit appointment at the Conference of 1772 was Thomas Johnson, John Poole, and Thomas Tatton. Thomas Johnson travelled in the circuit in the year 1761, and has been noticed at that time; John Poole under year 1765. Thomas Tatton had then been one year in the itinerancy, and of him we know nothing, save that he ceased to travel in 1778.

We close the year 1772 with another of John Nelson's unpublished letters.

"To the Rev. Mr. Charles Wesley at the Room in the Horse Fair in the City of Bristol. 8

Huddersfield, Dec. 5th, 1772.

Dear Sir,

This with my duty to you and earnest prayer for you and

yours. I do not know that one day passes without you being brought to my mind. But you have reason to think otherwise, for I find the letter I sent by a private hand was not delivered to you. But my soul is united to yours as much as ever, and there is no letters so cheering to my soul as yours. But I have had many trials since I saw you, for my wife hath not had one week's health for above four years, so that she is almost like a skeleton, and cannot help herself. But she is happy in her soul in the midst of pain and weakness; and my granddaughter that looked to her is dead of a consumption, and she laid nine months badly, but died praising the Lord. But I was obliged to keep one to wait on them, and to sell my young horse to pay them and the doctor, and I bless God that I was able to pay as far as I did. I find my soul in peace, and the Lord doth yet convert sinners by His word, and many hath died in triumph of faith lately. Our Brother John Beaumont (Beaumont?) of Kirkhutton, finished his course about six weeks since, after ten years' affliction, in full triumph; he died of a fistula, and died as by inches. He had known the Lord to be his God and Saviour for near one and thirty years, and he was never known to slack his pace or to change his sentiment in all that time. I was with him a few days before he died, and I felt the Lord present with him, and he said I have fought the good fight, I have kept the faith that God wrought in my heart above thirty years ago. My God hath kept my soul in peace in the midst of racking pain and want through my long affliction, and without murmuring, and He hath prepared me for an eternal inheritance. He exhorted the class that he had care of to keep in the way God called them in, and but few children cry so tenderly for a father as the people of that society did for the loss of him when I went to preach his funeral. Mrs. Crowder died near the same time; she had been a pattern to all about her in patience and good works, and she lived above a year under the afflicting hand of God, and praised Him with her last breath; and a man that had persecuted his wife for more than thirty years we have reason to believe is escaped and gone to Christ through the prayers of his wife to God, heard for him. O Sir, I long to see you and all my friends there, and I desire you and all to pray for me and mine.

From your son to serve,

JOHN NELSON."

About the year 1756, Charles Wesley ceased to travel like his brother through the kingdom visiting the societies. His strong church principles had been expressed in very marked manner as we have seen, and as neither Wesley's preachers

nor people in many cases shared these views, John Wesley doubtless saw that to leave the societies in the hand of his brother, in the event of his own death, would mean general disruption, and an end of that evangelism which the British Isles so greatly needed. He therefore first intended to make Grimshaw his successor, as general superintendent of the Methodists; but in 1763 Grimshaw died in the prime of life, and Wesley had to look elsewhere. His mind never seems to have reverted to Charles, although he did not cease to write very plainly to his brother as to their common duty to fulfil the call of God.

However highly we may esteem Charles Wesley for his gifts and piety, we cannot fail to see that he did not answer, in some points, to the standard set up in the mind of his elder brother for the post of leader; and his age and infirmities might also be regarded as disqualifications.

At length Wesley fixed upon Fletcher as the man most suitable to succeed himself in the rule of the societies, and in a letter written January 1773 says:—"I see, more and more, unless there be one bishop, the work can never be carried on. The body of the preachers are not united; nor will any part of them submit to the rest; so that, either there must be one to preside over all, or the work will indeed come to an end.

"But who is sufficient for these things? qualified to preside over both the preachers and people? He must be a man of faith and love, and one that has a single eye to the advancement of the Kingdom of God. He must have a clear understanding; a knowledge of men and things, particularly of the Methodist doctrine and discipline; a ready utterance, diligence and activity, with a tolerable share of health. There must be added to these, favour with the people, with the Methodists in general. For unless God turn their eyes and their hearts toward him, he will be quite incapable of the work. He must, likewise, have some degree of learning; because there are many adversaries, learned as well as unlearned, whose mouths must be stopped. But this cannot be done, unless he be able to meet them on their own ground. But has God provided one so qualified? Who is he? *Thou art the man!* . . . Come out then in the name of God! Come while I am alive and capable of labour! Come while I am able, God assisting, to build you up in faith, to ripen your gifts, and to introduce you to the people!*

Fletcher's reply, dated Madeley, Feb. 6th, 1773, shows that he saw an insuperable difficulty in the position in which accept-

*Tyerman's Wesley, 3-148.

ance would place him toward Charles Wesley. His humility also, and the requirement of a clear providential call, barred the way to acquiescence with Wesley's desire. "Rev. and dear Sir, I hope the Lord, Who has so wonderfully stood by you hitherto, will preserve you to see many of your sheep, and *me* among the rest, enter into rest. Should Providence call you *first*, I shall do my best, by the Lord's assistance, to help *your brother* to gather the wreck, and keep together those who are not absolutely bent upon throwing away the Methodist doctrine or discipline. Every little help will then be necessary, and, I hope, I shall not be backward to throw in my mite.

"In the meantime, you stand sometimes in need of an assistant to serve tables, and occasionally to fill up a gap. Providence visibly appointed me to that office many years ago; and though it has no less evidently called me here, yet I have not been without doubts, especially for some years past, whether it would not be expedient that I should resume my place as your deacon; not with any view of presiding over the Methodists after you (God knows!) but to save you a little in your old age, and be in the way of receiving, and perhaps of doing, more good. I have sometimes considered how shameful it was that no clergyman should join you, to keep in the Church the work which God has enabled you to carry on therein; and, as the little estate I have in my native country is sufficient for my maintenance, I have thought I would, one day or other, offer you and the Methodists my *free* services.

"Nevertheless, I would not leave this place, without a *fuller* persuasion that the time is quite come. Not that God uses me much *now* among my parishioners, but because I have not sufficiently cleared my conscience from the blood of all men, especially with regard to ferreting out the poor, and expostulating with the rich, who make it their business to fly from me. In the meantime, it shall be my employment to beg the Lord to give me light, and make me willing to go anywhere or nowhere, to be anything or nothing."*

Charles Wesley lived fifteen years after John broached the wish that Fletcher should succeed him, and in the light shed upon his character and feeling by John Pawson, we cannot but recognise the hand of God in restraining Fletcher from a course of conduct which would probably have led to jealousy and great disruption. Pawson says, "I was perhaps as well acquainted with the two brothers as any man living. That Mr. Charles Wesley was of a very suspicious temper is certainly true; and that Mr. John Wesley had far more charity, in judg-

* Tyerman's Wesley, 3-149.

ing of persons in general (except the rich and great), than his brother had, is equally true. But that he was so apt to be taken in with appearances is not true. He was well able to form a judgment of particular persons, and was as seldom mistaken as his brother. I once heard him pleasantly say: 'My brother suspects everybody, and he is constantly imposed upon. but I suspect nobody, and I am never imposed upon.' It is well known that Mr. Charles Wesley was much prejudiced in favour of the clergy through the whole course of his life, and that it was nothing but hard necessity which obliged him, in any degree, to continue the lay preachers. He must have been blind indeed not to have seen that God had given to many of them, at least, considerable ministerial gifts, and that He attended their labours with great success; but I am well persuaded, that, could he have found a sufficient number of clergymen to have carried on the work of God, he would soon have disowned all the lay preachers. At a Conference held in Bristol many years ago, about a dozen clergymen attended for the purpose of convincing us that we ought not to preach in any parish that was favoured with a gospel minister. Mr. Charles Wesley took part with them, and said, 'If I was stationed in any particular parish, you should not preach there.' Mr. John Hampson replied, 'I would preach there and never ask your leave, and I should think I had as good a right for doing so as you had.' Mr. Charles answered in great anger, 'You are a grievous wolf: you will tear the flock when my brother and myself are dead, unless God give you repentance.' Mr. Charles was inclined to find out and magnify any supposed fault in the lay preachers; but his brother treated them with respect, and exercised a fatherly care over them. I am persuaded that, from the creation of the world, there never existed a body of men who looked up to any single person with a more profound degree of reverence than the preachers did to Mr. Wesley; and I am bold to say, that never did any man, no, not St. Paul himself, possess so high a degree of power over so large a body of men as was possessed by him. He used his power, however, for the edification of the people, and abused it as little perhaps as any one man ever did. When any difficulty occurred in governing the preachers, it soon vanished. The oldest, the very best, and those of them that had the greatest influence, were ever ready to unite with him, and to assist him to the utmost of their power.'*

The preachers appointed to this circuit in 1773, were T. Johnson, R. Costerdine, and E. Slater. Mr. Johnson travelled in the circuit in 1761, and his life is reviewed under that year.

* Tyerman's Wesley, 3-297.

Mr. Costerdine was in the circuit in 1765, and 1766, and 1767, and his life is dealt with under 1765.

E. Slater became an itinerant in 1770, and retired from the work in 1776. In the *Methodist Magazine* for 1857, p. 292, he is spoken of as resident in Upper Settle, and to have acted as coachman to Mr. Wesley. It is however certain that he entered into trade in Manchester, as Mr. Allen Edmondson, a native of Keighley, had business correspondence with him. Letters passing between them show that Mr. Slater retained his religious life, and made sacrifices for the Methodism of his native town. Writing from Manchester, January 21st, 1785, he says:

“Dear Brother,

I take notice of your trials, and say in answer, that looking much at others is not good. Jesus saith, ‘What is that to thee, follow thou me,’ and ‘Look unto me,’ etc. Our end and aim should be to glorify God, even by or in getting money, and if that is not our motive, riches will prove a curse. I will tell you my thoughts before marriage, 1st, to have a woman serious, with a little money, that she might not burden the church where I travelled. 2nd. That if I could ever spare as much money I would build a preaching house in my native town. Since I began business I have saved as much, and a little preaching house is built at Settle. If I live to save more, I wish to lay it out as God directs.”

In the *Magazine* of 1857 we are told that John Guy, a local preacher, and John Read, combined with Slater in this business. The earliest deed, dated May 11th, 1781, conveyed two dwelling houses and a parcel of ground, “*whereon a chapel for divine worship is now erecting*”; to John Guy. On Nov. 7th, 1781, John Guy assigns the property to Edward Slater, and in 1808, on payment of £30, it is secured to the Methodist Connexion with trustees. The £30 was paid to the executors of Edward Slater, who in the deed is styled, gentleman, Manchester.

In April of 1774, Wesley was once more in Yorkshire, preaching at Bradford, Huddersfield, Halifax, etc. On Monday the 18th he says, “The minister of Heptonstall sent me word that I was welcome to preach in his church. It was with difficulty we got up the steep mountain; and when we were upon it the wind was ready to bear us away. The church was filled, not with curious, but serious hearers. No others would face so furious a storm. At Ewood, in the evening, we had the usual blessing.

Visiting in the interval different places outside the Haworth circuit, among which were Morley, Pudsey, and

Bradford; on Friday the 22nd, he says, "I rode and walked to Bradshaw House, standing alone in a dreary waste. But although it was a cold and stormy day, the people flocked from all quarters. So they did at noon the next day to Clough, two or three miles from Colne, where, though it was cold enough, I was obliged to preach abroad. In the evening I preached to our old, upright, and loving brethren at Keighley.

"Sunday, 24th. It being a cold and stormy day, Haworth church contained the people tolerably well. On Monday, Tuesday, and Wednesday, I preached at Bingley and Yeadon, and on Thursday opened the new house at Wakefield. What a change is here, since our friend was afraid to let me preach in his house, lest the mob should pull it down! so I preached in the main street; and there was sown the first seed which has since borne so plenteous a harvest."

The other places in the circuit visited at this time were Otley and Pateley Bridge on Monday and Tuesday, May 2nd and 3rd, and then by Whitehaven, Cockermouth, and Carlisle, Wesley travelled to Scotland.

That Wesley should be able, at seventy-two, to take such long journeys and preach continuously, he accounts for as follows. June 28th, 1774. "This being my birth-day, the first day of my 72nd year, I was considering, 'How is this, that I feel just the same strength that I did thirty years ago? That my sight is considerably better now, and my nerves firmer than they were then? That I have none of the infirmities of old age, and have lost several I had in my youth? The grand cause is, the good pleasure of God, who doeth whatsoever pleaseth Him. The chief means are: 1, My constant rising at four for about fifty years. 2, My generally preaching at five in the morning; one of the most healthy exercises in the world. 3, My never travelling less, by sea or land, than four thousand five hundred miles in a year.'"

Mrs. Marshall, of Guiseley, in a letter written May 5th, 1774, confirms this statement of Wesley. She says, "We have had dear Mr. Wesley in our neighbourhood a fortnight, but he went off last Wednesday morning for Whitehaven. I think our good old father has never been more lively, more loved, or more followed than at this time of his coming amongst us. He has not failed to preach, in general, three or four times a day, besides riding a good deal. I think I never saw him look better, or more active, or more lively. May the Lord long spare his useful life. He has preached in Halifax church, Huddersfield church, Heptonstall and Haworth churches. I trust he has been a blessing to many in this part,

but to the societies in particular. For my own part I can say it has been a watering time to my soul, though I have not heard him so often as I could have wished, being at present in a bad state of health and unable to follow him as usual."

The numbers in society gradually decreased until 1774, when revivals took place in the neighbourhood of Colne and Otley, under the superintendency of Robert Costerdine, who says, "During the four years I laboured in this circuit the Lord deigned to make me useful both to souls and bodies of the people."*

Useful persons brought into the society during this revival:

John Hey, Lowertown, or Sawood, leader and trustee; Thomas Bartholomew, Charles Bland, John S. Smith, travelling preachers; John Whitaker, Morton Banks, circuit steward.

**Magazine*, 1812.