PROCEEDINGS

A note to Green 166 says that "The several numbers of the Jaurnal were not often reprinted separately." Fuller knowledge of the various editions shows, however, that one (Green 203) was reprinted five times, while the first six Journal extracts all ran to four or five editions each. The next eleven averaged three each, including one (Green 318) which was apparently never reprinted separately, while the last three extracts were issued only twice each.

When one considers the widespread dissemination of Methodist literature that these facts imply, and realises that in many poor homes the total library consisted of one or two Methodist pamphlets and a copy of *Primitive Physick*, it is not surprising that an awakening of England spread through the lower classes to the upper classes; nor is it surprising that the Methodist people are still what Wesley called them, "a reading people."

FRANK BAKER.

WESLEY'S

PRINTERS AND BOOKSELLERS.

I. INTRODUCTION.

It is obvious to anyone who has studied Wesley's amazing publishing record that much of his time (and patience !) was taken up with printers and booksellers. As far as possible he used Methodist labour, although it was often unsatisfactory. He frequently complained about William Pine's slipshod printing; for instance, when preparing Young's Night Thoughts for publication, he wrote to Charles Wesley, December 17, 1768, "I shall run the hazard of printing it at Bristol." Nor, in many cases, were the Methodists who were supposed to superintend the printing, or to correct the proofs, much better. Especially was this true of the well-known preacher and hymn-writer, Thomas Olivers, so that on August 15, 1789, Wesley wrote to Dr. Bradshaw:

"I cannot, dare not, will not suffer Thomas Olivers to murder the Arminian Magazine any longer. The errata are

intolerahle and innumerable. They shall be so no more." Olivers was relieved of his duties, and James Creighton was appointed "corrector of the press." Apparently booksellers also caused Wesley some trouble. In Nightingale's Portraiture of *Methodism*, which is often a malevolent caricature rather than a true portrait, the following passage occurs (p. 373):--

"It is said, Madam, that Mr. W. declared, he never could retain a bookseller in his society for any length of time."

There is usually some basis for Nightingale's assertions, and it is certainly true that in several instances Wesley's booksellers only sold his publications for a short time, and then sold pamphlets criticising Methodism.

A number of printers were members of Methodist societies. George Paramore, who looked after Wesley's London printing during his last years, was a local preacher for thirty years. He is to be distinguished from John Paramore, who had been Wesley's printer previously at the Foundery. Felix Farley and William Pine of Bristol were members of Society. Bennett Dugdale, William Kidd, and William Whitestone all of Dublin, were also Methodist printers. Another printer, Matthias Joyce, who was a fellow-apprentice of Bennett Dugdale, became an itinerant preacher in Ireland, and was later appointed to take charge of all Methodist printing in that country, as Book Steward.

As for booksellers, it is a well-known fact that Wesley's preachers also filled the rôle of colporteurs. It is not so well known that most societies were book-depots, where Methodist literature might be purchased. At the Foundery, and later the New Chapel, in London, this book-trade became a great undertaking. At the New Room, Bristol, and also for a time at the Orphan House, Newcastle, there was a considerable bookselling business carried on. The rank and file of Methodism sometimes assisted the professional booksellers and the preachers in dispersing literature, looking upon it as a valuable means of proclaiming their Methodist witness. At the very beginning, in 1739, John Bray, the devout brazier of Little Britain, was advertised as selling Wesley's first collection of Hymns and Sucred Poems. Much later, 1759-60, one of the Methodists selling books was "W. Watkinson, Linen-draper, Leeds."

In addition to Methodist tradespeople, of course, Wesley's various publications were also handled by such well-known firms of the time as the learned printer William Bowyer, the bookseller James Hutton, and the famous publishing house of Rivingtons. For Wesley was a good seller, in spite of, or perhaps partly because of, the many and abusive criticisms of Methodism. In "Sermons are mere drugs. The trade is so vastly stocked with them, that really, unless they come out with the name of Whitefield, or Wesley, or some other such great man as a bishop, or those sort of people, I don't care to touch; . . I am no enemy to sermons, but because they don't sell: for I would as soon print one of Whitefield's as any farce whatever."

Already in 1742, when Joseph Andrews was published, the pamphlet war between the Methodists and their opponents was raising the sales of Methodist literature.

In thinking of printers and booksellers of Wesley's day one general fact should be borne in mind. In the early 18th century tradespeople in general had a higher social standing than now. Indeed, it deteriorated during the century. Thus the printer of a book was usually regarded as of just as much importance to the public as the publisher, so that his name was boldly printed as an integral part of the title-page, instead of being relegated to an obscure corner, and being printed in small type, as in modern books. Similarly, the names of comparatively unimportant booksellers or newsagents were often printed on the title-page.

For this reason the imprints of early books are often interesting, as well as valuable from a historical point of view. Sometimes, also, they are really picturesque, such as one noted in Green's Anti-Methodist Publications, No. 142:---

Edinburgh: Printed for and sold by David Duncan, at his House in the Grass Market, opposite to the Corn Market, South-Side of the Street, the second Door up the Timber ravel'd Fore-Stair. 1742.

In this example, of course, the imprint is that of the *publisher*; since the printer's name is not given, in all probability he was what was called a "jobbing printer," and had made no name for himself.

The imprints of Wesley's publications are seldom quite as detailed as that above, although they often convey a wealth of information, as in the following, being from three successive editions of Haliburton's Li/e (Green 10):—

London: Printed for John Oswald, at the Rose and Crown in the Poultry, near Stocks Market, 1739, (price, bound in plain sheep, one shilling) (As given by Green, original not seen by author). London: Printed by W. Strahan: And Sold at the Foundery near Upper-Moorfields: at James Hutton's, Bookseller, at the Bible and Sun without Temple-Bar: and at John Lewis's in Bartholomew-Close. 1741, (Price stitch'd Sixpence).

Bristol: Printed by Felix Furley, in Custle Green, and sold at the New School in the Horse-Fair: Also at the Foundery, near Upper-Moor-Fields; by T. Trye, at Gray's-Inn Gate, Holborn; and at the several Societies in England and Ireland, 1747.

Complete and detailed information about all the printers and booksellers whom Wesley employed will probably never be obtained. Imprints like the above are one of the chief sources of such information. About many of the hundred-odd names very little can be discovered. (A list of the chief authorities is given below). It is hoped in following articles to give a sketch of the better-known of Wesley's printers and booksellers, and as much as can be gathered about the lesser-known. While hundreds of volumes, large and small, have been utilised for this purpose, one of the smallest and most interesting clues may well be given here in full. It is to be found after the title-page of Green 72, the 1st edition :—

"September 9, 1745.

Proposal For Printing by Subscription, Three Volumes of Sermons, By John Wesley, M. A. Fellow of *Lincoln-College*, Oxford. Conditions. I. Each Volume will contain at least Ten Sermons, on the same Paper and Letter with these Proposals. II. The Price of each Volume will be 2s. 6d. 1s. 6d. to be paid down, the rest on Delivery of the Book in Quires. III. Each Volume may be subscribed for single. IV. The first Volume will be in the Press about *Michaelmas*, and will be delivered to the Subscribers (if GOD permit) at or before *Christmas*. V. Booksellers subscribing for Six, will have a Seventh gratis. Subscriptions are taken in by T. Trye, near Gray's Inn Gale, Holbourn; H. Butler, in Bow-Church-Yard; and at the Foundery in Upper-Moor-Fields, London;-In Newcastle upon Tyne, by R. Akenhead;-In Bristol, by Felix Farley, in Castle-Green; J. Wilson, and T. Cadel, Booksellers, in Wine-Street; and by P. Brown, in Christmas-street -In Bath, by Mr. Leake and Mr. Frederick:-And in Exeter, by Mr. Thorn Bookseller.

The Subscribers are desired to send in their Names and Places of Abode, as soon as possible."

Principal Authorities, with abbreviations.

Anti-M. Green's Anti-Methodist Publications.

D.B.P. Dictionary of Booksellers and Printers, 1726-75.

ed Plomer, Bushnell, and Dix. O.U.P. 1932.

- D.B.P. 1668-1725. Ditto, previous volume, ed. Plomer.
- D.N.B. Dictionary of National Biography.

PROCEEDINGS

G.	Green's Wesley Bibliography and edition.
T.	Wesley's Journal. (Standard edition).
G. J. L.	Wesley's Letters. (Standard edition).
õ.	Osborn's Outlines of Wesley Bibliography.
.	Stevenson's City Road Chapel.
	Timperley's Dictionary of Printers and Printing.
Т.	Tyerman's Life and Times of John Wesley.
Welch.	The City Printers.
Welford.	Early Newcastle Typography.
Wells.	History of the Bristol Times and Mirror
W.H.S.	Proceedings of the Wesley Historical Society.
	FRANK BAKER.

METHODISM IN THE ISLE OF MAN. AN EARLY VENTURE.

According to Rosser's History of Wesleyan Methodism in the Isle of Man, the traditional date for the beginnings of Methodism in the Isle of Man is 1775, when a Mr. Lawry persuaded John Crook, of Liverpool, to visit the Island. It at once made rapid advance, so rapid that one suspects there must have been considerable unofficial missionary work beforehand. There had been in 1758 an abortive visit from John Murlin, 'the weeping prophet,' whom the caprice of a sea captain carried over from Whitehaven, and Myles' Chronological History speaks surprisingly of a chapel built at Dawby in 1763, though probably this is either a mistake or arises from a confusion of two places of a similar name.

There is, however, a much earlier figure of whom official notice has not yet been taken. He is the Rev. John Meriton (1698-1753) who figures in the records of both the Wesleys and George Whitefield. His chief claim to historical fame is that he was one of the six Church of England clergy at the first Conference in 1744, on the print of which he is probably the bulkiest of the figures. The Wesleyan Methodist Magazine, 1900, p. 495, gives the fullest account of him possible, by the late Rev. R. Butterworth. Another reference is in Proceedings, x, p. 226. He was not a very potent personality, as could be gathered from Charles Wesley's epitaph on him, which includes the words:

"He wandered through this vale of tears And rather died than lived."

A KENTISH SHRINE OF METHODISM.

In Chislehurst Road, Bickley, Kent, there survives a tiny disused chapel (now a Carriage Builders' workshop) bearing the inscription "Wesleyan Chapel 1776. Restored 1867."

The chapel stands on the site of the "new preaching house in the parish of Bromley" in which Wesley preached on Dec. 2 (Wed.) 1772. Perhaps, indeed, the date 1776 merely indicates a repair? If so, Wesley preached in the existing building as local tradition still holds hard. It is certainly the cradle of Methodism in this part of Kent, now represented by the Bromley and Chiskhurst Circuits.

The little building has its original gable roof and exhibits 18th century brickwork in its walls. The restoration of 1867 was merely an addition of a few yards to the west end of the chapel.

The chapel was closed in 1884, being superseded by the present Widmore chapel at the corner of Tylney Road.

The little old chapel stands on what was at the time open land known as Widmore Common.

HERBERT W. MANSFIELD.

Wesley's Printers And Booksellers.

PART II. AT BATH.

As an examination of the Index to the Standard Journal will show, Wesley was a frequent visitor to the famous health resort in its eighteenth century heyday, and on one occasion crossed swords with Beau Nash, who was largely responsible for Bath's popularity among the upper classes. One of the favourite promenades in the town was "The Grove," situated behind the Abbey, and renamed "Orange Grove," as a compliment to the Prince of Orange, who had stayed in Bath in 1734. The obelisk erected at the instigation of Nash to the noble prince still stands in the centre of Orange Grove, though its inscription is sadly weathered.

The Grove was not only the parade-ground for fashionable aristocrats, and the starting place for coaches—it was also the abode of booksellers. And this aspect of it would attract Wesley's attention, much more than the first, and probably more than the second in his early equestrian days. At any rate, he certainly got in touch with the two main booksellers in Bath, who both had their shops in The Grove, and for a time at any rate, they became his agents. These two were William Frederick, and James Leake. Their names, together or singly, appear in the imprints of most of the important publications issued during the middle of the eighteenth century. especially those connected with Bath and its waters. It will be best to deal with them separately, however, as far as that is possible.

WILLIAM FREDERICK. The Dictionary of Booksellers and Printers describes him as bookseller and publisher of No. 18, The Grove, Bath, in business from 1742 to 1776. It adds, "Frederick is said to have been educated at the Bath Grammar School, but as no list of scholars for the century can be found it has been impossible to verify the statement. He is also said to have been a pupil of Leake, but this again is difficult to verify."

Frederick was selling at any rate one publication of Wesley's at the outset of his career, for the imprint of the third volume of "Hymns and Sacred Poems," 1742, (Green 40) shows that it is sold "In Bath, by W. Frederick, Bookseller." Later on, in 1745, he was also included, along with James Leake, in the list of booksellers taking in subscriptions for Wesley's Sermons. (See *Proceedings*, xxii, 64.)

Wesley's interest in electricity is well known. His Desideratum; or, Electricity made Plain and Useful made use of a book published by Frederick and Leake. This was An Essay on Electricity. By Benjamin Martin. Bath. Printed for the Author, and Mrs. Leake, and Mr Frederick, booksellers, 1746. (Imprint as quoted in D.B.P) The first reference to Electricity in the Journal is in October 1747, when he witnessed some electrical experiments. From his remarks about that occasion (see Journal iii, 320) it does not seem that he had yet read Martin's book, but he was so impressed by the experiments that he would almost certainly be on the look-out for a book on the subject. His chief authorities in the Desideratum are books by Benjamin Franklin and Richard Lovett, but they did not appear till some years later.

Possibly, therefore, Wesley enquired at his Bath booksellers and was recommended by them to this, their own publication.

The relationship between Wesley and Frederick seems, however, to have been neither very close nor very enduring. Wesley's answer to an attack on Methodism, signed N.D., in the Bath Journal, in 1749, has no mention of Frederick or Leake on the imprint, Admittedly the printer's name only is given, but one would have thought that a pamphlet of such local interest would have been advertised as sold by Wesley's agents in the locality if they still were his agents.

Possibly Frederick, who had been glad of Methodist support in his early days, found that he could now do without such little help as they could give, for the Methodist cause in Bath was not flourishing. (Cf Tyerman's Wesley, ii, 559, and Methodist Recorder Christmas Number, 1893, p. 77 ff.). Probably, also, he found himself out of sympathy with Wesley's ideals, for in 1757 we discover that Frederick was the Bath agent for a big lottery in London, and one could hardly imagine Wesley approving of lottery tickets being sold over the same counter with his "Rules"!

Later on, Frederick assisted in a project of which Wesley would have approved. This was the "Pauper Scheme," begun in 1746, "for supplying the Poor of this City, and Villages of Walcot and Widcombe, with Medicines gratis." (Pope's New Bath Guide, 1761, p. 21). The Fifth Edition of the New Bath Guide, published at some time after 1768, describes the "Pauper-Scheme Enlarged," (p.p. 25.6), and adds, "Contributions for this Charity are received by Mr. Sproule, (Treasurer), and by Mr. Leake and Mr. Frederick, Booksellers, where Books for that Purpose are opened."

Little can be discovered about Frederick's later life. The Strangers' Assistant and Guide to Bath, 1773, shows that at that time he was taking in lodgers at his shop in the Grove. (A fairly common thing for booksellers to do—Alexander Cruden lodged with one of Wesley's booksellers, Oswald, when he went to London.) Later directories omit his name, and in 1783 that of William Meyler, "Bookseller, Grove," makes its first appearance, probably as Frederick's successor in the business.

JAMES LEAKE. This well-known Bath bookseller does not seem to have had his name on any known imprint in Wesley's publications, but he is included in the short list of booksellers taking in subscriptions for *Wesley's Sermons* in September, 1745. (See *Proceedings*, xxii, 64). D.B.P. gives his dates as "1724 (?) -64." In 1721 he married Hannah Hammon or Hammond, possibly a relation of one of the two Hammonds who were booksellers in Bath between 1695 and 1721. If this is so Leake may have succeeded to their business.

The first time his name appears is in the imprint to Dr. George Cheyne's Essay of Health and Long Life, 1724, and in 1725 he published Guidot's Collection of Treatises Kelating to the City and Waters of Bath. The influence of Cheyne's book on Wesley is fairly well-known. (See Journal, i, 188n, v, 373; Green's Wesley Bibliography, No. 101; Tyerman's Wesley, i, 28; Arminian Magazine, 1779, p. 433; Proceedings, iv, 48; Boswell's Johnson). Cheyne was a correspondent of the novelist-printer Samuel Richardson, and gave him advice on his plot-construction. One of Cheyne's letters to Richardson, contains the following:--

Bath, Sept. 23, 1742.

I wish you would think of employing a fit person to collect and write a character and contents of all the books in the English and French that are fit to amuse and instruct the serious and virtuous valetudinarian, of whatever kind. . . This would come in very aptly with the design of 'Pamela'; and might, perhaps, be called a catalogue of her library. . . I have set James Leake on it, but he can do but little in it, having neither sufficient materials, time or knowledge, *Lije of George Cheyne*, M.D. Ovford, 1846. P. 119).

Richardson had married as his second wife Leake's sister Elizabeth, who died in 1773, aged 77. (Nichol's Literary Anecdotes, iv, 596.) Although the first edition of Pamela (1740) only mentions Rivington and Osborne as publishers, on the title pages of Clarissa Harlowe (1748) and Sir Charles Grandison (1754) James Leake figures as the only provincial bookseller, after such names as Rivington, Millar and Dodsley.

Leake's shop in The Grove was a well-known centre, and the *Bath and Bristol Guide* for 1754 gives the distances of the principal points in the town measured "From the Front Door of Mr. Simpson's [a fashionable coftee-house] or Mr. Leake's."

The "Pauper Scheme" enrolled Leake as a supporter before it did Frederick. The New Bath Guide, 1761 (p. 21) announces, "Contributions for this Charity are received by Mr. James LEAKE, Jun. (Treasurer) at his House in Bladud's-Buildings, and by Mr LEAKE, Bookseller, where the Subscription Book lies open." Bladud's Buildings had been recently erected, and earned a special reference in the New Bath Guide (p. 31).

Leake died in 1764, and was succeeded in the business by the above mentioned "Tames Leake, Jun.," his son. FELIX FARLEY. This Bristol printer will be described fully in a later article. It should be noted, however, that during the years 1733-1741 he was also printing at Bath, at "Shakespeare's Head, without Westgate." So far as can be discovered, none of Wesley's publications bear this imprint, although the Farley's Bristol press was employed by Wesley during the latter half of this period.

SAMUEL HAZARD. Although Hazard cannot strictly be in cluded among the booksellers *employed* by Wesley, he included Methodist books among others in his Circulating Library, which ran from 1772-1806. (At that time Circulating-Libraries were few and far between.) In Didsbury College Library is a volume of Wesley pamphlets, including the "Appeals." On the inside of the front cover is pasted a Book Plate with this inscription:-

"This Book belongs to HAZARD's *Circulating Library*, Cheap Street, *Bath*, Where Books are lent to Read, by the Month, Quarter, or Year.

S. Hazard performs the Printing-Business with *Elegance* and *Dispatch*; executes Binding in general, and makes Account Books of all Sorts; sells Books in all Languages. Arts and Sciences; with Stationery [sic] Wares of the best Quality, and regularly delivers the *Periodical Publications*.

Likewise sells Genuine Patent Medicines, &c."

We are sorry to say that this particular volume seems to have been among the "stationery wares," for its fine condition does not betoken frequent handling.

ANONYMOUS. The "Catalogue of Wesleyana" mentions two Wesley publications which were reprinted at "Bath," but no name of printer is given. They are the Sermon on Original Sin, (Green 196), first published 1759, reprinted at Bath 1783, and The Good Steward: A Sermon (Green 251), first published 1768, reprinted at Bath 1784. It is impossible to say which of the many printers in business at Bath at this time issued these editions. Possibly a fuller description of the Book-Room copies may be forthcoming at some time.

FRANK BAKER.

PROCREDINGS

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

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

4. Conclusion.

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

FREDERICK HUNTER

WESLEY'S PRINTERS AND BOOKSELLERS

PART III. AT BRISTOL

For centuries Bristol has been one of the chief towns of England. In Wesley's day it was at its peak, second only in importance to London. To quote The General Gazetteer: Or, Compendious Geographical Dictionary. By R. Brookes, M.D. (6th edition, 1786, the 1st being published in 1762) :-- It is now accounted the second town or city in England, both with regard to its magnitude, riches and trade. It has eighteen churches, and several meetings for Protestant Dissenters, among which the Quakers are a large body. . . . They have an exchange like that of London, which was opened in September 1743. . . They have a prodigious trade: for it is reckoned they send 2000 ships yearly to several parts of the world. . . The number of houses are computed at 6082, and the inhabitants at 43,483. . .

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

THE NEW ROOM IN THE HORSE-FAIR

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The last such imprint so far noted is for the year 1765. It is on the "Short Greek Grammar" (Green No. 233.). By that time the Foundery, whose first pamphlet for sale appears to have been the second Journal Extract, had far outstripped the pioneer. Fashion was dictating that the imprints on books should be shorter, and should omit the names of all places where a book was merely sold, except in special cases, so that the New Room ceased to be advertised as a Book Depot. The sale of books on the premises continued, however, and the New Room was included among the many other Methodist book agencies denoted by the frequently-recurring phrase "the Rev. Mr. Wesley's Preaching-Houses in Town and Country."

BONNER & MIDDLETON.

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

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

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

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

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

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

It may be wondered why the printing of this pamphlet was not entrusted to William Pine, who was at this time Wesley's chief Bristol printer. The reason is not far to seek, for Pine was, at any rate at first, a redhot partisan of the colonists, and directly opposed to Wesley's views. So much was this so that on July 31st, 1775, Wesley wrote to his brother Charles advising him to warn Pine once more, and then, if he persisted in his views, to make him leave the Methodists, either quietly or after public denouncement (see Standard Journal vi: 72). The Journal note adds "Henceforth the connection ceased," which is hardly accurate, since Pine's name continues to crop up both in Wesley's diary and in the imprints to many of his publications. It seems pretty clear, however, that in the early months of 1775 Wesley felt aggrieved at Pine's political attitude, and therefore did not entrust this important publication to him—or possibly Pine himself refused to undertake it. Later in the same year, however, Pine must have reconsidered his position, for he published "A new edition corrected and enlarged" of this same pamphlet. Had it not been for this reconciliation it is very likely that more of Bonner and Middleton. As it is, with this solitary but interesting example the connection ceases.

P. BROWN

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

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

Entry No. 13936 shows that Whitefield's Discourses, together with the Oxford Methodists (see Green's Anti-Methodist Publications, No. 1), was also "Sold by P. Browne, in Bristol, Mess. Harris in Gloucester. 1738." In all probability "The West Country Farmer. .1782 which the Dictionary of Printers and Booksellers mentions as "Sold by Mr. Brown in Bristol" was also published by this same P. Brown.

There are no Directories of Poll-Books of early enough date to give direct information about Brown's business, but Poll-Books for 1754, 1774, 1781, and 1784 show that there was a bookseller called Abraham Brown who was a freeholder, from 1754-81 in St. James' Parish, and in 1784 in St. Ewen's Parish. (This is undoubtedly the A. Brown whose existence is mentioned by the Dictionary of Booksellers and Printers). Sketchley's Bristol Directory for 1775 shows that this same Abraham Brown lived in Christmas Street, which almost certainly identifies him as a successor and relative of the P. Brown of Wesley's advertisement. The entry reads "Brown Abraham, bookseller, 32 Christmas-Street." His subsequent change of parishes is confirmed by the Directories, Bailey's Western and Midland Directory for 1782 mentioning "Brown Bookseller Exchange," and The Bristol Direc-tory, 1785 "Brown Abraham, Kingsdown-Parade." The later Directory also mentions "Brown Henry, bookseller. Christmas-Street." Henry Brown also moved away from Christmas Street, which was not a particularly fashionable quarter, being a short curved street connecting Broad Street with the historic Christmas Steps. In 1787 The Bristol and Bath Directory gives "Brown, Henry. Bookseller and Stationer, Quay-street," and his name also appears in The New Bristol Directory, 1792, as Brown Henry Stationer Quay-street." In the 1794 and subsequent Directories the name Brown does not occur, nor is there any bookseller recorded among the score of householders in Christmas Street.

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

BULGIN & ROSSER.

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

Minutes of some Late Conversations between the Rev. Messrs. Wesley and Others. Bristoll: Printed by Bulgin and Rosser, No. 15, Broad-Street. 1786.

(Osborn's Wesleyan Bibliography has "Bulgin and Roper," probably from a misreading of the oldfashioned long s's).

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

William Bulgin's connection with the Methodists continued after Wesley's death. According to Bristol Bibliography (edited by E. R. Norris Matthews), p. 392, an Authentic narrative of the circumstances relative to the departure of John Wesley, by Elizabeth Ritchie, was published by "Bulgin and Rosser: Bristol, 1791." Pamphlets defending Methodism from various printed attacks were also published by the same firm, including those mentioned in Green's Anti-Methodist Publications under the entries 562, 570 (see also Proceedings xii, 169), and 571. Whitehead's Life of Wesley, published in 1793, was also advertised as sold by "W. Bulgin, Bristol." From apparently small beginnings William Bulgin had risen until he was linked up with practically every aspect of the booktrade. In the 1781 Poll-Books he appears in St. Ewen's Parish simply as "Bulgin William, bookseller," but he was not sufficiently important for his name to appear in Bailey's Western and Midland Directory for 1783, which is, however, by no means exhaustive. In the Bristol Directory for 1785 he is described as "Bulgin Wm. bookseller, stationer, and bookbinder, Broad-st." Soon afterwards he went into partnership with Robert Rosser, who apparently supplied the knowledge of the printing side of the business, so that in The Bristol and Bath Directory for 1787 appears the following :--

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

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

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

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

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

WESLEY HISTORICAL SOCIETY

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

(To be continued).

FRANK BAKER.

JAMES THWAITE (OR THWAYTE).

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

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

Humphreys. These are the well known names of the chiet leaders of the Evangelical Revival at this period. Their appearance in this list indicates that these leaders regarded themselves personally as members of the United Society meeting at the New Room. This implies something more than a suggestion that they regarded this particular Society as the parent Society of the movement. This view is sustained by the fact that here the united leadership is presented as a unity for the last time before that unity was permanently broken by the Calvinistic controversy, the first schism that separated both leadership and membership. Within a few weeks this controversy had become active and aggressive. Whitefield, Cennick and Humphreys had ceased to be members of the United Society.

The view that priority and leadership were at this stage associated with the New Room Society is confirmed by the important fact that Wesley himself, after initiating the arresting procedure concerning conditions of membership in the United Society on February 24th, 1739, formally repeated this procedure for the direction of the Foundery Society on the evenings of April 8th and 9th following.

The significance of this order of succession is also increased by the fact that, a year later, a similar repetition occurred. Following the memorable meeting at the New Room on Feb. 15th, 1742, which resulted in the institution of "classes," Wesley two months later records (Journal) April 23rd, 1742, how he introduced this most characteristic feature of the Methodist fellowship into the London Societies.

FREDERIC PLATT.

WESLEY'S PRINTERS AND BOOKSELLERS. PART IV. AT BRISTOL (continued.)

THOMAS CADELL.

One of the earliest Bristol booksellers whose services Wesley utilised was Thomas Cadell, whose shop was in the well-known centre of the Bristol book-selling trade in the eighteenth century Wine Street. Wesley determined in 1745 to publish three volumes of sermons by subscriptions; he arranged for four agents in Bristol, P. Brown, Felix Farley, and "J. Wilson, and T. Cadel, Booksellers, in Wine-Street." Only one of these, Felix Farley, was to have any lasting and intimate connection with Wesley. The others were associated with him for a short time only.

The Dictionary o Booksellers and Printers briefly records that there was a Thomas Cadell, a bookseller and publisher in Wine Street, Bristol, from 1739 until 1775. Even these meagre details are mentioned chiefly because he was the father of the much better-known London bookseller of the same name, who later became an Alderman of London. Perhaps the obscurity which surrounds the Bristol bookseller is made darker by the fact that both his son and his grandson became prominent London publishers, even to the extent of securing mention in the Dictionary of National Biography.

Of the son, Thomas Cadell (1742-1802), the D.N.B. says that he was "born of poor parents, in Wine Street, Bristol, in The fact is not even mentioned (probably because not 1742." known) that the father was a bookseller. The remark about "poor parents" is a little exaggerated. It seems fairly certain that the Wine Street bookshop was a small, conservative business, but sufficiently alive to keep Thomas Cadell and his wife Martha in fairly comfortable circumstances, so that in later years they were able to retire to a residential neighbourhood. It offered no alluring prospects for the son, however, and Thomas Cadell junior was sent to London at the age of sixteen, as apprentice to the well-known publisher Andrew Millar. His fine character and great industry promoted rapid success; in 1765 he became Millar's partner, and in 1767 succeeded to the business. This same Thomas Cadell was one of the coterie of publishers which issued such works as Johnson's Poets, Gibbon's Decline and Fall, Cook's Voyages, and Blackstone's Commentaries For a few years (1780-84) William Strahan was his partner, the same William Strahan whose name appears on the title-pages of many of Wesley's publications.

It is not so easy to sketch the life of the elder Thomas Cadell. In fact, details about him can only be obtained by arduous research into the *Poll Books* and *Directories* of Bristol. The first mention of Cadell is in the 1739 *Poll-Book*, published by Felix Farley. Here he is recorded as a voter in the Christ-Church parish, in which parish Wine Street was situated. He supported the unsuccessful parliamentary candidate, Henry Combe, the election being won by the Hon. Edward Southwell. In 1754 Cadell was on the victorious side, voting for the Hon. Robert Nugent, who remained an M.P. for Bristol for twenty years, and who later changed his name to Cragge and was wellknown as a poet politician. Two lists of the voters in this 1754 election appeared, one calling itself The Bristol Poll-Book, printed by Felix Farley's widow, the other entitled A Genuine List of the Freeholders and Freemen who voted at the General Election. Printed for T. Cadell in Wine Street, and E. Ward on the Tolzey. The Bristol Poll-Book has the entry "Cadell, Thomas, Stationer, Fr' (eeholder) St. James." Cadell's own publication, however, shows that he was a freeholder of St. Peter's, not St. James' parish.

The description of Cadell as a "stationer" may be misleading to some modern readers. The word "stationer" is an interesting example of progressive limitation of meaning. Originally, in Mediaeval Latin, "Stationarius" referred to any man who had a "Statio," i.e. a permanent stall or shop. By the time the word came into middle English, however, as "stacyonere," it was being used for booksellers only. This meaning persisted until the 19th century, and even to our own days in the phrase "Stationers' Hall," the headquarters of the guild of booksellers or stationers, where until 1911 books were "entered" or registered for the purposes of copyright. During the last two centuries, however, from meaning a bookseller who might sell writing materials as a sideline, the word "stationer" came to be used only of those booksellers whose chief trade was in pens and paper, and it may now be applied even to shopkeepers who do not sell a single printed book. In the eighteenth century, however, it must be remembered that the words "stationer" and "bookseller" were interchangeable. In the Poll-Books Thomas Cadell is officially described as a "Bookseller" in 1739, a "Stationer" in 1754, and again as a "Bookseller" in 1784, whilst in Sketchley's Bristol i irectory, of 1775, his official designation is "bookseller and stationer"

Sketchley's Bristol Directory adds an interesting detail to those given by the Poll-Books. In it Cadell's address is given as "8, Wine-Street." Sketchley's was the first thorough-going attempt at a real directory, assigning numbers to houses for the sake of convenience, although in actual practice they did not possess them. The system employed was that the Exchange was regarded as the

PROCERDINGS

centre of the city, and the house-numbers in a street began at the end nearest to the Exchange, running down the left-hand side of the street first, and then coming back down the right-hand side. Approaching Wine Street from the Bristol Bridge, therefore, Cadell's shop would be the eighth house on the left-hand side.

In 1776, Cadell, perhaps encouraged by his progressive som already making a name for himself in London, joined in a new publishing venture. It was "The Bath and Bristol Magazine, For the Year 1776. Vol. 1. . . . London: Printed for G. Kearsley, No. 46, Fleet Street; R. Cruttwell, in Bath: W. Cruttwell, in Sherborne; T. Cadell & T. Cocking, in Bristol." A copy of this may be seen in the Bristol Central Library Cadell was probably regarded as one of the less important collaborators in this enterprise, which does not appear to have been very successful.

A1 some time between 1781 and 1785 Thomas Cadell of Bristol, retired. The 1781 Poll-Book shows that in that year he was still a voter in the Christ-Church parish, though his address is not mentioned, and that he was also a freeholder in St. Maryport parish. His name is absent from the 1784 Poll-Book, whilst the Bristol Directory for 1785 records him as living at Stoke'scroft, which at this time was a residential district planted with trees, showing that Cadell had arrived at a fairly prosperous retirement. The year of his death we have not discovered, but his name does not appear in the New Bristol Directory for 1792, whilst the entry "Cadell, Mrs. Martha, Stokes-croft" in a 1794 directory suggests that the old man must by that year, at any rate, have died, leaving behind him his widow. She lived until the end of the century, in the same neighbourhood, Matthews' 1700 directory giving her address as "21 Stokes-croft."

Although Thomas Cadell had agreed to sell Wesley's publications in 1745, when opposition against the Methodists was already quite strong, in later years he apparently lost sympathy with them, for in 1764 we find him publishing a pamphlet directed against Wesley. This was "Enthusiasm Delineated : or the absurd conduct of the Methodists displayed. In a letter to the Rev. Messieurs Whitefield and Wesley. By A Blacksmith. . . Bristol : Printed for the Author, and Sold by T. Cadell, Bookseller, in Wine-St." It is signed at the end by A. T. Blacksmith, of Paulton. Cadell's better-known son and grandson were also

WESLEY HISTORICAL SOCIETY

associated with attacks on Methodism, as may be observed from a perusal of Green's Anti-Methodist Publications, Nos, 356, 526, 584, 586.

FRANK BAKER.

NOTES AND QUERIES

- 798. A SOCIETY OF MINISTERS. (See p. 52 of this volume.) The Editor of the Journal of the Presbyterian Historical Society, in acknowledging the receipt of our Proceedings suggests that it would be well to consider not only the influence of Wesley's Conference and Rules of Society but also that of Richard Baxter and his famous "Association" in Worcestershire.
- 799. LORD ROCKSAVAGE. In reply to N. & Q. 764 relating to this nobleman I am now able to furnish one little piece of information which gives an indication of the nature of his association with the evangelical revival. In the financial report of various Funds gathered and administered within the Countess of Huntingdon's Connexion as printed in The Evangelical Register, 1824-1825, a donation of £3-3-0 and an annual subscription of £2-2-0 to the Fund for the Propagation of the Gospel are recorded to have been made by the Kight Hon. the Earl of Rocksavage, per Rev. E. Lake.

 F, F, B_{\perp}

800. WESLEY AND à KEMPIS.—In addition to the editions noted in Green's Ribliography may be added, An Extract from the Christian's Pattern, or a Tract on the Imitation of Christ by Thomas à Kempis, abridged and published in English by the Rev. John Wesley. Derby: Printed by and for Henry Mosley, Brook Street, 1815.