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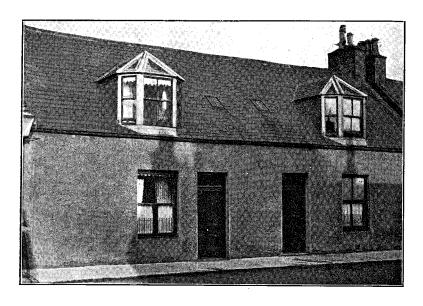
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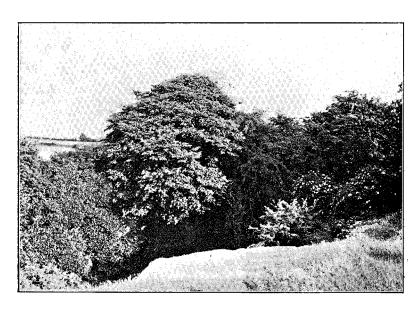
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PROPERTY AT KEITH, BOUGHT BY JOHN WESLEY.



DUNMORE CAVE, NEAR KILKENNY

WESLEY'S ORDINATIONS.

As our *Proceedings* do not, up to the present, contain a list of John Wesley's ordinations of his Preachers we will make an attempt to provide materials for such a list. Absolute completeness is not yet possible but some approach to it may be made. We are indebted to several workers who have preceded us in this spacious field of inquiry, such as Dr. George Smith, Mr. Tyerman, Mr. Telford and Mr. Brigden. We are under special obligation to Mr. Curnock, who has furnished us with a copy of all the entries referring to his ordinations in John Wesley's last *Diary*, that invaluable little volume which throws steady light on the events of the years from 1784 to 1789. By the permission of the Rev. J. Alfred Sharp these extracts from the *Diary* will be used in this article. All further illumination which the members of our Society are able to give will be welcomed.

In this article we do not intend to deal with the vexed question of Wesley's right to ordain, nor shall we discuss the effect of his ordinations on his personal relations to the Established Church. We wish to state facts, to make brief comments on them where necessary, and to leave our readers to

draw their own conclusions on the whole subject.

At the outset, it is essential to note a distinction on which Wesley placed special emphasis when speaking or writing on the question of ordination. He always distinguished between the act of "setting apart" to the work of "preaching the Gospel" and "setting apart" not only to that work but also to the work of administering the sacraments. Those unwary and hostile critics who deem that they have found "great spoil" in his sermon on "The Ministerial Office," overlook this distinction. Their gaiety is tempered as their knowledge increases. The "Korah Sermon," dated Cork, May 4, 1789, was intended to modify the impetuosity of certain Irish Preachers who thought that they had the right not only to "preach the Gospel," but also to administer the sacraments without any further "appointment" than they had already received from Wesley. When the critics

are informed that, in 1789, there were between twenty and thirty Methodists Preachers who had received this additional appointment, and had been "set apart" by Wesley himself for the work of administering the sacraments, they find that the arguments in which they have trusted sink into the abyss.

In order to emphasize the distinction which existed in Wesley's logical mind we will take two illustrations of the manner in which he appointed some of his men to the work of "preaching the Gospel." In 1746, he requested Joseph Cownley to come to Bristol. An interview took place. During that interview, John Gaulter tells us, Cownley kneeled down, and Wesley, putting the New Testament into his hand, said, "Take thou authority to preach the Gospel." He then gave him his benediction (\dot{E} . \dot{M} . \dot{P} . ii. p. 7). Thus authorised, Cownley went on his way. We will take our second illustration from Wesley's closing years. Those who are familiar with the autobiographical details contained in the first of the three volumes of the Account of the Life of Adam Clarke, will remember his description of his interview with Wesley in the study "off the great lobby of the rooms over the chapel in Broadmead," Bristol. The interview occurred on Sep. 6, 1782, Clarke being introduced to Wesley by Thomas Rankin. After Rankin had retired, Clarke says that Wesley took him kindly by the hand, and said, "Well, Brother Clarke, do you wish to devote yourself entirely to the work of God." He answered, "Sir, I wish to do and be what God pleases." Wesley then said, "We want a preacher for Bradford (Wilts); hold yourself in readiness to go thither." continues, "He then turned to me, laid his hands upon my head, and spent a few moments in praying to God to bless and preserve me, and to give me success in the work to which I was called. I departed, having now received, in addition to my appointment from God to preach this Gospel, the only authority I could have from man, in that line in which I was to exercise the Ministry of the Divine Word" (Account, i. p. 165). Cownley and Clarke were impressed by the solemn manner in which they were "set apart" to the office of the preacher, but they knew that their "ordination," if we may so call it, had its specified limits. Cownley had to wait until 1788 before those limits were extended.

Passing from the preliminary stage of Wesley's "ordinations" we must now address ourselves to the main topic of our inquiry. In 1784, Wesley took a decisive step in the matter of the ordination of his preachers. He took it with reluctance. It had been long delayed in spite of counsel and persuasion. At last he

determined not only to give some of his preachers authority to administer the sacraments but to give them that authority formally by the laying on of hands. He was impelled towards this determination by the irresistible force of circumstances. was imperative that the case of America should be met, and by ordaining men for that country he met it. Curteis, in the Bampton Lectures for 1871, says, "Let anyone read Wilberforce's History of the American Church (p. 137 etc.), and he will find it absolutely impossible to speak another harsh word of Wesley's irregular proceedings in 1784" (Dissent in its relation to the Church of England, Lecture vii, p. 378). Those who have studied Bishop Samuel Wilberforce's instructive History, and especially the passages to which reference is made in the Bampton Lectures, will imitate Curteis's reticence in the presence of Wesley's difficulties and action. Those who take a wider view will probably criticise the word "irregular" in the sentence we have quoted, but we presume that its use by an Anglican Churchman may be permitted.

We will now array in order the extracts given us by Mr. Curnock from Wesley's *Diary*, adding to them other facts we have gathered from many sources. From them we will compile our list of Wesley's ordinations. In the extracts from the *Diary* some of the names which are only indicated by initials, or a few letters, have been completed by Mr. Curnock.

THE DIARY.

Sep. 1, 1784. "4 Prayed, Ordained R [ichard] Whatcoat and T. Vasey.

Sep. 2. "4 Prayed, Ordained Dr. Coke!"

These ordinations took place in Bristol. According to a letter from Henry Durbin, the "old planner" who was such a conspicuous figure in the Bristol disputes about the sacraments, the ordination of Whatcoat and Vasey took place in Mr. Castleman's house. He resided at 6, Dighton Street, King's Square. Most interesting particulars concerning his house will be found in a paper contributed by the late Rev. Henry J. Foster to our *Proceedings*: see ii, p. 99 et seq. Mr. Brigden, in an article on Wesley's ordinations in Bristol (*Proceedings* vii, pp. 8-11), clears up a confusion that has been caused by an entry in Wesley's Journal. He reproduces an extract from Whatcoat's Journal, given in Dr. Wm. Phœbus's Life of Whatcoat, which throws clear light on the case. Whatcoat says that on Sep. 1, 1784, John Wesley, Thomas Coke, and James Creighton, "presbyters of the Church

of England, formed a presbytery," and ordained him and Thomas Vasey, deacons. The next day, "by the same hands," he and Vasey were ordained elders; and, he continues, "Thomas Coke, LL.D., was ordained Superintendent for the Church of God under our care in North America." As to Dr. Coke's ordination, John Wesley says in his Certificate, "I have this day set apart as a Superintendent, by the imposition of my hands, and prayer (being assisted by other ordained ministers), Thomas Coke, doctor of civil law, a presbyter of the Church of England." This Certificate is in the Centenary Hall, Bishopsgate, London. These ordinations for America are of great importance. Wesley's Letter to Dr. Coke, Mr. Asbury, and our Brethren in North America, dated Bristol, Sep. 10, 1784, should be consulted. It will be found in the Minutes of Conference for 1785, i. pp. 179, 180.

The entries in the Diary for 1785 might easily escape

observation. They are as follows:-

Aug. 1. "Prayed Ordained three." Aug. 2. "Prayed Ordained."

This entry, however, possesses special significance. It is well known that, almost to the end of his life, Wesley strongly objected to ordain Preachers for countries in which the Church of England was the Established Church. In the case of America his scruples were removed by the fact that "by an uncommon train of providences" many of the provinces of North America had been "totally disjoined from the Mother Country and erected into independent States"; and that, as a consequence, the English Government had "no authority over them, either civil or ecclesiastical, any more than over the States of Holland. No one either exercises or claims any ecclesiastical authority at all" (Minutes, 1785, i. p. 179). But nearer than America there was a country in which the Church of England was not the Established Church. Episcopalianism existed there,—the Episcopal Church of Scotland—and some of its ministers were determined opponents of Methodism, but it was not the Established Church. nor was it under the government of the Church of England. The action of the Clergy of the Episcopal Church in Scotland is described in Thomas Jackson's Life of Charles Wesley. Speaking of the Methodists, he says, "the members, in many instances, were in circumstances scarcely better than those of their brethren in America immediately after the war. There were, indeed, clergymen in Scotland, but several of them absolutely refused to admit the Methodists to the Lord's Table, except on the condition that they would renounce all future connexion with the Methodist

Ministry and discipline" (i. p. 382). The Established Church of Scotland was Presbyterian in its constitution, and from some of its ministers and members the Methodists received better treatment; but Wesley was not inclined to hand his people over to that Church when another remedy could be found. His solution of the problem is given in his Journal, which supplements the slight references of the Diary. Writing of Monday, Aug. 1, 1785, he says, "Having with a few select friends weighed the matter thoroughly, I yielded to their judgment, and set apart three of our well-tried Preachers, John Pawson, Thomas Hanby, and Joseph Taylor, to minister in Scotland: and I trust God will bless their ministrations, and show that he has sent them" (Works iv. p. 317. Third Ed.). The three Preachers were ordained deacons on Aug. 1, and elders on the day following. Christopher Hopper, in recording these ordinations for Scotland, says, "This was a new thing" (E.M.P. i. p. 221). It was an action which produced decisive effects on the development of the Wesleyan Methodist Church.

The Conference met in Bristol on July 25, 1786. The Diary

has the following entry:--

July 28. "4 Prayed, Ordained J. K., W. War, W. Ha." On the next day the brief statement appears:—

"4 Prayed Ordained!"

The men whose initials stand in the Diary are easily recognised. They indicate Joshua Keighley, William Warrener and William Hammet. Leaving Joshua Keighley for a moment, we note that, in the ordination of Warrener and Hammet, Wesley again "does a new thing." In the "Stations" for 1786 we find that Warrener is appointed to Antigua as an elder, and that Hammet, as an elder, is appointed to Newfoundland. modernised language we should say they were both "foreign missionaries"; and in ordaining them Wesley set an example which after his death was followed even during the years when ordination by the imposition of hands was suspended by the Conference in the case of ministers in the "Home Work." Joshua Keighley was appointed to Inverness in 1786. We miss from the Diary list the initials of Charles Atmore who was appointed, with John Pawson, to Edinburgh in 1786. includes his name among those who were ordained by Wesley at the Conference of that year (Life of Wesley, iii. p. 441). It is undoubted that at some time Wesley did ordain him. On the Certificate which he and Joseph Cownley afterwards gave to Alexander Kilham when they ordained him, it is expressly said

that he and Cownley had been ordained elders in the Church of God by "the Rev. John Wesley and other ordained ministers" (Smith's *Hist. of Wes. Meth.* ii. p. 44. Note. Fifth Ed.) We shall meet with the record of Cownley's ordination at a later stage.

The record of the ordinations belonging to the year 1787 is

given in brief form in the Diary:—

Aug. 3. "4 Prayed, Ordained four."

Aug. 4. "4 Prayed, Ordained D McAllum etc.

We must borrow light from other sources in order to discern what

occurred in August, 1787.

Tyerman, in his Life of Wesley, says that Wesley ordained five of his preachers in 1787 (iii. p. 441). The Diary says four, but it is possible that Tyerman includes one man who was not ordained with the others at the Conference but at another time. In a letter written by Pawson to Atmore, on Aug. 8, 1787, a few days after the ordinations had taken place, we find that Wesley needed to be persuaded to continue ordaining for Scotland; and that he imposed conditions on those who were ordained limited to country the exercise of that office as elders. As Pawson puts it, when contemplating an early return to England, "We are to be just what we were before we came to Scotland," a sentence which not only casts light on Wesley's perplexities but also implies the fact of Atmore's ordination. In his letter Pawson writes of Wesley, "With much entreaty I got him to ordain Mr. McCallum and Suter. Two more were ordained, one for the West Indies, and one for Nova Scotia" (Tyerman's Life of Wesley, iii. p. 497). It is possible to recover the names of three of the preachers ordained at the Conference of 1787. Duncan McCallum's name appears in the Diary. Pawson gives us that of Alexander Suter. In the Methodist Recorder for Oct. 27, 1898, the late Rev. Charles H. Kelly said he knew that Mrs. William Edmunds, of Banbury, had the certificate of ordination granted to her grandfather, Alexander Suter. We cannot name the missionary sent to the West Indies, but there can be little doubt that the Preacher sent to Nova Scotia was James Wray. He began to travel in 1781, and was made a member of the first "Legal Hundred" in 1784. He was appointed to Grimsby at the Conference of 1786, and then his name disappears from the British "Stations." But in 1787 it appears as that of an elder in connection with the appointments to Nova Scotia under the form of "J. Ray," a mis-spelling corrected the next year. James Wray died in 1793, and his obituary notice in the Minutes says that after travelling for

several years in England with success, "his zealous spirit then led him across the Atlantic Ocean to Nova Scotia" (Minutes i. p. 275).

The year 1788, viewed from the standpoint we are now occupying, is of special interest. Up to that year Wesley had ordained his selected Preachers in private at an early hour in the morning, generally at 4 o'clock, and in the town where the Conference was or had assembled. In 1788, we find a new departure. The case of Scotland occupied his attention and he seems to have settled in his own mind the appointments for Edinburgh some weeks before the Conference was held. He fixed on Joseph Cownley and John Barber, and he ordained them. This is the record in the Diary:—

May 18. "4 Prayed, letters, 8 tea, conversed, prayer, sermon, 10-30 prayers, Mark iv. 3! Ordained Jo[hn] Barb[er]."

Iay 19. "3-30. Ordained b[rother] Barb[er]."

June 3. "4 Prayed, Psa. xc, 12! letters, 8 tea, conversed visited; 9-30 chaise, 11-30 New[castle], 12 Mag; 1 dinner, prayer, 2 visited some, 4 letter, prayed, tea, conversed, prayer, 6-30 Heb. iv. 9! Ordained J. Cownly."

"Prayer, Eph. iii, 14 etc., Ordained Jos C!" June 4. At the preceding Conference (1787) John Barber was appointed to York. His ordination in 1788 took place in Glasgow when Wesley was on his "northern journey." It is probable that he accompanied Wesley to that city. It will be noted that, having been ordained deacon, his ordination as elder the next day took place at 3-30 a.m., the reason for the choice of that abnormally early hour being that Wesley had to travel to Edinburgh that same day. On June 3, 1788, Wesley was in England. He preached at Cockermouth at noon, and then returned to Newcastle-on-Tyne and preached in the evening. At the close of the day he ordained Joseph Cownley as deacon, and at 4 o'clock the next morning he conferred elder's orders upon him. In 1746, Wesley had solemnly "set him apart as a Preacher of the Gospel"; forty-one years afterwards he ordained him to administer the sacraments. the Conference, Joseph Cownley and John Barber were appointed to Edinburgh.

The Conference, in 1788, was held in London. It commenced on July 29. The Diary gives us the following

information:-

Aug. 3. "4 Prayed, Ordained Six." Aug. 5. "4 Prayed, Ordained 6."

We are able to give the names of two of the six Preachers who

were then ordained. In the Minutes for 1788 it is stated that William M'Cornock, sen., Benjamin Pearce, Matthew Lumb, Robert Gamble and Thomas Owens were the Missionaries appointed that year for the West Indies (Minutes i, p 216). It is probable that all received ordination. It is certain that Wesley ordained two of them for their Certificates are still in existence. At the recent sale of the "Collection of Wesleyana," formed by our late member, Mr. Joseph G. Wright, the following item appeared in Messrs. Sotheby, Wilkinson and Hodge's Catalogue:-"Certificate on the appointment of an Elder, on vellum, in Dr. Coke's hand-writing, signed by J. Wesley, with seal, extremely interesting." The Certificate shews that John Wesley did, on the fifth day of August, 1788, by the imposition of his hands and prayer, being assisted by other ordained Ministers, set apart Robert Gamble "for the office of an elder in the Church of God" (Cat. p. 8). By good fortune another Certificate has also survived. A photograph of it appeared in the Methodist Recorder for Oct. 27, 1898. It was given to Thomas Owens who was set apart by John Wesley "for the office of a deacon in the Church of God" on Aug. 3, 1788. The Certificate was formerly in the possession of Mr. R. A. C. Harvard, of Attleborough, who gave it to the Wesley Museum.

The eye of the expert will linger on the following entry in

the Diary for August, 1788 :-

Aug. 6. "4 Prayed, Ordained A[lexander] M[ather]."

Aug. 7. "4-30 Prayed. Ordained A. M."

Up to this date we have seen that Wesley had only ordained Preachers for the United States, Scotland, and the British Dominions in America. Mather's ordination was another "new thing." At the Conference of 1788 he was appointed to Wakefield, where he stayed for three years. After the death of Wesley, in 1791, he was stationed at Hull. The conclusion is irresistible. In 1788, Wesley ordained a man whom he did not send out of England. In order that we may emphasise the significance of this fact it will be convenient to deal with Mather's ordination in connexion with two others which took place in 1789.

Wesley's *Diary* shows that, before the time arrived for holding the Conference in 1789, he ordained two of his best-known Preachers as deacons and presbyters. Here is the record:—

Feb. 25. "4 Prayed, writ Journal, 9 ordained T[homas] R[ankin], H[enry] Moore.

Feb. 27. "4 Prayed, Rom. xiii, 1-2, letters. 8-30 ordained Hen[ry] Moore & Tho[mas] Rankin."

Henry Moore's Certificate, dated Feb. 27, 1789, is in the Library of Headingley College. (Proc., v, p. 229). It is a document of great importance. The ordaining Ministers, who are described as "presbyters of the Church of England," were John Wesley, James Creighton and Peard Dickenson. Henry Moore was ordained not as an "elder," but for the office of a "presbyter in the Church of God." The Certificate declares that, in the opinion of Wesley, Moore was a man qualified to feed the flock of Christ, and to administer the Sacraments of Baptism and the Lord's Supper, "according to the usage of the Church of England." The new style of wording which appears in this Certificate indicates a change of purpose in Wesley's mind. It must be remembered that Henry Moore, like Alexander Mather, was ordained without being sent out of England. Thomas Rankin's Certificate, dated Feb. 27, 1789, has only recently come to light. It was found in an old safe by a member of a firm of Stockbrokers in the City of London. A copy has been sent us. In form it is precisely like Moore's. It is worthy of notice that Thomas Rankin, at the time of his ordination, was a supernumerary in London and continued in that position not only until Wesley's death but for several years afterwards. We may safely conclude that when he ordained him as a presbyter Wesley had no intention of sending him to Scotland or the West Indies. The ordinations of Mather, Rankin and Moore stand in a class by themselves. They have an air of specialty about them that distinguishes them from all those that had previously taken place.

The explanation which Myles and Moore have given of Wesley's intention when he ordained Mather. Moore and Rankin is clear and convincing. Myles says: "Mr. Wesley had hitherto ordained Ministers only for America and Scotland, but from this period [1788] being assisted by the Rev. James Creighton and the Rev. Peard Dickenson, presbyters of the Church of England, he set apart for the sacred office, by imposition of hands and prayer, Messrs. Alexander Mather, Thomas Rankin and Henry Moore, without sending them out of England, strongly advising them at the same time, that, according to his example, they should continue united to the Established Church, so far as the blessed work in which they were engaged would permit" (Chron. Hist. of the Methodists, p. 175. Third ed.). Henry Moore's account appears in a letter written to the President of the Conference in August, 1837. He says: "The Scriptural way of ordination by imposition of hands was allowed by the Apostles, and since their time has been allowed by the Church in every age. Mr. Wesley

allowed this, and ordained—first, for America—secondly, for Scotland—and thirdly, for England 'when the time should come.'
. . . I am the only person now alive that Mr. Wesley committed that power to, and I know that he committed it for the purpose that it should become a common thing, whenever it should be judged by the Conference best to adopt it" (Mrs. Richard

Smith's Life of Henry Moore, p. 326).

The statements of Myles and Moore show that Wesley's last ordinations had a special and far-reaching significance. had reference not so much to the ordinary exigencies of the work in Scotland and the West Indies as to the critical days, so swiftly approaching, when the Methodist Societies would take up a distinct position as one of the Churches of England. with much sagacity, in spite of his own prejudices, determined that when those days arrived the Conference should be ready for them, and so made arrangements for the transmission of presbyters' orders to his Preachers. Myles mentions the interesting fact that Alexander Mather was ordained by Wesley as "a Bishop or Superintendent" (Chron. Hist. of the Methodists, D. 175. Third ed.). John Pawson, in a letter published by Tyerman in his Life of Wesley gives valuable information on the subject of Wesley's intentions. He says, "Mr. Wesley knew the state of the Societies in England required such measures to be taken, or many of the people would leave the Connexion. He foresaw that the Methodists would soon become a distinct He was deeply prejudiced against presbyterian, and was much in favour of episcopal, government. In order, therefore, to preserve all that is valuable in the Church of England among the Methodists, he ordained Mr. Mather and Dr. Coke, Bishops. These he undoubtedly designed should ordain others. Mather told us so at the Manchester Conserence in 1791" (iii. p. 443). With Mather as a "Superintendent," and Henry Moore and Thomas Rankin as presbyters, Wesley considered that the Methodists possessed men capable of ordaining preachers to the work of the ministry. Many will agree with John Pawson's opinion expressed in the letter from which we have quoted: "Had the preachers, after his death, only acted upon his plan, and quietly granted the people who desired the sacraments that privilege, no division would have taken place." In view of his wise proceedings and of subsequent events, we cannot refrain from expressing our regret that Wesley's carefully arranged plan was not adopted by the Conference.

JOHN S. SIMON.

WESLEY AND KEITH.

Journal, May 20th, 1776.

The owner of the property Wesley bought was George Smout, a mason of Cairnie, who had it from the Earl of Seafield

and Findlater. The feu is dated February 3rd 1762.

As to the "three acres of good land" there is some mistake. At this time the Earl of Seafield had laid out 500 acres as allotments in the neighbourhood of Keith, but these were not for sale; they could only be rented. In the estate rental book for 1768 George Smout is entered as owner of the feu, and as joint tenant of 4 ac. 2 r. 32 per. of the allotment. The date of the disposition and assignation of the property by the said George Smout in favour of the Rev. John Wesley was May 25th 1776. Wesley vested the property in William McPherson, Weaver, Banff, and other trustees August 5th 1789.

In 1794 George Smout again appears in the estate rental, while Wesley is mentioned as joint tenant of 4 acres of land along with Alexander Ogilvie and James Laurence. It seems that Wesley was only tenant, and that the land was attached to the property as a sort of tenant right. On 20th April 1818 the only surviving trustee, Alex. Christie, Farmer, of Newmills of Boyne, executed a deed of assumption, appointing John Taylor,

farmer, Wardend, and others as trustees.

The two houses had been converted into a building suitable for public worship, of the plainest type, with rough plaster

exterior, holding I should say, about 200 people.

The chapel ceased to be used for regular worship in 1827, but occasional services were held after that date. These soon ceased, however, and a letter signed by Thomas Townley and Robert Newton, President of the Conference and Secretary respectively, dated August 12th 1829 gave power to sell. At this time, of course, Keith formed part of the Banff and Buckey (now spelt Buckie) circuit in the Aberdeen District. The property was bought by John Gordon, Merchant, Keith, 1835, who had a life rent in it. On his decease it passed to J. S. F. Gordon, who sold it to John Chalmers, Isla Bank Works, Keith, who again sold it to Mrs. Sim, Feuer, Newmill and Fife-Keith. It is now owned by Mr. Robert Gordon, Carter, 18, Wellington Terrace, Fife-Keith.

When finally closed for worship it was used as an elementary

1.55

It was afterwards converted into a house, which at the Disruption was used as a Free Church Manse, 1843. Thirty years later it became the residence of the Episcopal Minister, its last tenant as such being the present Dean Archibald (now retired). It was then divided into two dwelling houses which are now 13 and 15 Land Street, Keith.

When the place was dismantled as a Drill Hall, the sergeant, who is now Curator of the local Museum, saved the back of Wesley's pulpit, which now hangs in the Museum of the Public Institute—all that survives of Methodism in Keith.

JOHN J. LEEDAL.

Keith is mentioned in the Journal seven times, but in a few cases the reference is purely nominal. In travelling down from Inverness to Aberdeen, via Nairn and Elgin, Wesley "dined at Keith," 12 June 1764. On his next visit 30th April 1770 he found welcome shelter and entertainment after a storm of rain at the inn at Keith. It is on his third visit, 21st May 1776, that he records "a little society is formed already, and is in a fair way of But they are just now in danger of losing their increasing. preaching-house, the owner being determined to sell it. I saw but one way to secure it for them, which was to buy it myself. So (who would have thought it?) I bought an estate, consisting of two houses, a yard, a garden, with three acres of good land. But he told me flat, 'Sir, I will take no less for it than sixteen pounds ten shillings, to be paid, part now, part at Michaelmas, and the residue next May." For an interesting note with reference to this visit, see W.H.S. Proceedings iv. 214-215. Wesley preached again in Keith on Saturday and Sunday, 5th and 6th June 1779, in the afternoon of the latter day at three "in the kirk, one of the largest I have seen in the kingdom, but very ruinous," From June 7 to 9 1782, Wesley was at Aberdeen, and does not appear to have gone further north. He writes on the 7th, "We received a pleasing account of the work of God in the North. The flame begins to kindle even at poor dull Keith." His last visit was on Friday, 7th May 1784 when he records "I preached about seven to the poor of this world: not a silk coat was seen among them: and to the greatest part of them at five in the morning. And I did not at all regret my labour."

Records of Early Methodism in the North of Scotland are very scanty; the following letter from the Rev. Jonathan Brown, Junr. (1805-1819) may therefore well be printed as an appendix to the preceding article. Mr. Brown was born near Westgate, Weardale, and Keith was his first appointment. He was a nephew of Jonathan Brown (1778-1825) who was one of Wesley's veterans, and a most successful preacher.

Keith, Sept. 9th, 1805.

Dear Brother and Sister,

Having safely arrived at my appointed place (which is Keith) I have the happiness of relating or giving you a little history of my journey here. On Saturday morning, the day after you left me at N Castle we sailed, but only got a little way down the river till Monday, so that I had the pleasure of seeing my Uncle and staying there over Sunday. On Monday morning I went on board and we left Shields about 12 o'clock. With great reluctance and with many a wishful look I at last lost sight of my beloved country, while the thought of coming into a strange land brought tears into my languid eyes. We had a safe passage but a very quick one. We got to Aberdeen on Thursday morning. I was a little sick the first and second day, but very little. The Captain shewed all respect to me imaginable and only charged me thirteen shillings for my passage. When I got to Aberdeen, I enquired out the preachers, Mr. Welborne and Mr. Fisher, and staved with them all night and set off again on Friday morning with a young woman who was going on the same road to the same place. That day I came about 20 miles and lodged at a friend's house but such a place as I was never at before. You have often heard tell of a people living in a house with the fire on the floor, and all placed around it: here I saw it full. Add to this the smoke and stench with their big friz'd hair and the great difference of their dialect that a while I could scarce tell a word in ten. I thought Lord where have I got to, a stranger in a strange land and among strange people. This cast me down a little, yet the affections of the people far exceeded the inconvenience that I met with here. Then on Saturday morning I set off again and walked about 25 miles and reached Keith on the same day, which is the place where I am appointed to labour awhile. have not found my Superintendant, but I expect to see him ere it is long: he is at Inverness, Mr. Sykes is at a place called Bamf, I am at Keith. I preach three times once a fortnight on the Sabbath, and at another town the other week on Saturday evening and Sunday which is I suppose about 9 or 10 miles, so that I shall have much time to read and study and improve myself in useful knowledge. May God help me to improve it well. Having got so far, I shall give you an account of my Sabbath's The usual hours for preaching are half past ten in the forenoon, and three in the afternoon because the common time for dining is at 2, and at 6 in the evening at a little town about a mile from Keith. But being somewhat fatigued with my journey

I only preached at 3 and 6, met the class and renewed the tickets. For the first I preached from Matt. 10, 32-33. I was received by the people not only a Minister of the Gospel, but as an angel from heaven. Many scores [were] affected, and I hope to see better days still. I have to tell you that I am content with my situation & I hope if ever I should come into England I shall have cause to bless God that I ever came to Scotland. I got a small Bible in 2 Volumes in Aberdeen & an umberela which will be far superior to a great coat in walking betwixt places both for ease and convenience. This town abounds with sects and people of different opinions. I had three of the Missionaries as they call them hearing me on Sunday. But what took my attention most was the dress of the women. In walking they seldom or ever wear any stockings or shoes, hats or caps, and you may see them flocking to the meeting with their cloaks or garments like unto a blanket. I find nothing the same here as in England but God, the Bible, and Religion in those who possess it. Now what shall I say more than what I have said: let me have an interest in your prayers, and pray for Scotland and be sure and live near to God in the holy exercise of prayer and faith, and I have no doubt but God will bless you both in temporals and spirituals.

IRISH METHODIST NOTES.

(Continued from Proceedings viii. 154).

I.—DUNMORE CAVE, NEAR KILKENNY.

Journal, 12 July, 1762: W.H.S. Proc. vii. 122.

Dunmore Cave is in the middle of a field some seven miles from Kilkenny, and there is nothing to indicate its proximity until one stands almost on the margin of the huge cavity by which the entrance is reached. The photograph illustrates Wesley's description: "The opening is round, parallel to the horizon and seventy or eighty yards across." "The kind of arch twenty or thirty feet high" which Wesley says is "in the midst of this" forms the actual entrance to the cave proper, and is reached by a steep descent of 100 yards or so from the near margin shown in the picture. It is beautifully overhung with long pendant trails of ivy. Similar caves, with the immediate entrance far below the surface, are not unusual in limestone districts.

D. B. BRADSHAW.

II.—CORK.

1. Journal, Sunday, 20 May, 1750 . . . "Mr. Mayor meantime was walking in the Change."

"The Exchange, which almost divides the main street of the city into two parts, north and south, is a handsome, regular structure of hewn stone. The front consists of five arches, with three others next the passage to the street. The middle arch or principal entrance is adorned with columns of the Doric order, over which are fluted ones of the Ionic order, between the front windows are pilasters of the same with a handsome cornice and balustrade over these. On the top is an elegant cupola covered with lead, a gilt ball, cross, and dragon. This building is in excellent proportion, and I may venture to pronounce it the neatest and most regular of the kind in Ireland.

On a table in gold letters, hanging up in this Exchange is this inscription:—

'This building was erected by the public revenue of this city, and foundation laid anno MDCCVIII.

JOSEPH FRANKLIN, ESQ., Mayor.
EDWARD HOAR, ESQ.,
JOHN HAWKINS ESQ.,

Sheriffs.

Continued Anno MDCCIX.

ROWLAND DELAHOYDE, ESQ., Mayor. WILLIAM LAMB, ESQ., JAMES MORISON, ESq., Sheriffs.

Finished Anno MDCCX.

NOBLE ROGERS, ESQ., Mayor.
RICHARD PHILIPS, ESQ.
SAMUEL WILSON, ESQ.

Sheriffs.

ALDERMAN DANIEL CRONE
ALDERMAN JAMES FRENCH
ALDERMAN WILLIAM GODDARD
ALDERMAN WILLIAM BROWN.,

Smith's History of Cork, Dublin, 2 Vols., 1750.

Note on above. — The stones when the Exchange was taken down were used for building the lower part of the steeple at St. Peter's Church. Dr. Caulfield states that at the same time the dragon, referred to by Smith, was sent to the Cork Institution, where it remained in the hall for some years,

but was stolen in the year 1858, and was recovered with the loss of his tail. A woman subsequently stole it, but it was again recovered, minus this time his head. The mutilated trunk was sold as lumber in 1865. It was made of copper, and thickly gilt, which seems to have excited the cupidity of the several thieves.

Cork Historical and Archeol. Journal ii. p. 431.

2. Wednesday, 30 May, 1750. "A little before five I walked towards the Barracks.

The old barrack to the East of Elizabeth's fort, was erected in 1698, as was the new barrack in the said fort, anno 1719: both together are capable of containing 700 men, with rooms for the officers. Near the former lie twenty pieces of old iron artillery, dismounted since the siege of Cork, and now become useless.—Smith's *History*.

3. Wednesday, 30 May. 1750. "When we came over the

South Bridge, a large mob gathered."

The North Gate makes a handsome gaol, and is strongly built of hewn stone, for the use of the city, being well arched and vaulted to prevent fire. It was erected by a tax upon the inhabitants, Anno 1715. and is contiguous to the North Bridge, which being well built, together with that gaol, makes a fair appearance.

The South Gate of the city is used as the county gaol and was built at the expense of the Co. of Cork, Anno 1728 and finished in the year 1730. The gate next the bridge is neatly built of the Tuscan Order, with a handsome pediment of hewn stone; but it is too high in proportion to the breadth. From the battlements is a fine prospect of the city, and the east and west sides of the river.—Smith's History.

The present South Gate Bridge was built in 1713.—

Windele's Cork, new Edition, 1910.

The bridges referred to spanned the north channel and

the south channel respectively, of the River Lee.

Heads remained spiked on the South Gate well into the nineteenth century. Readers of Froude's *The English in Ireland*, will remember that the head of Morty Oge, O'Sullivan, Captain of 'the Wild Geese,' was placed on a spike over the gate of the South gaol. The body was fastened to the 'speedwell,' and towed from Castletown through the sea to Cork.

4. Saturday 23 Sept. 1752. 'We reached Cork.' Sunday 24th. 'In the evening I proposed to the Society the building

of a Preaching House. The next day ten persons subscribed one hundred pounds; another hundred was subscribed in three or four days, and a piece of ground taken.'

'The piece of ground taken' for the above purpose was on Hammond's Marsh. This name is also written 'Hamand's Marsh' and 'Haman's Marsh.' My impression is that Haman

is correct. Smith (1770) writes as follows:—

"On Hamand's Marsh is a large pleasant bowling green planted on its margin with trees kept regularly cut, whose shade makes it an agreeable walk. It is also washed by a branch of the Lee, and on it a band of music has been supported by subscription for the entertainment of the gentlemen and ladies who frequent it; adjacent to it is the Assembly House, where assemblies are held two days in the week, as also a weekly concert, which is maintained by a subscription, for the support of the Infirmary. Here is an organ, the other performers play on violins, German flutes, and with vocal music, and are sometimes assisted by gentlemen who play to encourge that charity."

The name 'Hammond's Marsh' is used by Wesley, Journal 20, 21 May, 1750. He preached in 'the new house' 12 May 1756: "like the houses at Dublin, Bristol, and Newcastle, it

had rooms overhead."—Standard Journal in loco.

5. I Oct, 1752. 'We had in the morning at St. Paul's a strong, close, practical sermon; and another at our own church in the afternoon, delivered in an earnest, affectionate manner.

"St. Paul's Church. This church, as well as the parish of St. Paul are modern, consequent on the growth of the city eastwards of the city wall after the Revolution in 1688, when the east marsh and part of Dunscombe's marsh were formed into St. Paul's Parish. The church, which is of homely appearance, without tower or spire, was built in 1723. The burial ground in front is remarkable for the number of seafaring people interred there.—Windele's Cork.

6. Mon. 17 May 1756. 'Walking up the Red House walk.'
"The Mardyke runs in a straight line due west of Mardyke Place, which adjoins Nile Street. It is a delightful walk about a mile long, with noble elm trees growing at each side. It was formed in 1720 by Mr. Edward Webber, then Town Clerk of Cork, and was called 'The Red House Walk,' from a red-brick house that stood in a Tea Garden at the western

end."

7. Sunday 26 April 1778. 'At St. Peter's Church I saw a

pleasing sight, the Independent Companies, raised by private persons associated together without any expense to the Government.

"The Church of St. Peter is now the oldest church standing in the city. The steeple is detached a considerable way to the west of the church, and served as a tower to defend the city wall. This church is about ninety feet long, but not of proportionable breadth, it has a tolerably neat alter-piece, consisting of fluted Corinthian pilaster; over the communion table is a dove painted, surrounded with a glory in a pediment; on the west is a mayor's gallery, over which are the King's Arms carved and painted; and on each side are parallel galleries, and double rows of pews.

On the south side is a monument of Sir Matthew Deane and his lady, with their effigies in plaster of Paris, as large as life, in a praying posture, on each side of a desk. This monument consists of three pillars of black marble, with white bases and capitals, supporting an open pediment. On the

base is this inscription:-

SIR MATTHEW DEANE, Knight and Baronet,

1710.

On the cornice are cherubims, and on the top images supporting banners. There are some gravestones with dates as old as the year 1500. In this church there is early service and sacrament every third Sunday of the month.—Smith *History* 1770.

The church alluded to above was taken down in 1782. The present one was finished in 1785. In the Cork Stewards' Book under date Oct. 19th 1785 there is the following entry:—

Parish rate for building Peter's Church ... 7 7 And under date April 18th, 1792.

3 81

8. Sunday 3 May, 1778. "The Aghrim Society, a company of Volunteers so called They did so, with another Independent Company, who were just raised, the True Blues."

Aghrim Corps, so called after Aughrim or Aghrim where William the Third's force were victorious over St. Ruth and Sarsfield, 1691. Their Colonel was Richard Longfield; their dress scarlet, faced white, edged white. The Earl of Shannon was Colonel of the True Blues.

"On the 12th April 1778, the True Blues, Boyne, Union, Aughrim, and Culloden Societies walked in procession to Christ Church, according to seniority, being the first general public appearance made by these Sons of Liberty."

JOHN A. DUKE.

THE REV. JOHN PAWSON, 1737-1806.

PRESIDENT OF THE CONFERENCE 1793 AND 1801.

We are purposing to publish extracts from the manuscript letters of the Rev. John Pawson in the collection of Mr. George Stampe. The following preliminary biographical sketch has been prepared by Mr. Stampe.

John Pawson was born at Thorner, near Leeds, 12 November, 1737, his father being a prosperous tradesman in that village. He gave to his son a first-class education, and trained him in the strictest observances of the Established Church. When he was about fifteen years of age, John Pawson was sent to Hull to study architecture and the best principles of building. It was in Hull that he first met with the Methodists and was deeply influenced by them. His father was greatly annoyed, and, when John returned home, he threatened to disinherit him. Pawson commenced business at Harewood, near Leeds, in 1756, and shortly afterwards was convinced of sin under the preaching of John Hosmer, but is was not until 1760 that he entered into the liberty of the children of God. Meanwhile he had the joy of seeing his father and other members of the family join the Methodists. Mr. Hosmer appointed him to be the leader of a class, and soon afterwards he became an exhorter and local preacher. The Rev. John Johnson, who was stationed in Leeds, urged him to attend the Conference of 1762, which was held in that town. Here he was introduced to Mr. Wesley, by whom he was appointed to travel in the York Circuit. The blameless character and gentle, gracious spirit of young Pawson greatly impressed Wesley in his favour, and it is said that he was the first young man received into the ministry without being questioned with regard to his call to the work. The confidence reposed in him was not misplaced, and thenceforth for forty-three years he was a faithful and successful minister of the word. Throughout Wesley's life Pawson retained his complete love and trust.

His first year's labours in the York Circuit were discouraging, but the cheering words of his Superintendent, Peter Jaco, "I feel as sure of your call to the ministry as of my own," confirmed him once for all in his life-work.

In 1763 the Conference was held in London, and Pawson attended for the first time as a minister. At this Conference the Preachers' Fund was first begun. Howel Harris was present, and Pawson saw and heard him for the only time. Pawson was appointed to Haworth, where in the previous April the saintly Grimshaw had finished his glorious course. In 1764 he was sent to the Norwich Circuit where he met with much persecution, until the Methodists were protected by a friendly clerical Magistrate, the Revd. Dr. Tanner, who promised that they should not be molested. In 1765 he attended the Conference in Manchester, and was appointed to Birstal with John Murlin and Parson Greenwood for colleagues. following year he was appointed to Manchester, which important circuit included Stockport, Macclesfield, Newcastle-under-Lyme, Warrington, Liverpool, Bolton and several other towns. At the Conference of 1767, held in London, he was again appointed to Manchester, but now as "Assistant" or Superintendent, a striking proof of Mr. Wesley's estimate of his abilities. the year, four hundred and thirty souls were added to the society. In 1768 he was stationed in Wednesbury. 'The Conference of 1769 was held in Leeds, and was the first to send preachers to America; by it Pawson was appointed to London. In October, 1760, he was greatly affected by the death of his honoured father. He was appointed to London for a second year, and two years In July, 1773, he was happily married successively to Bristol. to Grace Davis of Bristol, "a pious, sensible, pleasing helpmate." In 1774 and 1775 he was stationed in Leeds; the two following years were spent in Birstal, where an extraordinary revival rewarded his labours. He was in London in 1778 and 1779, and in the latter year was a witness of the celebrated Gordon riots. In 1780 and 1781 he was in Bristol; in 1782 and 1783 in York. In the latter year his wife died, and less than three months later his mother died also. At the Leeds Conference of 1784, the notable 'Deed of Declaration' or 'Deed-poll' was presented by Mr. Wesley, whose selection of names to form the first Legal Hundred gave great offence to several of the ministers. Pawson's appointment at this Conference was to Manchester. London Conference of the following year Wesley announced his intention of ordaining ministers for Scotland; John Pawson,

Thomas Hanby and Joseph Taylor were the 'three of our well-tried preachers' who were chosen for this purpose. Accordingly Pawson removed to Edinburgh, taking with him as his second wife Mrs. Wren, of York. The year was "spent between Edinburgh and Glasgow, with Mr. Robert Johnson, a deeply pious young man," the preachers having "favour in the sight of the people." Pawson records that the life and power of godliness were in a very low state in Scotland, and expresses the opinion 'that it requires a far higher degree of the Divine influence, generally speaking, to awaken a Scotchman out of the deep sleep of sin than an Englishman.' They had orders from Mr. Wesley to form their people into a church, and to administer the ordinance of baptism and the Lord's supper among them. 'But,' Pawson has to confess, 'our labours have not succeeded in Scotland as in other parts of the nation; very far from it.'

[To be continued.]

WESLEY HISTORICAL SOCIETY ANNUAL MEETING.

A Meeting of the Wesley Historical Society was held at Leeds on July 17th, 1914. The Rev. Dr. Simon presided.

The Treasurer's Accounts for the two previous years were adopted, shewing a balance in hand of eighteen shillings and twopence. The Secretary has also a balance in hand of seven pounds, four shillings and twopence. Officers were thanked and re-elected, as follows:—President, Rev. J. S. Simon, D.D.; Treasurer, Mr. George Stampe; Editorial Council, Revs. J. Conder Nattrass, B.A., B.D., and T. E. Brigden (Joint Editors); Rev. F. F. Bretherton, B.A., and Rev. R. S. Armsby, B.A., who prepares

Index to the "Proceedings"; General Secretary, Rev. John W. Crake; Minute Secretary and Auditor, Rev. M. Riggall. The Circular for use of Members in soliciting new Subscribers is to be revised and re-issued.

As the bi-centenary of the birth of George Whitefield falls on 16th December of this year, it was decided the 1ssue of the *Proceedings* for next March shall be entirely of the character of memorial to him, and that a good portrait of him shall be prefixed to the same as the frontispiece to Vol x.

A letter of condolence was sent to Mrs. Wright in appreciation of the valuable work in the interests of the Society of the late Mr. Joseph G. Wright, of Bournemouth.

Signed, M. RIGGALL, Minute Secretary.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

497. ONE OF JOHN WESLEY'S PRAYER BOOKS, 1745. Mr. G. Brownson, Teignmouth, sends an account of a Prayer Book, now the property of Mr. Ireton P. Jones, Dublin. It is one of the fine editions printed by the famous Thomas Baskett, with the Psalter at the end, size $7\frac{3}{4}$ in. by 5 in. At the top of title, on the right corner is the following writing:—

J. W. 1774. How long.

On the fly leaf is written. "John Wesley's Prayer Book, the property of the late Bennett Dugdale, of Dublin, given to me by his daughter, Mrs. R. Hume, 1856, for bad debt of £400. J. Lambert Jones, 135, Stevens Green, Dublin."

Bennett Dugdale was a useful leader and local preacher at Dublin, a fellow apprentice of Matthias Joyce in Alderman Exshaw's printing works. Both he and Joyce, who became an itinerant, came under the influence of Wesley and Peter Jaco in 1774. Mr. Crookshank, in his History of Methodism in Ireland gives interesting details of

them. (Vol. I. pp 286, 309, 343).

498. BOLTZIUS, Johann Martin. (See Standard Journal iii 433-434, also i. 181, 196 and 404-405 foot note). Mr. G. Brownson reports a portrait of this minister whom Wesley met in Georgia. He is described as "first minister of the Salzburgian colonists at Ebenezer, Georgia." The portrait is half-length, in mezzotint, by Joh. Jacob Haid after I. Theus, South Carolina, 1753, size 6½ in. by 4¾ in. The price asked for this portrait by a French dealer in art is "Fr. 20."

499. Nebuchadnezzar Lee.—The above young man was admitted on trial by the Irish Conference of 1788, and appointed to the Lisleen Circuit, with Matthew Stuart as his superintendent. Mr. Stuart in his unpublished Diary, on the work of the Circuit only says: "Here we had a great increase, and built the preaching house at Lisleen,"—a building which still stands and is regularly used by the Methodists in that neighbourhood—but local tradition is much fuller. From it we learn that Lee was very popular, and made great efforts in getting the chapel erected. It is said that he worked with his own hands, so anxious was he

to succeed in raising the structure. For some reason the Conference removed him at the end of the year to Omagh, though he was most wishful to remain. Instead of entering on his newly appointed field of labour, he wandered about Lisleen for some time, as if he was demented, then resigned his connection with the Conference, enlisted in the army, and was drafted off to India. Mr. Samuel Bates, the superintendent of Omagh in 1789, says: "The person appointed to labour with me this year grew weary of the work and left it, which was a cause of much sorrow of heart to me." It is said that Lee wrote from India to the authorities in England, and induced them to send a missionary or missionaries to that great empire. Such is the story told by an old Methodist who lived convenient to the Lisleen chapel a great many years ago, and he being then an old man, appeared to have conversed with those who probably knew Lee. What subsequently became of Lee is unknown.

The chief point of interest in this narrative is the reputed connection of Lee with the introduction of Methodism into India, on which further light is much to be desired. Subsequently Irish Methodism in the persons of Gunner Lynch and George Carkins had much to do with the introduction of Methodism into India, but that was more than 20 years later. Perhaps some of the members of the W.H.S. may be able to give further information on this subject, which certainly will be gratefully appreciated at least

by me. - Rev. C. H. Crookshank.

500. MR. WESLEY AT COVENTRY.—See Proc. ix, 121-122.—
(1). The "Town Hall. The Wesleyan Chapel in Gosford Street was taken down, as unsafe, "about the year 1834." Its successor in Warwick Lane, was opened on 3 April, 1836. "In the interval of removal, the mayor for the time being, Mr. George Eld [elected 1 Nov. 1834], granted the use of St. Mary's Hall for the congregation to worship in, and this may be said to have atoned in some measure for the incivility offered to John Wesley in 1779 by the Mayor of that period [Edward Harper, apothecary—had he a grudge against the author of Primitive Physick?] Here the service was conducted for about two years." See B. Poole, Hist. of Coventry, 1870, p. 243.

(2). The "Women's Market" is shown in your illustration as it was in Mr. Wesley's time, except that the City Stocks were then placed in front of the north-east pillar,

and were not removed to the side, fronting the lock-up, till 1840. See Poole, p. 380. The present writer can personally testify to the occasional use of these stocks in the late forties and early fifties of last century, for the detention of drunken and disorderly night-birds of both sexes. Grammar School boys would make a slight detour, on their early and unwelcome march to an hour's schooling before breakfast (except in the winter months), in hope of being able to relieve their feelings by pelting some hapless victim with the residuary legacy of the market. The city stocks may to-day be seen standing

idle by the west wall of St. Mary's Hall.

(3). The "large schoolroom." It is incredible that by this vague designation Mr. Wesley should have meant the Grammar School. There were plenty of traditions about the place when the present writer became an alumnus in 1852. but this was not one of them. Perhaps he may be allowed to make two corrections to the note p. 122. (a) According to the Charity Commissioners' report, 1833, the School was in no disfavour in 1782; it was well attended from 1779 to 1794, when it was closed for alterations not completed till 1802, the scholars meanwhile being taught in the masters' houses. The disfavour began in 1802, when the Headmaster (William Brooks) declined to return to the Schoolhouse, owing to differences with the Usher (Samuel Paris). (b) The alterations effected 1794-1802 do not appear to have diminished the length of the actual School. What took place was the demolition of the main entrance, a projecting west porch with still further projecting side buttresses, the demolition also of the library building to the south, and some other outbuildings. Poole gives a view of the as existing before 1794. See Poole pp. 259, 260, 265. Poole gives a view of the front,

(4). While there was no "schoolroom" so large as the Grammar School, there were in 1782 several which might fairly be called large, e.g., Baker, Billing and Crow's School, in Cow Lane, accommodated fifty boys. The expression "at the bottom of St. Michael's Church yard," used by John Sibree, a very careful man, in 1855, points to Priory Row, the northern boundary of the churchyard in question, which slopes gently northward from the church. The old building Girls' Blue Coat School (rebuilt accommodating forty girls, was approached from Priory Row; but, if Sibree had this in his mind, he would scarcely have

forborne to specify it. See Poole, p. 272,—A.G.