

ART. VII.—*John Wesley's Travels in Cumberland.* By
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IT was in 1748, just three years after the Jacobite rebellion, that John Wesley first visited Cumberland. He was then 45 years of age, and some ten years had elapsed since his memorable experience in Aldersgate Street when he had "felt his heart strangely warmed." Once having been in the county, he continued to visit it with increasing frequency until the year 1790.

By reason of the fact that one of his earliest converts in the north, Christopher Hopper by name, came to reside with James Broadwood at Hindly Hill (on Ordnance Survey Map Sheet 6 Popular Edition, the spelling is Hindley) and had founded a society there, John Wesley visited Allendale, Northumberland, in July, 1748.¹ From here he made his first incursion into Cumberland. "Thursday, 28th July, 1748. We rode over the moors (from Hindley-Hill) to Nint's Head (Nenthead), a village south west from Allendale (Allendale), when I preached at eight. We then went on to Alesden (Alston),² a small market-town in Cumberland. At noon I preached at the Cross, to a quiet, staring people, who seemed to be little concerned, one way or the other." (Volume II, pp. 69-70).³

¹ George Dickinson. Allendale and Whitfield. Historical Notices of the two parishes. Reid. 1930. p. 100.

² W. Wallace. Alston Moor: Its Pastoral People: Its Mines and Miners. Morgan, 1890. p. 72.

³ F. W. MacDonald. The Journal of the Rev. John Wesley, A.M. In 4 volumes. (Everyman's Library, Dent). All reference numbers in brackets are from these 4 volumes. The standard edition of the Journal in 8 volumes edited by Nehemiah Curnock was also consulted.

He returned to Hindley Hill in the following year and travelled from there to Whitehaven preaching in this town for the first time on Friday the 22nd of September, 1749. From the time he came to Whitehaven he had something on his mind and after being visited by his brother Charles he returned on the 27th to Hineley-Hill (Hindley Hill) losing his way in a mist on Penruddock Moor and again on Alstone Moor (Alston).⁴ On Friday the 29th⁵ he set out for Whitehaven "The storm was exceeding high, and drove full in my face, so that it was not without difficulty I could sit my horse: particularly as I rode over the broad, bare backs of those enormous mountains which lay in my way. However, I kept on as I could, till I came to the brow of Hatside (Hartside); so thick a fog then fell, that I was quickly out of all road, and knew not which way to turn . . . The fog vanished in a moment, and I saw Gamblesby at a distance: (the town to which I was going).⁶ I set out early on Saturday, the 30th, and in the afternoon reached Whitehaven."

Whitehaven was from this time until 1788 the Cumbrian town which saw most of the great preacher. He refers affectionately to his "old stand in the market place" where he used to preach in the open air, and several times he records his attendance at Church (St. Nicholas)—for example, "Sunday April 14th 1751 I heard two useful sermons at church." (II, 193).

The coastal region south of St. Bees was visited only on two occasions by Wesley, for it seems that he usually approached and left Whitehaven by way of Cockermouth. The account of the one journey north by the coastal

⁴ G. Elsie Harrison. *Son to Susanna. The Private Life of John Wesley.* (Penguin Books, 1944) p. 160 and chapters XXVIII, XXIX, XXX.

⁵ J. Telford (Ed.). *The Letters of the Rev. John Wesley, A.M.* Standard Edition in 8 volumes, London, Epworth Press, p. 18. Vol. III gives the date as 26th.

⁶ T. Fetherstonhaugh. *Our Cumberland Village.* Thurnam, 1925. On page 146 it is suggested that Wesley "seems to have arrived there in a Helm wind."

route makes interesting reading. "Saturday, May 12th 1759—setting out early, we came to Bottle (Bootle) twenty-four measured miles from Fluckborough (Flookburgh in Cartmel), soon after eight, having crossed the Millam-Sand (Millom) without either guide or difficulty. Here we were informed, that we could not pass at Ravenglass before one or two o'clock; whereas, had we gone on, (as we afterwards found), we might have passed immediately. About eleven we were directed to a ford near Manchester-Hall (Muncaster) which they said we might cross at noon. When we came thither, they told us we could not cross; so we sat still till about one: we then found we could have crossed at noon. However, we reached Whitehaven before night. But I have taken my leave of the sand road. I believe it is ten measured miles shorter than the other: but there are four sands to pass, so far from each other, that it is scarce possible to pass them all in a day: especially as you have all the way to do with a generation of liars, who detain all strangers as long as they can, for their own gain or their neighbours'. I can advise no stranger to go this way: he may go round by Kendal or Keswick, often in less time, always with less expense, and far less trial of his patience." (II, 448).

After this visit to Whitehaven, and when passing through the Vale of Lorton⁷ on his journey to Cocker-mouth, John Wesley showed his appreciation of Lake District scenery. Arnold Lunn has written of this, "No historian of mountains and their influence on man has ever drawn attention to Wesley's appreciative allusions to our own British mountains in his famous Journal . . . he insists that the Creator is 'a God both of the hills and valleys, and no where more present than in the mountains

⁷ Because the Whinlatter Pass was then the usual route between Cocker-mouth and Keswick.

of Cumberland'".⁸ (II, 449). Two years later when riding from Kendal to Whitehaven he wrote, on Saturday 18th April, 1761 " We were soon lost in the mountains . . . we met a poor man . . . he piloted us over the next mountain, the like to which I never beheld either in Wales or Germany. As we were climbing the third, a man overtook us, who was going the same road; so he accompanied us till we were in a plain level way, which in three hours brought us to Whitehaven." (III, 50). After preaching on Sunday the 19th at Workington (his only recorded visit),⁹ and at noon on Wednesday the 22nd at Branthwayte (Branthwaite) he preached in the evening at Lorton and this valley must have attracted him greatly for he wrote this time, " Who would imagine, that Deism should find its way into the heart of these enormous mountains! Yet so it is." (III, 51).

Another natural feature which he had to encounter on at least seven occasions was the crossing of the Solway Firth, the first being in 1753 and the last in 1768. After preaching at 8 a.m., in the Market Place at Wigton on Monday the 27th April, 1761 his Journal records that ". . . Before noon, we came to Solway-Frith. The guide told us it was not passable, but I resolved to try, and got over well. Having lost ourselves but twice or thrice in one of the most difficult roads I ever saw, we came to Moffat in the evening." Entering Cumberland from Scotland on June 24th, 1766 he was not so fortunate. " Before eight we reached Dumfries, and after a short bait we pushed on, in hopes of reaching Solway-Frith before the sea was come in. Designing to call at an inn by the Frith side, we inquired the way, and were directed to leave the main road, and go straight to the house, which

⁸ Arnold Lunn. *The Discovery of Mountain Beauty. The Journal of the Fell and Rock Climbing Club of the English Lake District.* Pp. 40-45. No. 38. Vol. XIV (No. 1) 1944. p. 45.

⁹ At this time Maryport, of which there is never any mention in his Journal, had few houses and no ships.

we saw before us. In ten minutes Duncan Wright was embogged. However, the horse plunged on, and got through. I was inclined to turn back; but Duncan telling me I needed only go a little to the left, I did so, and sunk at once to my horse's shoulders. He sprung up twice, and twice sunk again, each time deeper than before. At the third plunge he threw me on one side, and we both made shift to scramble out. I was covered with fine, soft mud, from my feet to the crown of my head; yet, blessed be God, not hurt at all. But we could not cross till between seven and eight o'clock. An honest man crossed with us, who went two miles out of his way to guide us over the sands to Skilborneze (Skinburness),¹⁰ where we found a little clean house, and passed a comfortable night." (III, 258).

In each of the following years he had occasion to cross over to Scotland. On Thursday the 26th of March, 1767, his Journal reports that "we rode through miserable roads to Solway Frith; but the guides were so deeply engaged at a cockfight, that none could be procured to show us over. We procured one, however, between 3 and 4; but there was more sea than we expected; so that notwithstanding all I could do, my legs and the skirts of my coat were in the water. The motion of the waves made me a little giddy; . . . we rode on nine or ten miles and lodged at a village called Ruthwell"¹¹ (III, 280). On April 18th, 1768 for his last crossing he was more fortunate for "taking horse at four, I reached Solway Frith before eight, and finding a guide ready, crossed without delay, dined at Dumfries, and then went on to Drumlanric" (III, 323).

That the northern part of England attracted Wesley,

¹⁰ Although rather vague this might have been the Stonewath or Bowness Wath between Annan and Bowness. See "The Fords of the Solway," W. T. McIntire in these *Transactions*, n.s., xxxix, pp. 152-170.

¹¹ This distance from the crossing suggests that Bowness Wath was used, W. T. McIntire, *loc. cit.*

and that for a classical scholar he had a more than usual interest in physical phenomena is clear from various writings of his. This was evidenced by an entry dated Saturday the seventh of December 1771 when travelling in Kent—"I read to-day a circumstantial account of the late inundations in the North of England, occasioned by the sudden and violent overflowing of three rivers, the Tees, the Were, and the Tyne . . . Rain was not the cause of this, for there was next to none at the head of these rivers. What was the cause we may learn from a letter wrote at this time, by a Clergyman in Carlisle: 'Nothing is so surprising as what lately happened at Solway-Moss, about 10 miles north from Carlisle. About 400 acres of this moss arose to such a height above the adjacent level, that at last it rolled forward like a torrent, and continued its course above a mile, sweeping along with it houses and trees, and every other thing in its way. It divided itself into islands of different extent, from one to ten feet in thickness. It is remarkable, that no river or brook runs either through or near the Moss.

To what cause then can any thinking man impute this, but to an earthquake? And the same doubtless it was, which, about the same time, wrought in the bowels of that great mountain whence those rivers rise, and discharged from thence that astonishing quantity of water.'" (III, 457).

During the eighteenth century, due to the energies of the Lowther family, Whitehaven¹² was one of the great ports of the country and on several occasions Wesley left its harbour to cross the Irish Sea. The first occasion was in 1752 when finding no ship ready to sail at Chester he

¹² S. & B. Webb. *English Local Government: The Story of the King's Highway*. (Longmans Green, 1920) p. 70 "The improvement of the harbour (Acts of 1709, 1713, 1739) necessitated improved roads."

See also "Sea Breezes" (*The Magazine of the Pacific Steam Navigation Co.*), June, 1928, No. 103. Vol. XI—an issue devoted mainly to Whitehaven.

took horse with his wife and travelling by way of Manchester and Bolton came to Whitehaven. On Monday the 13th July 1752 he wrote "I bespoke the cabin in a ship bound for Dublin . . . We went down to the Quay . . . and found she had sailed . . . (but) as another ship had just weighed anchor, we went on board, and sailed without delay; but, having contrary winds, it was Friday, the 17th, in the evening, before we reached Dublin." (II, 236).

In 1765 he crossed the North Channel from Scotland to Ireland, in what to us, was an unusual way "We rode over high and steep mountains, between Ballintrae and Strangrawer (Stranraer) . . . We reached Portpatrick about three o'clock, and were immediately surrounded with men offering to carry us over the water. . ." Of the next day, Wednesday, May 1st he recorded "The wind was quite fair, so as soon as the tide served I went on board. It seemed strange to cross the sea in an open boat, especially when the waves ran high. I was a little sick, till I fell asleep. In five hours and a half we reached Donaghadee." (III, 212).

For the next three months he toured Ireland until on Friday August 2nd " . . . about ten we went on board the Felicity, bound for Whitehaven. In about an hour we set sail. Soon after the wind turned, and was against us most part of Saturday and Sunday . . . we did not reach Whitehaven Quay till Tuesday, 6th, between twelve and one in the morning." (III, 235).

On Friday 30th of May 1777 he tells us "I went on to Whitehaven, where I found a little vessel waiting for me. After preaching in the evening, I went on board about eight o'clock, and before eight in the morning, landed at Douglas, in the Isle of Man." (IV, 101).¹³ After preaching on the island he landed again at Whitehaven about twelve o'clock on Tuesday, 3rd of June.

¹³ J. Telford. Letters *loc. cit.* p. 186, Vol. VI. In 1777 there were 671 members at Whitehaven.

Two years after Paul Jones had landed from his American privateer, John Wesley was, on Sunday 8th of May 1780 in Whitehaven hoping, in vain, to sail again to the Isle of Man "but the wind then turned full against us; by this means, I had an opportunity given me of meeting the Select Society . . . I was particularly pleased with a poor negro. She seemed to be fuller of love than any of the rest; and not only her voice had an unusual sweetness, but her words were chosen and uttered with a peculiar propriety. I never heard, either in England or America, such a negro speaker (man or woman) before (IV, 183)."⁴¹ However on Wednesday 30th May of the following year (May by the way appeared to be a favourite month for his visits to Whitehaven—see later) after he embarked on the packet boat for the Isle of Man there was a dead calm and it was Friday morning before he landed at Douglas to return on Tuesday the 14th. At this time "the isle," he said "is supposed to have 30,000 inhabitants" (IV, 211)—to-day 50,000.

Wesley's interest in population was evidenced also by the following extract from his Journal, under the date of Wednesday, May 1st 1776 "In travelling through Berkshire, Oxfordshire, Bristol, Gloucestershire, Worcestershire, Warwickshire, Staffordshire, Cheshire, Lancashire, Yorkshire, Westmoreland, and Cumberland, I diligently made two enquiries: the first was, concerning the increase or decrease of the people; the second, concerning the increase or decrease of trade. As to the latter, it is, within these two last years, amazingly increased, . . . And as to the former, not only in every city and large town, but in every village and hamlet, there

⁴¹ The explanation of a negro in Whitehaven probably lies in the fact that "in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries it had been an active participant in the colonial trade . . . the early development of its coal mining industry and trade (was) financed in part from the profits of the import and export of tobacco . . . 4,419,218 pounds in 1739-40," P. Ford, *Tobacco and Coal: A note on the Economic History of Whitehaven* (*Economica*, no. 26 (1929), pp. 192-96).

is no decrease, but a very large and swift increase." (IV, 73). Wesley was seeing the beginning of the industrial revolution although he never lived to see the factory system at its worst. An agricultural revolution was also taking place, especially in Cumberland,¹⁵ although he makes no mention of this, whilst he himself was being responsible for a religious revolution which was to have its effects even to-day (and, incidentally, on the writer of this article). Writing of this effect in what he calls the Lead Dales of the Northern Pennines Arthur E. Smailes¹⁶ says "It may be suggested that the strength of Methodism in the district is also in no small degree attributable to the former importance of lead mining. From its inception Methodism has been strongly entrenched here. The facilities provided by the Church in the upper parts of the dales had not kept pace with the growth of population and the extension of settlement attendant upon the development of mining, and the new movement appealed especially to the mining people, who belonged to a social group for whose spiritual and material welfare the eighteenth century Church showed little or no concern. Like the Cornish tin-miners and the industrial workers on the coalfields, the miners of the dales responded with fervour to the call of Wesley's preaching." This last statement was probably truer of the eastern dales, Weardale and Teesdale, than of the Cumberland lead mining area. Only two visits to upper Tynedale are on record, that in 1748 already mentioned, and a second on Friday, 5th May, 1780 of which Wesley wrote "Notice having been given without my knowledge of my preaching at Ninhead (Nenthead), all the lead-miners that could, got together, and I declared to them 'All things are ready.'" (IV, 182). In neither instance

¹⁵ T. H. Bainbridge. "Eighteenth Century Agriculture in Cumbria" (these *Transactions*, n.s. xlii, 56-66).

¹⁶ Arthur E. Smailes. *Lead Dales of the Northern Pennines* (Geography, June, 1936), pp. 120-129, No. 112. Vol. X Part 2 p. 128.

is there mention of any fervour in the response: in contrast he wrote " We found the people in Weardale, as usual, some of the liveliest in the kingdom; knowing nothing, and desiring to know nothing, save Jesus Christ, and Him crucified " (IV, 182). Two facts may help to explain the apparent lack of response in the Alston Moor district. First, the small number of miners and the fact that the district reached its optimum in the last decades of the 18th century.¹⁷ Second, the London Lead Company became the most important concern in the Nenthead district and the area benefited socially by the enlightened industrial policy of this Quaker Company.¹⁸

There is little evidence in the Journal of any hostile reception at any place in Cumberland except on one occasion at Whitehaven on Sunday 14th April 1751 when preaching at eight in the market place he recorded " A few stones were thrown at first; but the bulk of the congregation was deeply serious." (II, 193). That his followers were not always as fortunate is instanced by happenings such as those at Scaleby Hill north-east of Carlisle where " As early as the year 1773 several of the inhabitants who had listened to the earnest and impressive discourses of John Wesley during his missionary tour through Cumberland (1772?)¹⁹ adopted his tenets and formed themselves into a little society. Their meetings were held in private houses and like the first Neophytes of the Christian Church they had to suffer for conscience sake. Their little assemblies were surrounded by crowds of roughs, the windows were broken, and the small congregation pelted with rotten eggs, etc."²⁰

¹⁷ F. J. Monkhouse. " An Eighteenth Century Company Promoter," in these *Transactions*, n.s. xl, 141-153.

¹⁸ Arthur Raistrick. *Two Centuries of Industrial Welfare: The London Quaker Lead Company, 1692-1905.* (Friends' Historical Society, 1938).

¹⁹ The first mention of travelling in Cumberland by chaise was on his 1772 visit.

²⁰ Bulmer. *History and Directory of Cumberland.* (Snape) 1901. p. 263.

In Penrith, too, according to one writer, the first Wesleyans were subjected to "bitter and malignant persecution," probably because of their opposition to the social evils of the times. A Mr. Varty was the first parishioner of Penrith to become a follower of John Wesley and he together with a Mr. Edward Grave were chiefly instrumental in causing an end to be put to bull-baiting there which ceased about 1802-3.²¹

An examination of the Journal also reveals another interesting fact, that nowhere is there any indication of a visit to Cumberland in the winter. All his numerous visits were in the months March to October, the earliest being the 25th of March (1767) when he merely passed through the port, and the latest the 3rd of October (1749) when he left Whitehaven for Leeds. Of some 26 times when Whitehaven was on his itinerary 8 visits were in April; 11 in May; two in June; one in July, being the beginning of an Irish tour; one in August, the return from an Irish tour; two in September; and one in March.

It is of interest to conjecture the reason for what would hardly be fortuitous in one who was hardy and not afraid of risks. May not the answer lie in the following? "In Cumberland we are told 'in the spring of the year the Surveyor used to call on the people to go with him to open the tracks over the commons, from which the old tumble wheel carts of the country had been excluded during the winter; for, in 1792, the principal part of the corn was conveyed to market on the backs of horses.'"²² It was also noticed about this time that in pasture farming districts the farmers cared little for roads or their upkeep.²² Even as late as 1815 Cumberland had only 8 per cent. of the total road mileage under Turnpike

²¹ J. Walker. *The History of Penrith from the Earliest Period to the Present Time.* (Sweeten, 1858), p. 109.

²² J. H. Whiteley. *Wesley's England. A Survey of XVIIIth century Social and Cultural Conditions.* (Epworth Press, 1938). p. 62, pp. 259-60.

Trusts, compared with 31 per cent. in Middlesex,²³ Webb loc. cit.). It was not until the early 19th century that Thomas Telford (1757-1834) and John Loudon M'Adam (Macadam) (1756-1836) began their work on road construction.

It may, or may not, be of significance that Wesley's first approach to the county from the south (thereafter his usual approach) was in 1751. According to Arthur Cossons the Turnpike Road from Brough to Carlisle was not completed until 1753.²⁴ It was 1752 before an act was passed for a turnpike road through Kendal, with the first stage coach running from there in 1757. In 1763 the first stage coach passed over Shap Fells, drawn by six horses and called "The Flying Machine." Ten years later the journey from Carlisle to London occupied 3 days with a fare of £3. 16s. inside and £2. 6s. outside.

John Wesley's last journey from the south was made in 1788. Setting out from Pateley Bridge at 4 a.m., on Friday morning 9th of May he reached Kendal that evening (61 miles) and Whitehaven at 5 on Saturday, the 10th. "The congregation in the evening rejoiced much, as they had not seen me for four years. But scarce any of the old standers are left; two and forty years have swept them away."²⁵ (IV, 429). Of this visit another has written "Our dear Revd. Father, Mr. Wesley, has never been inattentive to his children in Whitehaven, he continued his visits as long as bodily strength permitted. His last visit I well remember, also the last sermon he preached to us. It rained in torrents during the morning service from five till six . . . In his last prayer, he earnestly begged the Lord to stop the bottles of heaven

²³ S. and B. Webb. *English Local Government. The Story of the King's Highway.* (Longmans Green, 1920), p. 6 (quoting Cumberland Pacquet, 2nd Feb., 1830).

²⁴ Arthur Cossons. *The Turnpike Roads of Nottinghamshire,* Historical Association Leaflet, No. 97, p. 10.

²⁵ This does not tally with his first visit having been in 1749.

which immediately took place, and he had a pleasant ride to Cockermouth."²⁶ From here he went on to Carlisle and wrote "To-day we went on through lovely roads to Dumfries. Indeed all the roads are wonderfully mended since I last travelled this way." (IV, 429).

It was from Dumfries some two years later, when within a month of his 87th birthday, that he made his last journey into Cumberland. Writing of himself at the beginning of that year he had said "I am now an old man, decayed from head to foot. My eyes are dim; my right hand shakes much; . . . However, blessed be God, I do not slack my labour. I can preach and write still." (IV, 493). When, from Dumfries, he reached Carlisle, about noon on Wednesday 2nd June 1790, he preached and the "house would not near contain the congregation, and the word of God was with power." Although he also wrote "the work a little increases here" (IV, 502). On the following day he had his last views of Cumberland. "We rode to Hexham through one of the pleasantest countries that I have lately seen. The road lay (from Haisle) (was this Haltwhistle?) on the side of a fruitful mountain shaded with trees, and sloping down to a clear river . . . (IV, 502).

Such was the last impression of one who had travelled its tracks and roads on horse back and carriage, from 1748 to 1790. The man who had, on the 24th of May, 1738, had his heart warmed in Aldersgate Street in far away London, passed on the fire of his zeal so that to-day there are in Cumberland, of the people called Methodists, 7,500, worshipping in some 200 chapels.

²⁶ Proceedings of the Wesley Historical Society, Vol. XV, Pt. 2 (June, 1925), p. 5. (Quoting a paper written by a Benjamin Briscoe, c. 1823).

APPENDIX I.

TABLE SHOWING ITINERARIES WHICH INCLUDED VISITS TO
CUMBERLAND SHOWN IN THE JOURNAL OF JOHN WESLEY.

- 1748 Hindley Hill, Nenthead, Alston, Hindley Hill.
 1749 Newcastle, Hindley Hill, Whitehaven, Hensingham,
 Whitehaven, Gins, Hensingham, Whitehaven, Keswick,
 Penruddock Moor, Alston Moor, Hindley Hill, Hartside,
 Gamblesby, Whitehaven, Gins, Hensingham, Whitehaven,
 Leeds.
 1751 Bolton, Ambleside, Whitehaven, Clifton (6 miles from
 Whitehaven), Cockermouth, Gamblesby, Hindley Hill,
 Newcastle.
 1752 Allendale, Clifton, Lorton, Cockermouth, Whitehaven,
 Seaton, Whitehaven (desired to go to Dublin but did not
 sail), Drigg, Ulverston, Bolton.
 1752 Manchester, Bolton, Whitehaven, Dublin.
 1753 Kendal, Ambleside, Whitehaven, Clifton, Cockermouth,
 Bowness, Solway Firth, Dumfries.
 1757 Ambleside, Keswick, Whitehaven, Branthwaite, Cocker-
 mouth, Wigton, Solway Firth, Dumfries.
 1759 Lancaster, Bootle, Millom Sands, Ravenglass, Muncaster
 Hall, Whitehaven, Lorton, Whitehaven, Gins, White-
 haven, Cockermouth, Wigton, Solway Firth, Dumfries.
 1761 Lower Darwen, Kendal, Whitehaven, Workington, Bran-
 thwaite, Lorton, Whitehaven, Cockermouth, Wigton,
 Solway Firth, Moffat.
 1764 Newcastle, Carlisle, Whitehaven, Keswick, Kendal.
 1765 Ireland, Whitehaven, Carlisle, Newcastle.
 1766 Dumfries, Solway Firth, Skinburness, Whitehaven,
 Penrith, Appleby, Barnard Castle.
 1767 Liverpool, Kendal, Keswick, Cockermouth, Whitehaven,
 Solway Firth, Dumfries, Portpatrick.
 1768 Bolton, Kendal, Ambleside, Keswick, Cockermouth,
 Whitehaven, Cockermouth, Caldbeck, Solway Firth,
 Dumfries, Glasgow.
 1770 Bolton, Ambleside, Whitehaven, Cockermouth, Carlisle,
 Houghton, Carlisle, Longtown, Dumfries.
 1772 Manchester, Ambleside, Whitehaven, Cockermouth, Car-
 lisle, Edinburgh.
 1774 Pateley Bridge, Ambleside, Whitehaven, Cockermouth,
 Carlisle, Edinburgh.

- 1776 Colne, Whitehaven, Cockermouth, Wigton, Carlisle, Edinburgh.
- 1777 Otley, Cockermouth, Whitehaven (Isle of Man), Whitehaven, Cockermouth, Settle, Otley.
- 1780 Newbiggin (Teesdale), Nenthead, Gamblesby, Penrith, Whitehaven (desired to go to Isle of Man but did not sail), Cockermouth, Carlisle, Newcastle.
- 1781 Preston, Ambleside, Whitehaven (Isle of Man), Whitehaven, Cockermouth, Ballantyn (Tallentire?), Carlisle, Newcastle.
- 1784 Settle, Ambleside, Whitehaven, Cockermouth, Carlisle, Longtown, Edinburgh.
- 1786 Appleby²⁷ Penrith, Carlisle, Glasgow.
- 1788 Pateley Bridge, Kendal, Whitehaven, Cockermouth, Carlisle, Dumfries.
- 1788 Sunderland, Cockermouth, Sunderland.
- 1790 Dumfries, Carlisle, Hexham, Newcastle.

APPENDIX II.

TABLE GIVING DATES OF WESLEY'S VISITS TO PLACES IN CUMBERLAND.

(According to his Journal).

Alston	1748						
Alston Moor	1749						
Bowness	1753						
Branthwaite	1757	1761					
Ballantyn (Tallentire?)	1781						
Bootle	1759						
Carlisle	1764	1765	1770	1772	1774	1776	1780
	1781	1784	1786	1788	1790		
Clifton	1751	1753					
Caldbeck	1768						
Cockermouth	1751	1752	1753	1757	1759	1761	1767
	1768	1770	1772	1774	1776	1777	1777
	1780	1781	1784	1788	1788		
Drigg	1752						
Gamblesby	1749	1751	1780				

²⁷ In his Journal Wesley made the mistake of calling Appleby the county town of Cumberland (IV, 341).

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Gins	1749	1759					
Hartside	1749						
Hensingham	1749						
Houghton	1770						
Keswick	1749	1757	1764	1767	1768		
Longtown	1770	1784					
Lorton	1752	1759	1761				
Nenthead	1748	1780					
Millom Sands	1759						
Muncaster Hall	1759						
Penrith	1766	1780	1786				
Penruddock Moor	1749						
Ravenglass	1759						
Seaton	1752						
Skinburness	1766						
Solway Firth	1753	1757	1759	1761	1766	1767	1768
Whitehaven	1749	1749	1751	1752	1752	1753	1757
	1759	1761	1761	1764	1765	1766	1767
	1768	1770	1772	1774	1776	1777	1777
	1780	1781	1781	1784	1788		
Wigton	1757	1759	1761	1776			
Workington	1761						