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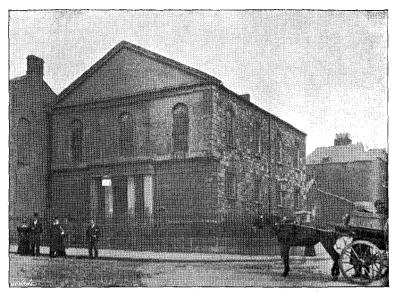
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Lent by] [Mr. D. B. Bradshaw. ''OLD GRAVEL WALK'' CHAPEL, DUBLIN.



[Edwards, Pem.

LLWYNGWAYR, THE SEAT OF THE BOWENS.

"OLD GRAVEL WALK" (BLACKHALL PLACE), DUBLIN.

The oldest Methodist Church in Dublin now existing as in use, dating from 1770. It stands on Oxmantown Green, at the time of erection an open space, where John Wesley and Whitfield frequently preached, generally amid uproar and riot. It was in grateful recognition of the help given him by the soldiers of the neighbouring Royal Barracks that Wesley promised to have a chapel erected there. The front is more modern than the chapel itself, having been added about seventy years ago. The entrance was originally at the (present) rear end. Its membership has always been of the fervent and warm type, and many noted and peculiar personalities have been among its workers. It has from the first until now been a soldiers' chapel, and pre-eminently honoured in influencing for good soldiers and others, who, going to the uttermost parts of the earth, have scattered the good seed of the Kingdom. One such was the Rev. Dr. William Butler, "the Apostle of Mexico," and afterwards a Missionary in India of the M.E. Church of America.

ROBT. MORGAN.

BARLEY HALL.

[Journal, 15 and 16 June, 1742.]

Barley Hall is an old and roomy farm-house situated about half a mile to the north of the village of Thorpe Hesley, which lies six miles N.E. of Sheffield, and about four miles from Rotherham. The name "Hall" is commonly applied in Yorkshire to the larger and more pretentious farm-houses. It

means nothing more. The house is pleasantly situated on the slope of a gentle declivity, and is surrounded with trees. In the time of Wesley there were tan-pits in the hollow below the house, his friend and host, Mr. Johnson, being engaged in the business These have long since disappeared. of a tanner. The immediate neighbourhood, which was at that time entirely agricultural, is now cut up in all directions by coal mines. The house is practically the same to-day as it was in the time of Wesley, with the exception of the central stack of chimneys. which, formerly of stone, has in recent years been re-built of brick. Of course, the porch is a modern erection. So far as we could ascertain, the interior of the house has been little altered. It is reported that, when Wesley preached in the room on the right of the front door, he could be heard all over the house. The rooms are not large, and it is said that the congregation often occupied both the upstairs and downstairs rooms, and even lined the stairs. The village chapel of Thorpe Hesley-at present in a sad state of dilapidation-was erected in the year 1797, and the Society was formed of those who had learned the truth at the services held in Barley Hall.

ROBERT A. TAYLOR.

THE BOWENS OF LLWYNGWAYR.

["Audaces fortuna juvat."-Family motto.]

In his classic work on Pembrokeshire, Fenton expresses himself as charmed with the social life of one of its districts: "the dozen families of nearly equal rank and fortune, and many connected by relationship, and all by similar politics, pursuits, habits, and manners." Wesley often speaks of the gentry of the county as forming part of his congregations; and in all probability two of the families known to Fenton find repeated mention in the *Journals* of the Methodist leader. Five times he visited Trecoon, the seat of Admiral Vaughan, and on every occasion he refers to the stately courtesy of the old commander, and the beauty of his extensive demesne. More frequently and as favourably, though less fully, he writes of Llwyngwayr and its gentle family. The first entry in the *Journals* is dated 20 August, 1772: "I rode over to Mr. Bowen's at Llanguire: an agreeable



Photo lent by]

BARLEY HALL.

[Rev. R. A. Taylor.



Photo lent by] [Rev. R. A. Taylor. BARLEY HALL: ROOM IN WHICH WESLEY PREACHED.

place, and an agreeable family." Five years afterwards he was there again, and next day his host "carried" him in his chaise to Cardigan. Two months after this visit he "made straight for Mr. Bowen's, hoping to borrow his sloop and so cross over to Dublin without delay." On 17 August, 1779, Wesley is again at Llwyngwayr, but found his host from home. "However," says he, "I spent a very comfortable evening with Mrs. Bowen and the rest of the family." After another interval of five years he again turns his steps to the old mansion, which he again describes as "a most agreeable place, but more so because of the company—Mr. and Mrs. Bowen, his brother, and six of their eleven children, two of whom are lately come from the university." The final visit of the evangelist was on 19 August, 1788, when he met, as he "expected, a hearty welcome, passed an agreeable evening, and next day went on to Tracoon."

Of the "agreeable place," Fenton-who was Wesley's contemporary-thus writes: "The beautiful seat of George Bowen, Esq., which for situation, as rendered most desirable by wood, water and shelter, yet not so as to exclude prospect, yields to very few places in the county; being on the margin of a noble river, where the tide is little felt, encircled with majestic woods, with good gardens, and a highly cultivated demesne, and commanding a pleasing view of the town of Newport and its castle, backed by the hoary mountain of Carn Englyn. This place fell to the lot of the Norman's followers of the name of Cole." It remained in the possession of the Coles until about the middle of the fifteenth century. Sir James, who lived in the reign of Henry VIII, was the first of the Bowens at Llwyngwayr, the seat of the family having formerly been at Pentre Evan, in the same county. A later writer, in his "Annals and Antiquities," describes Llwyngwayr as "beautifully situated. environed with noble woods, and commanding fine prospects." A group of five cistvaens, ranged round an overthrown cromlech, may be seen on the estate.

As to the "agreeable family" mentioned by Wesley, it is one of great antiquity, tracing unbroken descent from the poet prince, Gwynfardd Dyfod, A.D. 1038. The dignity of the Bowens may be at once seen in the quarterings of their arms, and more fully in the *Heraldic Visitations* of Sir S. R. Meyrick, which show that they served as High Sheriffs in the reigns of Edward VI, Mary, Elizabeth, James I, Charles I and II, William III, the Georges, and on to Victoria. Their marriages were with some of the best families of the Principality, and the Bowens still flourish in their old ancestral seat in far Menevia. They were not only interested in Methodism, but in earlier religious movements. In the Journal of the S.P.C.K., there is a letter dated 4 March, 1699, and written by Mr. Arnold Bowen to the Secretary in London, in which the writer relates how he had tried to interest the local clergy and magistrates in the work of the Society; how he hoped that soon schools would be erected in the most convenient places of the county : and how a scheme for obtaining subscriptions had been drawn up by the local branch of the society. Other interesting communications from the same pen appear in the same Journal, as well as the formal appointment of Mr. Bowen as Correspondent of the Society. Soon after William III had granted a charter to the S.P.G., an appeal was made to the country for support and service, and one of the first subscribers and treasurers was Mr. W. Bowen, of St. David's diocese. Nor did the family refuse to assist the national literature, for in the list of subscribers to the translation of Rees Pritchard's curious poem, "The Welshman's Candle," which appeared in 1771, are the names of George Bowen. of Llwyngwayr, and seven other Bowens, along with those of E. Vaughan and Captain Vaughan, of Trecoon, Sir Thomas Stepney, "father of the poor" [Proc., IV, 3, 70], and the Rev. Theophilus Davies, of Llanelly, all acquaintances of Wesley.

Little seems to be known of the Mr. Bowen who six times welcomed the great evangelist. Indeed it is only possible to id entify him by bringing together two dates. In 1771, the name "George Bowen, Esq.," appears as a subscriber to the translation of "The Welshman's Candle", and in 1803 the same name is to be found in the list of sheriffs. At the meeting in 1770 of the Honourable Sea Sergeants, "composed of gentlemen of the first rank and fortune in Wales," George Bowen also appears as a probationer. In the interval of thirty-two years all the visits of Wesley to Llwyngwayr took place; we therefore conclude that his host was Sheriff Bowen. The father of the sheriff was James Bowen, Esq., who married Alice, daughter of Robert Rowe, Esq., of Luny. Wesley's mention of the two sons who had "lately come from the university" does not help in the identification of their father, as it is uncertain whether Oxford or Cambridge is intended. In the Alumni Oxonienses we find several of the Bowens of Pembrokeshire in the middle and latter part of the eighteenth century, but none distinctly mentioned as being of Llwyngwayr, though the seats of the branch families are given, Rose Crowther, Camrose, &c.

The drive in the Squire's chaise to Cardigan may be partly

due to the fact that the Bowens had built a mansion called Castle Breen in the old stronghold, dismantled after yielding to the Parliamentarians. Here, in 1771, lived James Bowen, Esq., attorney at law.

In one of Wesley's last letters, dated London, February 8, 1791, and addressed to the preacher at Haverfordwest, he says, "My best wishes attend my friends at Traison (Trecoon), and Langwair."

RICHARD BUTTERWORTH.

P.S. —The following notice appeared in a Welsh newspaper on Nov. 15, 1905 :—" Mr. J. B. Bowen, Llwyngwayr, Pembrokeshire, died suddenly this morning. The deceased gentleman was a former Conservative M.P. for Pembrokeshire, and was a prominent breeder and exhibitor of cattle. He was a pillar of the church in the county."

TUNE BOOKS OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.

[Continued from Proc., I, 4, 116-7; II, 6, 147-160; III, 8, 237-240].

The two Tune-Books we have already noticed were compiled with the sanction of the Wesleys for use at their services. Twelve years elapsed after the publication of the "Foundery Tune-Book" before another miscellaneous collection of tunes appeared for the use of Methodists, and meanwhile great changes had taken place. Cennick and Whitefield had both separated from the Wesleys. and held their services in the large wooden shed, "The Tabernacle," erected by their followers in City Road, not far from the Foundery. A new Society had been formed and the Calvinistic Methodists were now an organised body. But, "although Methodism was divided into two currents it was still a great evangelical movement, and its history if properly written must still be a unit " (Stevens). It will be interesting therefore to find out what arrangements were made by Whitefield for the music and singing at his meetings. In 1753 his wooden Tabernacle was replaced by a more permanent structure, and it doubtless became necessary to prepare and issue a tune-book for use at the services. Consequently, in τ_{754} was issued "The Divine M usical Miscellany, being a collection of Psalms and Hymn Tunes : great part of which were never before in print."

The hymns contained in the book are for the most part drawn from three sources, viz., Watts' Psalms and Hymns, Cennick's Poems, and Whitefield's Hymn Book. Watts' Hymns had been for many years in use amongst dissenting congregations, in spite of Bradbury's sarcastic reference to them as "Watts' Whims," and it is unnecessary to refer to them in detail. Cennick's hymns and poems deserve more special notice. He published his first book in 1741, under the title, "Hymns for the Children of God in the days of their pilgrimage," and to the first edition is prefixed an interesting autobiography, in which he tells us how he became acquainted with many of the Lord's people, -- John and Charles Wesley, Hutchins, and Whitefield. The last-named told him that Wesley was going to build a school for the use of the colliers' children, and asked Cennick to be one of the masters. He agreed, and set out from Reading on Whit Monday, 11 June, 1730. Being delayed by bad roads he did not reach Bristol till Tuesday evening. After visiting the Society at Baldwin Street he went with others to Kingswood, and at a place under a sycamore tree¹ near the intended school they "waited for a young man." But as no one came, "a gentlewoman of St. Philip's Plain" asked Cennick to read a sermon and expound a chapter. On the following Friday he "expounded part of St. James' Epistle" at Whitehill, about a mile distant from the school. Such was Cennick's introduction to Kingswood, and one of his early hymns is headed, "A dialogue between men and women, composed for the Society at Kingswood." In C. Wesley's diary, under date 9 July, 1739, we read, "I corrected Mr. Cennick's hymns for the press." They do not however seem to have been printed before 1741, a second edition being issued in the same year. In the first edition the hymns were not numbered, and the well-known graces, "before and after meat," make their appearance, the latter consisting of eight lines.

In 1742 Cennick issued his second book of hymns, "Sold by the author at Mrs. Powell's at the top of Bunhill Row near Old St." This contains a poetical dedication to "Jesus of Nazareth

I. Wesley records preaching under this little sycamore tree near the School, eleven days later. Later notices of it occur, 4 Oct., 1761, 5 Aug., 1764, 11 Sep., 1770. It survived in the playground,—"The Patch,"—until 1842.—See *History of Kingswood School*, and *Proc.*, II, 1, 6.

the Friend of sinners;" and in the preface he says: "these hymns are meant for congregations where more than one are present, but a single person can easily alter 'us' for 'me', &c. ... So if there are any who have not known our Saviour but darkly, and can speak of him only with a stammering tongue, they also may pass over the verses testifying an assurance of faith in His blood, and when they can join in therewith let them praise the Lord." These conditions for singing hymns would, we fear, make the service somewhat intermittent, but they are interesting as showing that Cennick paid some attention to the use and musical adaptation of hymns in the Sanctuary. This book also contains hymns "composed for the Society in London", with hymns for love-feasts,---one at "uncovering bread", one at "covering", and one at "wanting bread or water." "Children of the Heavenly King" is given as a Love-feast hymn. All this is interesting as illustrating the amount of singing indulged in by the "Societies."

In the same year, 1742, Cennick issued his "Sacred Hymns for the use of Religious Societies, generally composed in dialogues." These dialogue hymns will be referred to later on.

In 1743 he issued his "Sacred Hymns for the use of Religious Societies." This, like his first book, was printed by Lewis, "at the Bible and Dove, in Paternoster Row." The others were from the Bristol press of Felix Farley. This collection was re-issued at intervals up to 1764. It contains the well-known hymn, "Thou dear Redeemer, dying Lamb." The third book to which reference is made above is Whitefield's Hymn-Book, published under the title: "A collection of hymns for Social Worship, collected from various authors, and more particularly designed for the use of the Tabernacle Congregation in London." It was printed by Strahan, "to be sold at the Tabernacle near Moorfields." This was issued in 1753. It contains one hundred and seventy hymns, including twenty-one by the Wesleys, and some by Cennick, but by far the largest number are from Watts.

Thus there was an accumulation of Hymn-Books, both Watts's and Cennick's being used at the Tabernacle, and by the Societies in connection, but there was no Tune-Book, and consequently in 1754, the year after Whitefield's collection made its appearance, the "Divine Musical Miscellany" above mentioned was issued, as a sort of musical Companion. It is a small oblong book of 68 pages and index,—" Printed by R. Williamson and sold at Mr. John Morgan's in Half Moon Alley the 3rd house from Bishopgate Street." It is now extremely scarce, and the copy before me is the only one I have ever seen. Warren, the musical antiquarian, refers to it in his "Psalmody" (c. 1852). It is advertised at 2s. 6d. in *Gentleman's Magazine*, May, 1754. The compiler is unknown. Each tune is set to a certain hymn, the source of which is named at the heading, reference being made to one of the hymn-books already mentioned. The writer of each hymn is mentioned by initials, but as Whitefield's collection of hymns, as already noticed, does not give the authors, all the hymns from that book are assigned to "G. W." Most of those for which Whitefield gets the credit are by Charles Wesley. Three hymns however, are assigned to "I. W." These initials, as we are told in a footnote at the beginning, refer to "John Westley" and the collection referred to is "Hymns and Sacred Poems" (1749).

It is only by *internal* evidence that we can conclude this Tune-Book to have been for use at the Tabernacle. It will be well to examine the collection a little more closely, and a careful inspection of the *names* of the tunes will furnish ample proof of the theory.

Nineteen tunes are taken from, or appeared in the "Foundery Tune-Book" of 1742, and it is interesting to note that the numerous errors in the latter book have been corrected. In all but three the names have been changed, others being chosen that are directly or indirectly associated with Whitefield or his work. Among the new names are "Alperam," which is obviously another form of Alpraham, in Cheshire. Whitefield had a good time here Writing under the date 27 Oct. he says, "I have in 1753. preached four times at Alpraham, where the Lord was with us of a truth, and where He had prepared my way by blessing several of my poor writings The next day, near Alpraham, we had another heaven upon earth." All names in the Foundery Book in any way associated with the Wesleys or their work. were removed from the tunes before they were re-inserted in the "Miscellany."

Three tunes are taken from J. F. Lampe's book already referred to (*Proceedings*, III, 8), including the "Resurrection Hymn" and "Invitation" (345, Meth. T. Book, 1904) while of the remaining forty-six some appear for the first time, and the rest are taken from contemporary works. It is interesting again to note that the names of eight of these tunes are closely associated with Whitefield's American visits. Thus we find "Bethesda," so named from the celebrated Orphan House in Georgia, built by Whitefield in 1740. Maryland and Virginia were frequently traversed by him. His first visit to Philadelphia is specially memorable, for

it was there that Benjamin Franklin heard him for the first time. He tells us in his newspaper of the wonderful change that came over the manners of the inhabitants through Whitefield's "From being thoughtless and indifferent about preaching. religion, it seemed as if all the world were growing religious, so that one could not walk through Philadelphia in the evening without hearing Psalms sung in different families of every street." Whitefield also frequently made Charleston and the neighbourhood of Cape Fear his head-quarters, preaching near the latter to congregations of three or four thousand. It is not surprising, therefore, to find all these American place-names assigned to tunes in the "Miscellany." Two or three examples nearer home may be given. Weston Favell was a favourite resort of Whitefield. Here his great friend Hervey was curate, and it was whilst visiting him at Weston that Whitefield was brought into contact with Doddridge. It is unnecessary to dwell on Whitefield's associations with such places as Haworth, Kettering, Rodborough and Olney. Suffice it to say that all these places give names to tunes in the "Divine Musical Miscellanv."

We have now established the theories that this Tune-Book was specially issued for use amongst Whitefield's followers; that although the musical editor is unknown, he was much better equipped for his task than Wesley's musical adviser; that Whitefield took a special interest in the work, and himself advised largely in the naming of the tunes; and lastly, that Whitefield, by altering all the names he could from the Foundery book, showed himself anxious to have a totally distinct Tune-Book from that in use amongst the followers of the Wesleys. This, taken in conjunction with the fact that he would only admit twenty-one hymns by Wesley into his collection, is significant.

And now as to the tunes themselves. The common Psalmtunes used in the English Church at the time, such as the "Old Hundredth," are entirely omitted. A few new tunes occur, conspicuous amongst them being one called "Kingswood Tune," which has recently received a fresh lease of life under the misnomer, "Old Twenty-third." A little care on the part of the Editor and committee of the new Methodist Hymnal (1904) would have prevented the misleading statement in the third paragraph of the preface to the musical edition, to the effect that this was the tune sung on the night of John Wesley's conversion. The hymn sung on that memorable occasion referred to, was either "Where shall my wondering soul begin," or "And can it be that I should gain." Now if either of these had been sung to

the so-called "Old Twenty-third," it is safe to assume that the tune must have been well-known to the "troop of friends" who accompanied John Wesley from Aldersgate-street to his brother's lodgings on that evening. If this tune had then been in existence. Wesley would certainly have included it in the "Foundery Tune-Book": but there are only two tunes of this metre to be found in that collection, viz., "Cardiff", set to "Come, O thou traveller unknown," and "Crucifixion Tune," which is actually set to the second of the two hymns above referred to. This is an altered form of a German chorale from Freylinghausen's "Gesangbuch," of which Wesley possessed a copy, now in the Library of Richmond College. Wesley was very partial to these German tunes, and included a large proportion in all his tunebooks. The "Old Twenty-third" does not appear in any of his publications till 1761, when it is found in "Sacred Melody," set to Addison's paraphrase of the Twenty-third Psalm. The prefix "old" occurs in the younger Charles Wesley's edition of "Sacred Harmony" (1822) and he ought to have known better than to use it, for it only applies to the tunes published in the psalters issued in the reign of Elizabeth and James 1. We may assume then, until further evidence comes to light, that this tune was for the first time printed in the "Miscellany."

Another German chorale made its first appearance in England in this volume, adapted to the "fives and elevens" metre, of which C. Wesley was so fond. Here it is set to a weak hymn of Cennick's,

> "Poor Sinners indeed We come to our Head, As wand'ring a Troop As ever have wandered and yet have found Hope."

This tune, now called "Ringland," is No. 614 in the present Methodist Hymnal.

Other tunes are arranged from popular songs and dances of the period, and two at least are as frivolous as the average "Mission Tune" of the present day. A notable adaptation is "Morning Song," a long metre tune which, under the name "Lonsdale," was immensely popular in the early part of the last century, and occurs in most tune-books of the period. It is an adaptation from one of Corelli's concertos, and greatly aroused the anger of Gauntlett and other purists. "Huntington Tune" is an adaptation from Dr. Arne's celebrated song, "Waters parted from the sea."

A special feature of this tune-book is found at the end, where

there are four settings of "Dialogue hymns." These hymns were very popular amongst the early Methodists. The first two lines would be sung by the men only, the next two by the women, and then followed a "Hallelujah" chorus for all. For instance :

"Men: Tell us, O Women, we would know

Whither so fast ye move. Women : We're called to leave the world below,

Are seeking one above.

Chorus : Hallelujah."

Another example is :

"Men: Rise O ye seed of David, rise

Daughters of Zion, sing !

Women : Up, Sons of Jacob, Jesus praise

Salute the auspicious King."

This is followed by "Hallelujah," six times repeated.

The men did not always open the "Dialogue." In the following the women led off :

"Women : Ho Pilgrims (if ye Pilgrims be)

We want to join with you;

Men : Poor Christian travellers are we

To Canaan's land we go.

Chorus : Hallelujah."

All the above are by John Cennick, to whose book of Dialogue Hymns reference has already been made. The tunes are specially composed for the hymns, and are not found in any other collection.

In the preface to his hymn-book Whitefield makes special reference to these Dialogue Hymns. He says, "I think myself justified in publishing some hymns by way of dialogue, for the use of the Society, because something like it is practised in our cathedral churches, but much more so because the celestial choir is represented in the Book of Revelation, as answering one another in their heavenly anthems."

There is no doubt that at the Tabernacle, both during Cennick's time, and under Whitefield, every effort was made to improve the singing. Cennick held singing classes, for the practice of Psalmody. We are told that at the old Tabernaele in Moorfields "about fifty used to assemble together to learn the tunes." After Cennick's departure, these special classes ceased, Whitefield probably objecting to them on the ground that they were copied from the Moravian custom of teaching psalmody.¹

I. See photograph of Wesley's list of the members at the Old Room, Bristol, who had engaged to meet "twice a week for learning to sing our tunes."— W. M. Mag., Jan. 1901.

The "Miscellany" has an eleven-page introduction on the elements of music, with some singing exercises. Such an introduction was customary in nearly all the tune-books of the period, ¹ and there is no doubt they were made good use of. Whitefield himself tells us in one of his letters how, in his earlier years, he learned to "sing the gamut," and to practise singing tunes; and there is no doubt that the "Divine Musical Miscellany" was, directly or indirectly, the outcome of an earnest desire to promote the cause of congregational singing at the Tabernacle.

JAMES T. LIGHTWOOD.

AN EARLY METHODIST EIRENICON.

[C.W., *Journal* [1749]: "August 3. Our conference this week with Whitefield and Mr. Harris came to nought; I think through their flying off." I W's *Journal* has a long gap of more than a fortuight here

J.W.'s *Journal* has a long gap of more than a fortnight here. Tyerman (*Wh.*, ii, 229-30, note) asks: "Was this another attempt to amalgamate Wesley's and Whitefield's Societies?"

Mrs. Aykroyd, Oakwood, Harrogate, has the following MS., in the handwriting of John Wesley, and endorsed by Charles Wesley, (sicut erat mos): "Aug. 2, 1749. Vain agreement."

The MS. was purchased from Dr. Dixon.]

Wedn. Aug. 2. 1749.

The following Persons being met togey^r at y^e New Room in y^e Horse-fair,

George Whitefield, Howell Harris, John Wesley, & Charles Wesley.

It was inquired

How far can we unite wth each other?

Either in Affection? In Judgment? Or in jointly carrying on y^eWork of our Comon M^r?

In order to remove every Hindrance to y^e First, viz. A closer union in Affection,

^{1.} See, for example, Wesley's Select Hymns, with Tunes Annext,-Green, 205.

It was unanimously agreed

r. To believe no evil of each other, till the accused has answerd for himself.

2. To speak no Unkind or Slighting Word of each other, & to defend one anoy^r $ag_{\Delta}^{st any} y^{t}$ do speak so :

3. Not willingly to speak of each other's Opinions in such a manner, as to make y^m either Odious or Contemptible

Several little Objections & Doubts were then proposed on both sides, & in great measure removed.

It was next considered, "are we agreed in Judgm^t, as to y^eNature & Cause of Justification?"

After some mild & friendly Debate, all agreed to this :

1. That y^e Active as well as Passive Righteousness of Xt, are y_{A}^{esole} Meritorious Cause of our Justification.

2. That both are imputed to every Beleiv^r:

3. Y^t by this Price alone, Heavⁿ is purchased for us :

4. Y' for y' sake of these, "all our Sins in thought, word & deed, are blotted out, and shall not be remembered or mentiond agst us, any more than if they had not been: y' frõ y' time we are accepted thro' y' beloved, reconciled to God by his Blood, he loves & blesses & watches over us for Good, as if we had never sinned."

Thurs. Aug. 3.

In order to come as near each other as possible, with regard to these Points where we do not think alike,

It was agreed, with reg^d to Predestination,

1. Not to preach controversially either for or agst Absolute Election, Irresistible Grace, or Final Perseverance :

2. To avoid in Preaching y^e use of any such terms as naturally tend to revive y^e Controversy :

3. To confine ourselves to y^e very language of Scripture as far as possible :

4. To use each other's Expressions, mixed with our own, as far as we can honestly.

5. Continually to maintain, That man's whole salvation is of God, & his whole Damnation of himself.

With regard to Perfection it was agreed

1. Not to preach controversially either for or against it.

2. To drop the Expressions, Sinless and the Inbeing of Sin.

3. To exhort all to prefs on to Perfection in y^e Holy Law of Love, by universal Inw^d & Outw^d Conformity, to y^e Life and Death of Xt. III. In order to facilitate an Union in carrying on y^e Work of God it was agreed

r. Each of us was to take a Copy of y^e preceding Minutes:

2. To read them as we find occasion to some of our Preachers.

3. And to a few Prudent Persons of our flocks.

4. But to suffer no Copy thereof to be taken nor our own Copy ever to go out of our hands.

AN EXAMINATION OF QUOTATIONS FROM, AND ALLUSIONS TO, THE ENGLISH CLASSICS, &C., OCCURRING IN THE JOURNAL OF JOHN WESLEY.

Volume I.

P. 47, Death could not a more sad retinue find : Sickness and pain before, and darkness all behind !

-John Norris, "The Meditation," Missth ed. 1710. Stanza II.

cellanies, p. 24. 5th ed. 1710. Stanza II. "Amazing state ! no wonder that we dread To think of death, or view the dead. Thou'rt all wrapt up in clouds, as if to thee Our very knowledge had antipathy. Death could not a more sad retinue find : Sickness and pain before, and darkness all behind." Included in J. W.'s Moral and Sacred Poems, 1744, vol. 1, p. 74. P. 74, L have a sin of four Sta

Jan. 24, 1738. I have a sin of fear, &c.

The first two lines of the last stanza of Donne's A Hymn to God the Father :

" I have a sin of fear. that when I've spun My last thread, I shall perish on the shore; But swear by Thyself that at my death Thy Son (sic) Shall shine as He shines now and heretofore ; And having done that, Thou hast done,

I fear no more."

The quotation recurs in Sermon xxi., Works, V, 259. The two preceding stanzas should be read in connection with this.

Being carried before I know not P. 112. what great man (I believe the Duke) in the Square; who, after many other questions, July 22, 1738. asked what we were going so far as Hernhuth

for? I answered, "To see the place where the Christians live." He looked hard, and let us go.

There is more here than lies on the surface. We must connect this answer of J. W.'s with verse 5 of Hy. 16, in the 1876 book, [now 709, but with the verse dropped, though valuable, both in itself, and in its interesting associations]:

"Ye different sects, who all declare Lo, here is Christ ?' or 'Christ is there '!

Your stronger proofs divinely give,

And show me where the Christians live."

This hymn, by C. W., appeared first in 1744, but may have been composed earlier.

Both this verse and the Journal entry are probably based on an incident in the childhood of the noted mystic, Antonia Bourignon, author of hymn 285 (now 526), "Come, Saviour, Jesus, from above," as translated by Byrom, whose version J. W. improved :

"Having read the Gospels, and being told of the Life of Jesus Christ, how poor, and mean, and despised, and self-denied He was, and seeing all people live very unlike to Him, in ease and abundance, and pleasures, and honours, she asked her parents: 'Where are the Christians !' Let us go to the country where the Christians live.' And though her parents derided her for this, yet this impression ever remained with her; and it was her constant theme to let the world see what a true Christian is, and that none such are to be found." The Light of the World : Introduction, p. xvi., English Translation, 1696; reprint, 1863.

Madame Bourignon is mentioned in J. W.'s Works, iv, 8, and xiii, 127.

Still let thy mind be bent, still plotting how, P. 178. And when, and where, the business may be March 28, 1739. done.

The first two lines of the 57th stanza of G. Herbert's Church Porch, incorrectly quoted.

The right reading is :

"Let thy mind still be bent, still plotting where,

And when, and how, the business may be done.

J. W. often quotes from this Poem, but in other places, as here, inexactly. See Sermons, in Works, vi, 236; vii, 16, 32, 138.

Trifles, light as air. - Shakespeare, Othello, P. 210. III. iii. Aug. 27, 1739.

"Trifles, light as air, Are to the jealous confirmation strong As proofs of holy writ."

O what a fall is there ! - Altered from Shakes-P. 234, Oct. 23, 1739. peare, Jul. Cas., III, ii, 195.

"O what a fall was there, my countrymen !"

Said by Anthony in his oration over Cæsar's corpse. The "fall" is, of course, from the Serious Call and the treatise on Christian Perfection.

He deigns his influence to infuse

Secret, refreshing as the silent dews. - Song of P. 265, the Three Children, Mark Le Pla, 16, 17, 18. [F.R.]

See also in Moral and Sacred Poems, II, 116; and Sermon lxiii, Works, vi, 282, where we find " deigned."

P. 308, Union of mind, as in us all one soul. May 1, 1741.

[Source wanted.]

P. 465.

P. 467,

"Those honourable men." May 12, 1744.

Said ironically of the Magistrates who "regarded not the laws either of God, or the King."

Perhaps a reminiscence of Antony's similar use of the phrase in reference to the assassing of Cæsar. Shakespeare, *Jul. Cas.*, III, ii, 88-9. "For Brutus is an honourable man; So are they all, all honourable men."

Servant of God, well done! Well hast thou fought

The better fight; who single hast maintained June 11, 1744. Against revolted multitudes, the cause

> Of God; in word, mightier than they in arms. -Milton, P. L., VI, 29-32.

The Voice from the golden cloud, to Abdiel, "faithful found among the faithless, faithful only he."

In line 4 Milton wrote, "Of truth," agreeing with V, 902. Either J.W. purposely altered, as he so often does in his quotations, or he aims at no exactness.

Her eye dropt sense, distinct and clear

As any Muse's tongue could speak. P. 471.

-Prior, The Garland, v. 5, where the reading Sept. 6, 1744. is "That eye."

See Aldine ed., I, p. 110.

Pain, disappointment, sickness, strife,

P. 485. Whate'er molests or troubles life,

Feb. 23, 1745.

However grievous in its stay, It shakes the tenement of clay,

When past, as nothing we esteem;

And pain, like pleasure, is a dream.-

Inexactly quoted from the Moral of a Poem by S. W. Junr., The Cobbler, a Tale.

I. W's elder brother wrote :

" Loss, disappointment, passion, strife,

Whate'er torments or troubles life,

Though groundless, grievous in its stay,

'Twill shake our tenements of clay,

When past, as nothing we esteem ;

And pain, like pleasure, is but dream."

The final couplet is quoted by Kezia Wesley in a letter to J. W., dated July 3, 1731, beginning "The past, &c."

See Adam Clarke's Wesley Family (1823), p. 539.

If it be objected (from our heathenish Poet), P. 523, 'This conscience will make cowards of us all', Oct. 26, 1745. I answer, &c.

J. W. quotes inexactly from Hamlet's famous soliloquy, "To be, or not

to be, &c." Ham. III, i, 83. Shakespeare wrote :--"Thus conscience does make cowards of us all." (So Dyce, Staunton, Singer, Knight, Leopold, and Oxford Eds.)

Singer gives two parallels :---

- (1) K. Rich. I., I, iv, 138: "I'll not meddle with it [conscience], it makes man a coward."
- (2) Ib., V, iii, 180: "O coward conscience, how dost thou afflict me !" To which we may add :

(3) Ib., V, iii, 310 : "Conscience is but a word that cowards use."

We shall note J. W.'s strong expression, "our heathenish poet."

Much regret has been expressed at the burning by John Pawson of J.W.'s annotated copy of Shakespeare. Judging from this entry, and from his notes on John Byrom and other writers, I am inclined to think that we have perhaps lost but little.

VOLUME II.

A mountain huge upreared

P. 66.

-Altered from Milton, P.L., vii, 285-7:

" Immediately the mountains huge appear

Its broad bare back.

Emergent, and their broad bare backs upheave

Into the clouds, their tops ascend the sky."

See also J.W.'s Moral and Sacred Poems, I, p. 6.

P. 86, Feb. 28, 1748. It put me in mind of the epigram :

There are, if rightly I methink,

Five causes why a man should drink;

which, with a little alteration, would just suit them :

There are, unless my memory fail,

Five causes why we should not sail :

The fog is thick ; the wind is high :

It rains; or may do by-and-by;

Or—any other reason why."

Bartlett's Familiar Quotations, p. 139, supplies the well-known epigram, which is by Dean Henry Aldrich (1647-1710):

" If on my theme I rightly think,

There are five reasons why men drink :

Good wine, a friend, because I'm dry,

Or least [lest] I should be by-and-by,

Or any other reason why."

The foot-note adds: "These lines are a translation of a Latin epigram, (erroneously ascribed to Aldrich in the *Biog. Brit.* [I, 131]) which Menage and De la Monnoye attribute to Père Sirmond.

"Si bene commemini, causae sunt quinque bibendi ;

Hospitis adventus ; praesens sitis atque futura :

Et vini bonitas, et quaelibet altera causa."-Menagiana, I, p. 172.

If all be true that I do think,

There are five reasons we should drink :

Good wine, a friend, or being dry;

Or lest we should be by and by;

Or any other reason why. Dean Aldrich."

This authority, like the *Biog. Brit.*, attributes the *Latin* epigram to the Dean. Dean Aldrich, the author of the well-known treatise on *Logic* [see II,

129, 177,] was a grave and studious, as well as religious personage, but he could relax now and then; and so, it seems, could John Wesley. As Horace has it :

"Dulce est desipere in loco."

P. 108, His [Homer's] scolding heroes and his Aug. 12, 1748. wounded gods.

[Author wanted.]

P. 129. An hoary, reverend, and religious man.— Altered from Dryden's *Character of a Good Parson*, imitated from Chaucer. "An *awful*.

reverend, and religious man." See also in J. W.'s M. & S. P., I, 70.

"Hoary" is perhaps to be accounted for by a reminiscence of a line of S.W. jun., Battle of the Sexes. (Also given in M. & S. P., III, 31.) "Reverend his hoary head, in council sage." (Stanza xxxii)

But death had swifter wings than love.--An P. 168. epigram from the Greek. Nov. 8, 1749.

"A blooming youth lies buried here, Euphemius, to his country dear ;

Nature adorned his mind and face

With every Muse, and every Grace :

About the marriage-state to prove,

But Death had quicker wings than Love,"

-Sam. Wesley, Jun., Poems, p. 66. (1743.)

Listening attentive to the wretch's cry,

The groan low-murmured and the whispered P. 217. Nov. 28, 1750. sigh.

-Again from S. W., Junr., and again with The couplet occurs in his Poem to the Memory of the alteration. Bishop of Chester.

"Such Gastrell lived, on duty bent alone,

Studious to profit all, but flatter none :

Listening attentive to the wretch's cry,

The griefs low-whispered and the stifled sigh."

An heap of dust is all remains of thee !

P. 217. "Tis all thou art, and all the proud shall be.

-Pope, Elegy to the Memory of an Unfortunate Dec. 5, 1750. Lady.

The first line is incorrectly quoted. Pope, whose fine ear could not have tolerated the three "alls," wrote, "A heap of dust alone, &c." This is one of J. W.'s favourite quotations. See IV, 340, and Serm. cxix, "On Worldly Folly," Works, VII, 309.

P. 256,

Emphatically poor. April 19, 1752.

Though not marked as such, this is really a quotation. See note below, on 20 July, 1760, where the whole passage appears. -

P. 349, No dying brute I view in anguish here, But from my melting eye descends a tear. Dec. 2, 1755. [Source wanted.] So unaffected, so composed a mind, &c.---

P. 406. The last four lines of Pope's epitaph on Mrs. May 5, 1757.

Corbet, who died of a cancer in the breast.

The whole epitaph reads as follows :---

"Here rests a woman, good without pretence, Blessed with plain reason, and with sober sense ; No conquests she, but o'er herself, desired. No arts essayed, but not to be admired. Passion and pride were to her soul unknown, Convinced that virtue only is our own. So unaffected, so composed a mind ; So firm, yet soft ; so strong, yet so refined ; Heaven, as its purest gold, by tortures tried ; The saint sustained it, but the woman died."

In the last line but one J. W. designedly alters Pope's original "by tortures" to "with fortune," in reference to her position. See pp 400, 402. Echoes of the fifth line of this epitaph may perhaps be heard in C. W.'s

Hymns :-

I. Neither passion nor pride Thy cross can abide Hy. 160, 3 (1875) Hy. 351, 4 (1875)

2. Be anger to my soul unknown

P. 466, A little pomp, a little sway, &c.--Dec. 29, 1758.

Not quite correctly quoted from Dyer's Grongar Hill. Describing an ancient castle, the poet moralizes thus :--"Yet time has seen, that lifts the low,

And level lays the lofty brow, Has seen this broken pile complete, Big with the vanity of state ; But transient is the smile of fate ! A little rule, a little sway, A sunbeam in a winter's day, Is all the proud and mighty have, Between the cradle and the grave."

The four lines are again inexactly quoted under III, 13, " proud " being changed, as here, to "great," and "rule" to "power," instead of "pomp."

In both entries the lines have a reference similar to that in the original, -the ruins of past grandeur in buildings.

"'Simple master Shallow!' as Shakespeare P. 490. has it."

Mrs. Cowden Clarke's Concordance does not contain this exact expression. Falstaff says, "good master Robert Shallow," 2 Hen. IV, V, i; and from his description of him III, ii (fin.) and V, i, he is "simple' enough. See also, for "master Shallow," IV, iii; V, iii; V, v. "Simple," Slender's servant, is in juxta-position with "Shallow" in M. W. of W., I, i, and the two epithets "shallow" and "simple" are conjoined in 2 G. of V., I, ii.

Must I then leave thee, Paradise ? then leave P. 511, Aug. 13, 1759. These happy shades, and mansions fit for gods? -Altered from Milton, P. L., XI, 269, where Adam

says :---

"Must I thus leave thee, Paradise? thus leave

Thee, native soil, these happy walks and shades,

Fit haunt of gods?"

Recurs in IV, 133, 246, with the very same alterations, except that in IV, 246, the first line begins, "And must he leave this Paradise?" The alteration seems to be purposely made, to suit the subject.

I think he clearly proves that the moon is not P. 515, Sept. 17, 1759. habitable: That there are neither rivers nor mountains on her spotty globe.

See Milton, P.L., I, 291, where Satan's shield is likened to the enlarged orb of the moon as seen through the telescope :

"The broad circumference Hung on his shoulders like the moon, whose orb Through optic glass the Tuscan artist views At evening from the top of Fesole, Or in Valdarno, to descry new lands,

Rivers or mountains in her spotty globe."

J. W.'s first alteration was necessary ; in his second, as in innumerable instances, there is no pretence to exactness of quotation.

His eyes, his look, his hair standing P. 532, Like quills upon the fretful porcupine, &c. Ap. 10, 1760. -Shakespeare, Ham., I, v, 20.

The Ghost says :

"I could a tale unfold, whose lightest word Would harrow up thy soul, freeze thy young blood, Make thy two eyes, like stars, start from their spheres, Thy knotted and combined locks to part, And each particular hair to stand on end, Like quills upon the fretful porpentine."

VOLUME III.

P. 11, The beggars but a common lot deplore;

The rich poor man's emphatically poor. July 21, 1760.

---Cowley, Essays: "Of Avarice."

"Somebody says of a virtuous and wise man, that 'having nothing, he has all': this is just his antipode, who, having all things, yet has nothing. . .

And, oh, what man's condition can be worse

Than his, whom plenty starves, and blessings curse ! The beggars, &c.³

See note, II, 256. Quoted also in Sermon cxxvi, "On the Danger of Increasing Riches," Works, VII, 356.

It is Cowley's own, not a quotation. His Essays are a curious mixture of verse and prose.

P. 13, A little power, a little sway, &c. - From Dyer's Grongar Hill. See note II, 466. The alteration of "rule" to "power" here, and to Aug. 10, 1760.

"pomp" in the other entry, looks as if J. W. thought Dyer's "rule-sway" something like tautology.

O what a tuneful wonder seized the throng,

P. 41, When Marlbro's conquering name alarmed Feb. 19, 1761. the foe!

Had Whiznowhisky led the armies on,

The general's scarecrow name had foiled each blow.

[Source wanted.]

They roared, and would have blushed, if P. 67, capable of shame.--

Altered from Sam. Wesley, Junr., "Battle of Tuly 13, 1761. the Sexes," Stanza XXV.

In the conflict, the giant Lust, wounded by Modesty, is goaded to fury :---"Full on his helm, the rocky fragment fell,

And soiled in humble dust his lofty crest ;

But wounds on wounds his course in vain repel,

For ten-fold fury fires his stubborn breast ;

His glaring eye shot red, revengeful flame ;

He roared, and would have blushed, if capable of shame."

This volume, *Poems on Several Occasions*, p. 31 (Ed. 1743) was a happy hunting-ground for J. W. in the matter of quotations. See I, 485; II, 168, 217; III, 324, 434; IV, 359.

The long Poem of 50 stanzas here utilized contains the probable source of several familiar expressions in the Wesley Hymns; for example, the following :---

Stanza I. "And thou, dear object of my growing love."

Hy. 492, (1875). "Great object of our growing love." Stanza XIV. "With well-dressed hate, and well-dissembled love."

Hy. 311, i. "Their open hate, and well-dissembled love."

"Laughed at reproaches, and enjoyed disgrace." Stanza XXI.

"Want, pain defy, enjoy disgrace." Hy. 351, 6.

Stanza XLVII. "Who marks the eternal bounds of good and ill." "To mark the bounds of good and ill." Hy. 467, 7.

But wondered at the strange man's face P. 92.

As one they ne'er had known.

"And wonder," &c. Recurs III, 211. [Source not traced.]

P. 196, How long? how soon will they upbraid

Sep. 13, 1764. Their transitory master dead !

Recurs at p. 286, July 1, 1767, with the variation : "How soon, alas ! will these upbraid

Their transitory master dead !"

-Altered from Congreve's Translation of Horace, Odes II, 14, last verse but one ; J. W.'s favourite quotation, " Linquenda tellus, &c."

"Nought shalt thou save :

Unless a sprig of rosemary thou have,

To wither with thee in the grave :

The rest shall live and flourish, to upbraid

Their transitory master dead."

Found in J. W.'s Moral and Sacred Poems, vol. I, p. 67. See note: Section (I.) II, 375.

P. 211, And wonder at the strange man's face, &c. May 13, 1765.

See above, III, 92.

P. 283. A not expected, much unwelcome guest. June 15, 1767.

[Source not traced.]

P. 286, How soon, alas ! will these upbraid, &c. July 1, 1767.

See note, III, 196, above.

Lost and bewildered in the fruitless search. P. 311.

Possibly the line may be found entire and verbatim in some English author, but I am inclined to think it is a confused blending in recollection, of two passages both found in J. W.'s Moral and Sacred Poems, I, 119.

(I) "The little which imperfectly we find Seduces only the bewildered mind To fruitless search of something yet behind." --Prior's Solomon, I. 748-750. "But here, again, bewildered, lost, and (2) Are all the ideas thou canst boast. -Ode from Lewis's Miscellany, in MSS, P. II, 159. The smallest grain of sand, or spire of grass. P. 324, -From Sam. Wesley, Junr. : On Mr. Hobbes ; May 25, 1768.

Poems, p. 82. (1743.) "Hobbes ! in whose every page displayed we see

His privilege of man, absurdity !

'Tis hard to point where most his merits shine,

In human learning, or in laws divine ;

All matter thinks as such, he gravely says,

The smallest grain of sand, and spire of grass." J. W.'s change of "and" to "or" was inevitable.

The rage of Arctos and eternal frost. ---III, 341. Prior's Solomon, I, 266.

" If any suffer on the polar coast

The rage of Arctos and eternal frost."-[F.R.]

Nigh foundered, on we fared, P. 360. April 20, 1769. Treading the crude consistence.

-Adapted from Milton, P.L., II, 940.

Said of Satan making his way through the Abyss : "Nigh foundered, on he fared,

Treading the crude consistence, half on foot, Half flying."

The last faint effort of an expiring muse. P. 378, Sept. 5, 1769.

[Source wanted.]

Him, on whate'er pretence, that lies can tell, P. 379, My soul abhors him as the gates of hell. Ib.

Pope, Iliad, IX, 312, wrote :

"Who dares think one thing, and another tell,

My heart detests him as the gates of hell."

"For Wisdom never lies."

[Also Odyss., xiv, 170, may be in Wesley's mind :

Whom want itself can force untruths to tell

My soul detests him as the gates of hell."-A.H.V.]

See Classical Ouotations, above, Proc., V, 2, 52.

P. 386, A perfect pattern of true womanhood. Jan. 30, 1770. [Author wanted.]

The smooth clear river drew its sinuous P. 404, chain. July 5, 1770.

See IV, 372, for a different reading.

[Author wanted.]

Martin has spawned a strange brood of fellows P. 409, called Methodists, Moravians, Hutchinsonians, Under Aug. 30, who are madder than Tack was in his worst 1770. days.

From Lord Lyttleton's Dialogues of the Dead, 1760. Wesley seems either not to recognise, or to ignore, the allusion to Swift's Tale of a Tub, There, "the three brothers, Peter, Martin, and Jack, represent pub. 1704. the Roman Catholic, the Anglican, and the Puritanical [John Calvin] varieties of Christianity." Swift, by Sir Leslie Stephen.

If on the sculptured marble you rely,

Pity that worth like his should ever die. P. 424,

Feb. 25, 1771. If credit to the real life you give,

Pity a wretch like him should ever live.

Inexactly quoted from an epigram by Sam. Wesley, Jun.: Poems (1743), p. 133, The Monument,—Post Funera Virtus. "A monster, in a course of vice grown old,

Leaves to his gaping heir his ill-gained gold ;

Straight breathes his bust, straight are his virtues shown,

Their date commencing with the sculptured stone ;

If on his specious marble we rely,

Pity a worth like his should ever die !

If credit to his real life we give,

Pity a wretch like him should ever live !"

The same sentiment is forcibly expanded in Southey's poem, The Alderman's Funeral.

The inhabitants

Did like the scene appear,

P. 433.

Serenely pleasant, calmly fair; June 1, 1771.

Soft fell their words, as flew the air.

From Prior, The Lady's Looking-Glass, altered.

"The nymph did like the scene appear,

Serenely pleasant, calmly fair; Soft fell her words, as flew the air."

In IV, 45, the triplet is quoted verbatim, as "those beautiful lines of Prior." In IV, 29, we find the last line only, altered :-

"Soft fell the word, as flew the air."

Both here, and in IV, 45, the passage seems to be quoted with a reference to the same place and the same persons, in the neighbourhood of Castlebar.

P. 437, The setting sun adorned the coast,

Tune 21, 1771. His beams entire, his fierceness lost.

We have here another quotation from Prior's poem, The Lady's Looking-Glass, a brief account of which may be not without interest. The "Looking-Glass" is the Sea. Its alternations of storm and calm reflect the varying tempers, the caprice of the Lady. The first dozen lines embody both J.W.'s quotations :-

"Celia and I the other day Walked o'er the sandhills to the sea: The setting sun adorned the coast, His beams entire, his fierceness lost : And on the surface of the deep The winds lay only not asleep: The nymph did like the scene appear, Serenely pleasant, calmly fair : Soft fell her words, as flew the air. With secret joy I heard her say That she would never miss one day A walk so fine, a sight so gay."

Then follows the double contrast : in the sea itself, the sudden change from calm to storm ; in the "nymph" the corresponding change from gaiety She turns back, to terror.

"And trembling, vows she'll ne'er again

Approach the shore or view the main."

The rest of the poem contains the application.

Matthew Prior (1664-1721) was a favourite poet with both John and Charles Wesley. The former gave offence by inserting his *Henry and Emma* n the *Arminian Magazine*. The latter had a very high opinion of his iSolomon, various echoes of which are heard in his hymns. (See Journal of C.W., II, 278, 280, and note, IV, 158.) In Vol. XIII. of J.W.'s *Works* is found an Essay on Prior (pp. 418-

425), in which this very poem is highly commended, and the first nine lines of it are given. Much of Wesley's praise is deserved, but his extravagant estimate of Prior's poetical abilities, ranking them "at least equal to those of Pope or Dryden," only shows how little his literary judgments are to be trusted.-Two or three instances may be given of Prior's influence on the Wesley hymns :--

[Prior, Sol., II, 538: "And smiling see the nearer waters roll."

(Hy. Bk. of 1875, 143, I: "While the nearer waters roll," Prior, Sol., III, 18: "Born to lament, to labour, and to die."

Hy. Bk., 1875, 913, 2: "Born only to lament and die." Prior, Sol. III, 672: "To Thee, to Thee, my last distress I bring."

Hy. Bk., 1875, 181, 5: "To Thee my last distress I bring." Prior's Hymn, No. 596, has been wisely omitted in the New Book of 1904.

C. LAWRENCE FORD.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

306. FACTORIES AT EPWORTH (Journal, iv, 228, 282) .- Enquiry was made as to the failure of these in N. and O., No. 234 (Proc., IV, 4, 116) without eliciting a very definite reply. They are mentioned by Wesley in connection with the decay of the work of God, so soon after the wonderful revival at Epworth in the winter of 1781-2. A great feature of this had been a work amongst young people and children, as appears in the full account in Arm. Mag., 1784, pp. 45 sqq., 103 sqq. Thomas Saxton, one of the leaders at Epworth, says: "We have in Epworth three factories ["four," W., iv, 228] for spinning varn, and weaving coarse linen cloth : the children employed here, both boys and girls, were the most profligate in the town Some of the girls at the largest factory sent and desired me to come to them; but I did not go. They then went to Ann Towris and Ann Field. who went to them many times, and spared no pains in talking to them. Awhile after I went to one factory myself, and saw the fruit of their labour; all the children being greatly changed, and most of them rejoicing in God. There is a great change in the other two factories also, many of the children having the saving knowledge of God." This sheds no light upon the point of the enquiry, and the matter would not have deserved the space here given to it, but that in the account of the revival in the Arm. Mag., George Whitefield, the "assistant," reports a fact whose interest neither Whitefield who sent it, nor Wesley who printed it, could then anticipate.

KILHAMS AT EPWORTH.—He writes: "Saturday, 23 [Feb., 1782].—They had a meeting at John Crosby's house, and with the usual blessing. The eldest of Simon Kilham's sons being abroad, had not been at any of these meetings before.

Almost as soon as he came in he was struck to the heart : and the same night he knew all his sins were forgiven. Immediately he began to go from house to house, all round the neighbourhood, speaking to everyone he met, of the things of God, and exhorting them to flee from the wrath to come. But, not content with this, he, with two or three young lads, went to several of the neighbouring towns, and were the means of kindling the same fire in almost every place where they went." Simon Kilham was the father of Alexander Kilham. (See Account of S.K., by his son, -not A.K., but perhaps Simon, the younger,-in [New Connex.] Methodist Magazine, 1802). Curiously enough, neither A.K. in his (autobiographical) Life, Nottingham, n.d., nor the (official) Life, London, 1838, nor Dr. Cooke in the Jubilee Volume of the Meth. N. Conn., nor Dr. Townshend in his small popular Life of Kilham, happens to say that Alexander Kilham was his father's eldest son, but their accounts of A.K's conversion, derived from his own full and touching pages, are so closely parallel with the Saxton-Whitefield story, that the identification is beyond question. Kilham explains the phrase "being abroad." He was just then working at Owstone Ferry during the week, returning on the Saturday evening to spend the Sunday at Epworth with his parents. He says (p. 10) "On my return to Epworth I found many attending the prayer meetings. I met three young women who talked with me on religious subjects; "as George Shadford, the itinerant, had done some years before. The whole story in the Arm. Mag. makes it pretty certain that Ann Field and Ann Towris were amongst these; and it must also be regretfully assumed that they are "the two women who were the most useful of all others." but who "forsook them, the one leaving Epworth, and the other leaving God" (Journal, ubi supra.) Ann Field, herself one of the earliest fruits of the revival, had led Ann Towris to Christ.-H. J. F.

307. TIVERTON NOTES (Journal, 28-30 August, 1751).— Martin Dunsford, Historical Memoirs of Tiverton, 1790, p. 233, explains: "Whose masters were then at Tiverton, at an annual meeting at Blundell's Grammar School, where many of them had been educated." But he combines confusedly this riot and a later one on 25 Oct. He continues: "Till this time the Methodists were suffered to assemble in peace; but this tumult was the signal of persecution." After

specifying many types of annoyance and abuse, Dunsford continues again : "One Ward, a clergyman, who had dishonoured his office, and had no more place in the church, was procured to come hither, and preach in the streets against them; but his preaching, his intemperance, his prophane conversation and companions, soon rendered him a reproach to every person that had given him countenance, and tended rather to promote than lessen the interests of the Methodists. When, therefore, his preaching, and the mobs he could raise, had not the desired effect, he was encouraged to pick their pockets by the law." But, notwithstanding the countenance of the mayor, the Recorder promptly dismissed the proceedings. Dunsford's informant on many points was a veteran local preacher, in 1790 of forty years' standing amongst Tiverton Methodists, William Robarts. (ib., p. 382.) "In the month of July [really, 3 Aug., 1750] John Wesley, one of the chief promoters of the sect called Methodists, came first to this town, as a public teacher, and preached in the open-air at different times, in various parts of the town [W. speaks of "the meadow," 2 Sep., 1750], but most frequently in the open court of the market house; and from that to the present time, the preachers in his connection have continued to preach at first . . . in the open air, but for many years past in a house or room in St. Peter-street, appropriated to that purpose."-ibid. p. 232.

308. MR. C., OF WANDSWORTH (16 Nov., 1748). - The Rev. Thomas Cawley, M.A., rector, ob. 9 May, 1748. In the Preface to a Funeral Sermon for him, preached by Rev. Thomas Church, M.A., of Battersea, Wesley's early, courteous, critic [e.g. Green, Anti-Meth. Bibliog., No. 185], the preacher gives this account of his death : "He had been at an entertainment which the young gentlemen educated by Mr. Crofts at Fulham had performed. On his return home, in the fields between Putney and Wandsworth, he was seized at once with a fit of coughing and a difficulty of breathing, which increased upon him so far that he desired a gentleman who happened to be with him to go before with what haste he could, and procure some convenience to carry him home; intimating his fears that he should die in the fields. And so indeed he did. For though all dispatch was made, and a conveyance soon brought, before it could reach him he expired."

- 309. MASSACRE AT SLIGO (Journal, 19 May, 1778).—A local legend. Another version of it is that it occurred about 1681. The Romanist was O'Conor. Protestant and Romanist were seated alternately, and at a signal from O'Conor each Romanist buried his dagger in his neighbour's breast. A third version refers it to a time still earlier, when the parties in question were members of rival native septs.—Rev. C. H. Crookshank, M.A., in our circulating MS. Journal.
- 310. C. WESLEY'S FUNERAL HYMNS.-I recently had opportunity of examining a copy of the 2nd series (1759; Green. No. 197) on the title-page of which is written, "By the Rev^d Mr. Chas Wesley," in the hand of his wife. It came into the family of its present possessor by gift from Miss Eliza Tooth, whose autograph words of donation are inscribed on the front inside cover. The book has one or two identifications which may be worth recording. "On the death of Miss M. L [yso]n ;" (for whose family name, see C. W. letter, xxxviii, 14 Ap., 1752, in Jackson. But the annotator spells it as here given. For her death, see C.W., Journal, 20 Ap., 1750). The "****" in the title of another of the elegies has this interesting footnote : "M^r Vigor, son of Mrs. Vigor, brought up a Quaker, baptized by Rev. C. W." (in connection with whose illness C. W. wrote another hymn, given by Jackson; "Francis Vigor. a young Quaker, received forgivness of sins," C.W., Journal, 28 June, 1741; the Christian name is not given in the Vigor pedigree, Proc., iii, 6, 179). Jackson has anticipated the full names of "John H[utchinson]," and "Mrs. L[efevre]," so filled up. The annotator has added to the name of Grace Bowen: "She was nurse to Miss Sally Gwynne, afterwards Mrs. Charles Wesley, and brought up the children of Marmaduke Gwynne, Esq., most piously. She was a clergyman's daughter."

These notes are in old and faded ink, in a cramped hand, and not always clearly written on the rough paper. Most pathetic is the marking of the hymn, "On the death of W [estley] H [al] l," the young son of the

apostate brother-in-law of the Wesleys. The stanzas in the second Part: "Murderer of Souls " and "Condemn'd like haggard Cain," are scored down the left hand margin; and at the end of the following stanza: "O break his adamantine heart !" there is added in emphatic capitals. "AMEN." At the foot of the page is written what may be doubtfully read as : "Alas, poor Son !" or, perhaps, "Soul." The verses refer in the first instance to the elder Westley Hall. If the word is "soul," might the scoring and the footnotes be those of Mrs. Martha Hall? Her husband died in Jan., 1776. The "Amen," added to such a prayer, if for him, would be written earlier than this. Mrs. Charles W. and her daughter Sarah, Miss Tooth's friend, relieved the loneliness of the few months during which Martha Hall survived her brother John (Stevenson, W.F., 381). The Grace Bowen footnote would not be a very likely one for Mrs. Wesley or her daughter Sarah to write. It would be natural enough from Martha Hall's hand. Whoever wrote this, wrote all the notes. -H.J.F.

311. CARDINMARSH (Journal, iii, 425; N. & Q., 289).—Mr. R. Thursfield Smith sends this acceptable identification of this name :—

"Whitchurch is twenty miles from Chester. Carden is half way on the old coach road near where the horses used to be changed. Carden is a small township. I have long known the place as the residence of the Leche family. I knew of Carden Park, Carden Bank, &c. But only yesterday did I find that a few cottages have always been known as Cardenmarsh . . . I had heard of Wesley preaching at an adjoining village, Duckington, and also at Broxton close by. I discovered on the other side of Carden that in the early times a great many Methodists joined Kilham. 'Billy' Alwood, one of Wesley's preachers, married a Methodist widow and lived near Carden."

So also I myself found that

312. KENDALSHIRE (i, 260; iv, 288) was known to very few persons in Bristol. It is a small cluster of cottages, down a lane which turns off from the high road from Bristol to Yate, at a point nearly opposite to the turning leading down the hollow to Winterburn, exactly six miles from Bristol, as Wesley says. Tradition has attached itself to Miss Flook's house, the older part of which is plainly older than Wesley's time, and in which Methodist preaching has been sustained until very recent days. A venerable, heavily-built preaching desk, known as "Wesley's," is still preserved there. Cennick preached at Kendalshire (letter to Wesley, Bristol, to Sep., 1739, in App. to Meth. Mag., 1805, p. 29).—F. 313. "SCARECROW" PREACHING HOUSES (Desid. et Queer., 30). -Rev. Jacob Stanley in a Memoir of his father, Edward Stanley, of Alnwick (Wes. Meth. Mag., 1828, p. 803), thus comments upon Wesley's criticisms: "His death was made principal means of reviving the work of God in a 'Alnwick.' The consequence of this revival was such an increase in the congregations as induced the friends to build a large and (had the galleries been a little more elevated) a beautiful chapel. Mr. Wesley has, indeed, given a very different description of it. [This he quotes in full from Journal, 24 May, 1788, and continues :] A description for which I know not how to account, on any other supposition, than that he had been very much exhausted with his ride from Berwick, and that the organs of vision were then greatly impaired. The only resemblance between it and the chapel formerly hired in Brentford, consisted in each having two very long windows, between which the pulpit was situated."

Is this Brentford building still standing? Can any member find a description of the "sister" scarecrow at Glasgow?

314. WAS VALERIAN WESLEY A PAPIST?—In Sir John Temple's History of the Irish Rebellion of 1641, I find that the Lords Justices are reported to have issued certain commissions of martial law, "and these they directed to the most active gentlemen, though all papists, inhabiting in the several counties," and amongst others to "Valerian Wesley, in the County of Meath." Does this imply that the then Wesley of Dangan Castle was a "papist"? Was that branch of the family Romanist?—Rev. Wm. A. H. Robinson.

Stevenson, in his *Memorials of the Wesley Family* names Valerian de Wellesley, son of William de W. and Elizabeth Cusacke of Portraine. Valerian married Maria, daughter of Walter Cusacke, in 1640. He may be the person named in Mr. Robinson's Note. There are of course the de Wellesleys from whom the Duke of Wellington was descended. Neither in Stevenson, nor Dr. Clarke's *Wesley Family*, nor yet in Beale's *Biographical Notices*, can I find any information bearing on the question of the letter. It is highly probable that some of the earlier branches of the family were Romanists. But I have no trustworthy records from which I could answer the queries of Mr. Robinson.— *R. Green.* CORRIGENDA.—I. By a strange oversight, the name of the Rev. J. A. Clapperton, M.A., was substituted in our last *Proceedings* for that of the Rev. J. Elph Clarke. It is to Mr. Clarke that our Society is indebted for the interesting and valuable facts relative to Wesley's visits to Douglas which appeared on pp. 80 and 84. The Editors greatly regret the unexplained mistake of name.

2. "STEVENS," on p. 69, bottom, should be "Steevens."

