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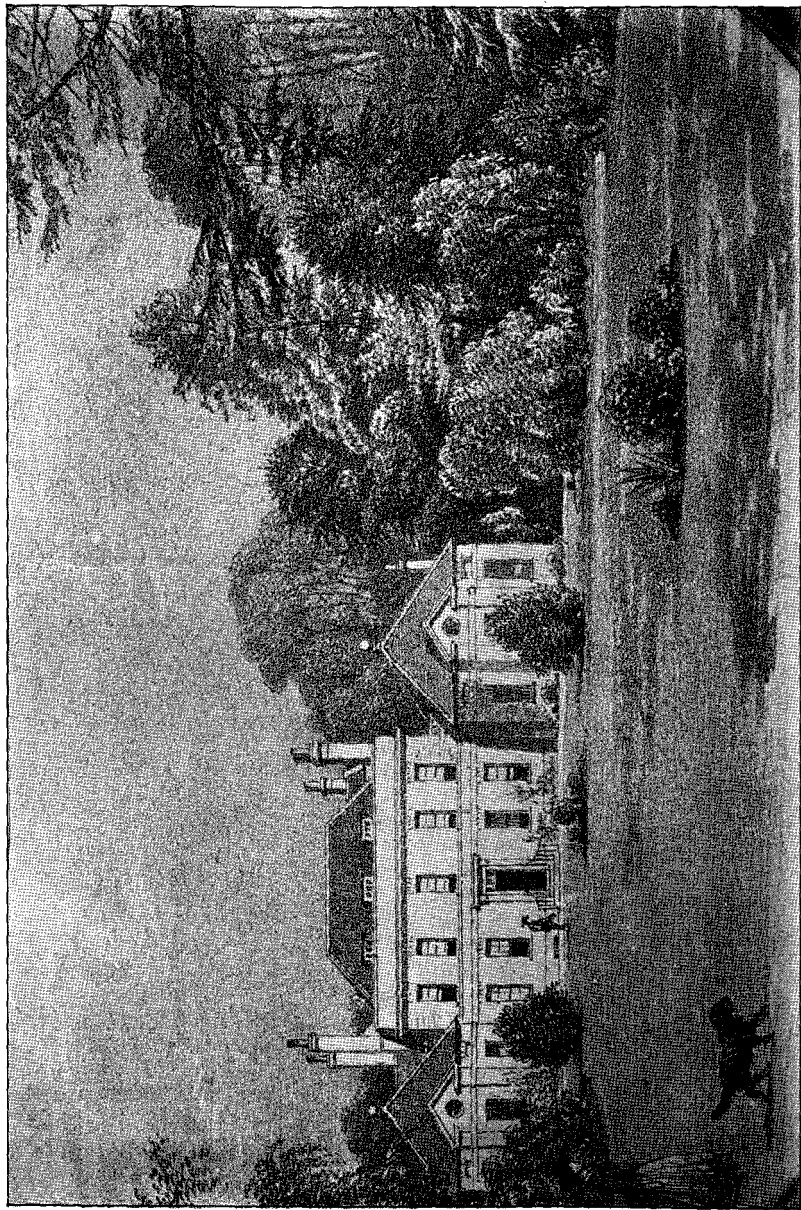
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From a scarce Lithograph]

HOUSE OF GEORGE LIVIUS, BEDFORD.

[By Bradford Rudge.

OUR ILLUSTRATIONS.

(I.) HOUSE OF GEORGE LIVIUS, BEDFORD.
(*Proceedings*, III, 5, 135.)

On Wednesday, 19 November, 1788, Wesley "crossed over" from Wrestlingworth to Bedford. His old friend and host, Alderman Parker, had died since his last visit. "Where to lodge I did not know : But one met me in the street, and said Mr.——— desired I would go straight to his house. I did so and found myself in a palace ; the best house by far in the town, where I was entertained not only with the utmost courtesy, but I believe with sincere affection." An unbroken tradition in Bedford identifies this as the house in the illustration. It stood in the angle of Goldington-road, St. Peter's, and St. Cuthbert's, and was demolished soon after the death of "Squire" George Peter Livius, in 1856. Wesley's host would be his father, George Livius, who had been at the head of the Commissariat in India under Warren Hastings, and who died 16 December, 1816, aged seventy. Father and son lie in the burial-ground of the Moravian Church at Bedford. The son, and perhaps the father also, attended both Anglican and Moravian services, and the *stemma* of the Madans and the Cowpers and their notable kindred, printed by Rev. Dr. Stokes, of St. Paul's, Cambridge, in his *Cowper Memorials* (Olney, 1904,) connects the Livius stock with that of the Cowpers. One daughter of George Livius became the wife of Rev. T. S. Grimshawe, the biographer of the poet ; while another married Cowper's "Johnny of Norfolk."

(II.) THE SINKING RIVER (*Journal*, 7th July, 1757.)

At the spot shown in the charming bit of scenery in our picture we are very exactly on the track of Wesley. Just here he "rode over a little river which suddenly disappears, and after running a mile underground, rises again and pursues its course." Mr. M. H. Bowes, B.A., a native of Kirby Moorside, says that there are

now two roads leading from Helmsley to that town, of which the more northerly is the road of Wesley's time. It crosses the Hodge Beck not far below the famous little Saxon church of St. Gregory, and close to the equally famous Kirkdale bone-cavern. The beck is at that point more often than not without water. In July, when Wesley "rode over" it,—the phrase is graphically exact,—it is always dry, and the layers of limestone make a rude pavement in the dry bed. The phenomenon which Wesley notes is familiar everywhere in limestone regions. Near Kirby Moorside many small streams "sink." The Hodge Beck sinks up-stream from this crossing place, between Cat Scar and Dixon Scar, and emerges again at a spring called Howkeld Head near Tilehouse Bridge, where the more recent road from Helmsley crosses the valley. The proof of the continuity of the stream between the two points is that when the stream at its upper reach is low, and blocked with leaves and rubbish, Howkeld Head also runs low and dirty; whereas a good raking out of the sinking stream above, lets the lower spring run clearer and in fresh volume.

CHRISTMAS HYMNS.

'The Word became flesh, and dwelt among us . . . full of grace and truth' (John i. 14). What an inspiration for the world! So indeed it has been the world's best inspiration—the inspiration of all that is most beautiful in art, of all that is best and truest in song.

The very expectation of this blessing was the inspiration of Old Testament literature. Thus Isaiah's rapture finds expression in a song that, with scarcely any qualification, might take its place as one of our Christmas Hymns to-day:

'The people that walked in darkness
Have seen a great light;
They that dwelt in the land of the shadow of death,
Upon them hath the light shined.

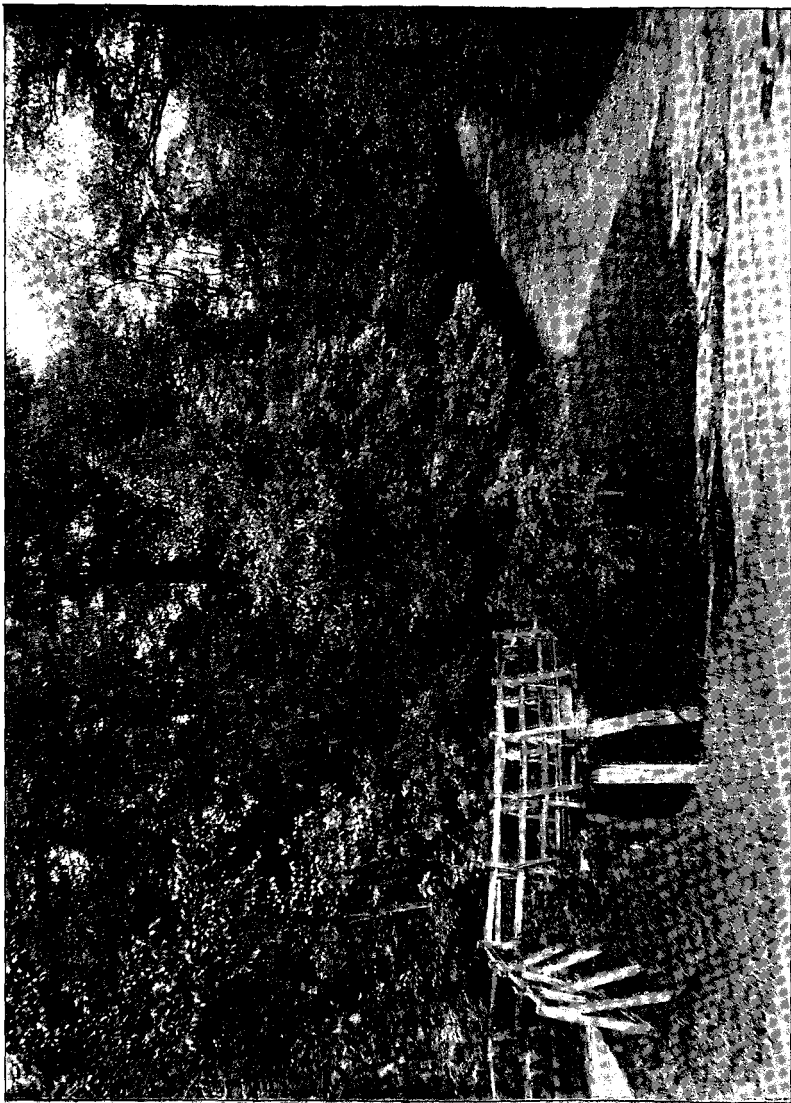


Photo. by]

ON THE HODGE BECK, KIRBY MOORSIDE.

[Montague Cooper, Tanton.

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For unto us a Child is born,
Unto us a Son is given ;
And the government shall be upon his shoulder :
And his name shall be called Wonderful Counsellor,
Mighty God, Everlasting Father,
Prince of Peace.—(*Isaiah ix, 2, 6.*)'

When expectation gave place to fulfilment, that fulfilment of the world's hope inspired another great outburst of hymnody, as perpetuated for our use in the 'Magnificat', the 'Benedictus', and the 'Nunc Dimittis.' More especially has the 'Gloria' of the herald angels struck the keynote of the Christmas Hymns of all time. It will not be without relevance to the general purpose of this magazine that we give some little attention to the subject of Christmas Hymns with the view of making certain comparisons. Taking our two principal hymn books, the new Methodist Hymn Book, and the Methodist Sunday School Hymn Book, we have altogether some thirty-five Christmas Hymns ; and a consultation of such works as Lord Selborne's *Book of Praise*, and Garrett Horder's *Treasury of Hymns*, will furnish a number of others, not so well known. These are by a variety of writers, mostly British and American, though a few are translations ; and they cover, altogether, a considerable length of time—as regards the date of their production. They are, moreover, of very various merit, as judged by a strictly poetical standard, some being simple strains for children, very sweet and taking, but of no great literary worth ; others, careful and finished poems, of high quality in this respect, and likely to hold a more or less permanent place in our literature ; while others, again, are of a middle class, partaking of the simplicity and emotional charm of the former, and having sufficient of the literary value of the latter to insure their lasting vitality. In the last mentioned hymns there is, furthermore, a spiritual passion—under the regulation of consummate literary taste, and at the same time with allowance of all proper emotional freedom of expression—which gives them a quality of their own.

The chief instances of the class of hymns just spoken of are the compositions of Charles Wesley, having had probably the additional advantage of revision by the unerring judgment of John Wesley. Of the twenty-three Christmas Hymns in our new Hymn Book, ten are Wesley's, and the comparison of any one of them, and particularly of the entire set, with typical examples of the more intellectually ambitious stanzas of Keble, on the one hand, and with the transient sweetness of some of the hymns for children on the other, will amply confirm the truth of the

above statements. A more detailed comparison of all the hymns referred to, with their variety of authorship and aim, would involve corresponding grades of classification, and qualifications of our verdict. But the general truth would be little affected by the result.

Take, then, Keble's poem for Christmas Day: date, 1827. It is not wanting in restrained spiritual fervour; it is devoutly imaginative, not to say fanciful; nor is its language, though antique in cast, far-fetched or laborious. As a poem, it has the delicacy, the subtle shading, the balanced thought, the metrical care, and the rhythmical music, which put its literary value beyond question; and as literature it will live, when the simpler hymns that appeal merely to the ear and to the feelings are forgotten. But it does not live, it never will live, on the lips of the people in the services of holy song. So that it becomes a question—not necessarily admitting of but one answer—whether one would choose to write poems that live as literature, but are never known to the multitude as hymns for sweet and holy worship; and would prefer to utter words of song that shall be taken up gladly on thousands of lips, rather than produce work of a worth, intellectually, that only a fractional minority will appreciate. But of course both sorts have their place. The superlative merit, however, of Wesley's hymns, is their unique combination of qualities, and this is owing to their equally unique evangelical inspiration.

To test the matter, let us first read in Keble—for we shall hardly dare to sing it:

‘What sudden blaze of song
Spreads o'er the expanse of heaven?
In waves of light it thrills along,

The angelic signal given:
Glory to God! from yonder central fire

Flows out the echoing lay beyond the starry quire.’

This is a poem to turn to again and again in quiet, studious moments. But, after reading it, one may find an agreeable change in joining the little folk as they sing,

‘Hark, hark! the merry Christmas bells
Are chiming sweet and clear;
O welcome, welcome, festive day,
The brightest of the year.’

Sherwin finds access where Keble is not known—among the children of our schools and homes. Nor are the words a doggerel, that we need be ashamed to join the strain. But when they are sung they are done with—there is nothing for thought to feed upon.

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Yet, whether to read quietly for one's own spiritual nurture, or to sing in the great congregation, will the Christmas Hymns of Charles Wesley ever weary us? and are they not ever fresh, as though they had been penned but yesterday? High and lowly, wisest and simplest, strong men and little children—all alike rejoice at Christmas-tide to unite in 'Hark! the herald angels sing.' Nor, after those strains of exultation, is the more meditative hymn unwelcome, 'To us a child of royal birth, Heir of the promises, is given.' Again we are stirred, both by the energy of the thought and by the ringing metre, as we sing, 'Let earth and heaven combine.' Yet another strong metre, and a new majesty of representation, await us in 'Glory be to God on high'; and again in the hymn, so much more serviceable in its present form, 'Arise my soul, arise.' We revert to one of these metres, but not to find sameness of thought, in 'Jesus, Saviour of my soul'; then we come to the massive, but withal so tender hymn, 'Stupendous height of heavenly love'; we yield to the winning grace of the invocation, 'Come, Thou long expected Jesus'; and our souls thrill with the gladness of the sunrise, as we celebrate the fulfilment of Isaiah's prophecy, concerning the 'Light of those whose dreary dwelling Borders on the shades of Death.' And yet once more, to still another metre, we rehearse the Christmas tidings, in the hymn which John Wesley is said to have pronounced the best that his brother wrote on this great theme, 'All glory to God in the sky.'

Think of this wealth—ten hymns, all of the very first rank, on this one transcendent subject; and it must surely be acknowledged that, were it only as a hymnist for Christmastide, our great singer has no peer.

THOS. F. LOCKYER.

METHODIST BIBLIOGRAPHY.

(I.) METHODIST ANONYMA.

AN ATTEMPT TO ELUCIDATE THEIR AUTHORSHIP.

A. WORKS PUBLISHED ANONYMOUSLY BY WESLEYAN
MINISTERS.

(Continued from *Proceedings*, II, 86.)

50. George Coad, the Letter Carrier ; or, Pure Religion displayed in Humble Life. London : J. Mason. Colophon, "Plymouth, May, 1849. O.H." Author : *Oliver Henwood*. Authority :—G. Osborn.

51. A Brief Vindication of Evangelical Arminianism ; in Reply to a Caveat against Unsound Doctrines, published in the last century by the Rev. A. Toplady, and now reprinted and circulated in the town of Preston. Written by Tacitus. Preston, 1817. 12mo ; 36 pp. Author : *Thomas Hill*. Authority :—G. Osborn.

52. A short Account of the Life of Mrs. Mary Holder, mostly taken from her Journal, by her affectionate Husband. Whitby: Horne and Richardson. 1836. 16mo, 39 pp. Author : *George Holder*. Authority :—Intrinsic evidence.

53. A Character of the late Rev. John Wesley, M.A., Fellow of Lincoln College, Oxford, and Founder of the Methodist Connexion, who died March 2nd, 1791, aged 88. To which are added, the Rev. Dr. Adam Clarke's Opinion of the Wesleyan Ministers, &c., with various other Essays on Important Subjects. By Philaethes. Otley : W. Walker. 1822. 12mo ; 36 pp. Author : *William Hunter*. Authority :—Inference. The pamphlet is evidently written by a Wesleyan Minister, a man of mature experience and possessed of leisure. The preface is dated from Pateley Bridge, where William Hunter resided as a super-numerary, from 1817 till his death in 1825.

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54. The Extension of Methodism by God's own Plan of Converting Children. Leeds: H. W. Walker, 1856. 12mo.; 24 pp. Author:—*Samuel Jackson*.—Authority:—G. Osborn.

55. An Answer to the Question, Why are you a Wesleyan Methodist? Second Edition. London: J. Mason, 1842. 8vo.; 4 & 80 pp.—Fourth Edition, demy 8vo.; 64 pp. Author:—*Thomas Jackson*.—Authority:—G. Osborn.

56. An Address to the Inhabitants of Glossop Dale and its Vicinity. Manchester: J. M. Walker, 1847. 12mo.; 12 pp. Author:—*George Marsden*.—Authority:—J. Thursfield Smith.

57. The Great Salvation, and the Danger of Neglecting it. A Sermon on Hebrews II. 3. By Thomas Walsh, London: Printed, and sold at the Foundry, Upper Moorfields. MDCCLXIII. Price Twopence. Editor's Advertisement, signed "Brentford, Jan. 20, 1763. J. M." Editor:—*James Morgan*. Authority:—Walsh's Collected Works appeared subsequently over the same editor's name in full.

58. An Elegiac Poem on the Death of the late Eminent and Reverend John Wesley, A.M., sometime Fellow of Lincoln College, Oxford. Inscribed to the Rev. J. Taylor, by J. M., Nottingham: S. Tupman, 1791. 8vo.; 32 pp. Author:—*John Moore*. Authority:—John Moore was stationed for a second year at Nottingham at the time of Wesley's death. Joseph Taylor, to whom the poem is inscribed, was the chairman of the newly formed Nottingham and Derby District.

59. Dialogues on Entire Sanctification, for the use of those who are seeking that invaluable Blessing. Leeds: E. Baines. 1802. 12mo; 72 pp. Author:—*John Saunders Pipe*. Authority:—Author's name appended to the second edition, published at York in 1810.

60. Memorial of Samuel Priestley, late of Leeds. Printed for Private Circulation. Leeds: H. W. Walker. 1876. 16mo; 2-28 pp. Author:—*Joshua Priestley*. Authority:—Intrinsic evidence.

61. A Cry to the Professor's Conscience, or the Professor's Looking Glass, concerning his Thoughts, Words, and Actions. (Leeds) Printed in the Year 1775. 12mo; 23 pp. Third edition, York, 1781. 12mo; 24 pp. Author:—*Thomas Taylor*. Authority:—Author's name given in later editions.

62. An Appeal to the Public: whether a Calvinist can, with a good conscience, be a Minister of the Church of England. By Philalethes. Printed in the year 1780. s. l. (Leeds?) 12mo; 24 pp. Author:—*Thomas Taylor*. Authority:—Life of Thomas Taylor.

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63. A Solemn Caution against the Ten Horns of Calvinism. By Philalethes, lately escaped. Printed in the year 1780. s. l. (Leeds?) 12mo; 24 pp. Author:—*Thomas Taylor*. Authority:—Life of Thomas Taylor.

64. Remarks on the Fly Sheets; in a Letter to a Wesleyan. London; 1849. 12mo; 26 pp. Author:—*John Wesley Thomas*. Authority:—G. Osborn.

65. Methodist Missions. Address to the Public. By the General Committee of the Methodist Missionary Society for the Leeds District. Leeds: J. Nichols. 1813. demy 8vo; 4 pp. Author:—*Richard Watson*. Authority:—Jackson's Life of Watson, p. 176.

66. The Report of the Executive Committee for the Management of the Missions, first commenced by the Rev. John Wesley, the Rev. Dr. Coke, and others, and now carried on under the direction of the Methodist Conference. London: Conference Office. 1816. demy 8vo; 88 pp. Author:—*Richard Watson*. Authority:—Jackson's Life of Watson, p. 235.

67. The Popular Preacher: or, Who, and What is Spurgeon? By a Wesleyan Minister. London (Otley): Walker & Son. n.d. demy 8vo; 34 pp. Author:—*Richard Wrench*. Authority:—Advertisement appended to W. M. Punshon's Life, Sermons, &c., published by A. Osborne in 1871. This answers my query, *Proceedings*, II. 4. 87.

68. West London Mission: the Story of our Work, 1900. demy 8vo; 94 pp. Author:—*James Hanby*. Authority:—Rev. J. H.'s personal statement.

69. Sermons by Wesleyan Methodist Ministers. (Vol. IV.) 1853. London: J. Mason. 16mo; 4-380 pp. Editors: *Rev. Thomas Shaw*, Belper, and *Rev. John Lyth*, Nottingham. Authority: Names given on cover of the monthly parts. It is strange that Osborn either did not know or wilfully ignored the above, seeing that he registered all the separate sermons which appeared in the three preceding volumes, which were edited by W. Horton. [See No. 43] The 1855 issue of the above collection assumed the title of "The Wesleyan Pulpit," and was, I am inclined to think, edited by Shaw; can any member help me? This vol. also is ignored by Osborn.

70. Index to the Subjects of the Hymns, and, a Table of Texts of Scripture more or less illustrated in the Volume. Printed with our Collection of Hymns. Author:—*Richard Waddy*. Authority:—Life of Rev. Samuel D. Waddy, by his daughter; p. 4.

CHARLES A. FEDERER.

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NOTES:—1. Memorials of Josiah Gregory : a Somerset Collier, an early Methodist Local Preacher and Class Leader, more than half a century a Pillar in the Church at Paulton. By a Somerset Preacher. London : Book Room. 1870. 18 mo. ; 29 pp. [*Proc.*, II, 4, 87] These Memorials are not simply a reprint of the Memoir by Rev. Richard Moody, *M. Mag.*, 1813, p. 422, but are compiled from that memoir ; from a further communication to *M. Mag.*, 1819, by R. Moody ; from a biographical sketch in S. Tuck's *W. Methodism in Frome* (Frome, 1837) ; and also from some unpublished sources. I was informed some time ago by a friend that the "Somerset Preacher" was a local preacher, whose name I have lost ; in which case this falls without the scope of the section of ANONYMA I have so far dealt with. R. Moody knew Gregory intimately, and at the time of the latter's death he was stationed at Exeter.

2. *Proc.* II. 4. p. 82. Etchells' issue of "Piety and Valour" was fully authorised. In the introduction he states, "For the following Extract I am gratefully indebted to the loyal and pious Gentleman [Mr. J. Butterworth] to whom the original letter was addressed. I read a part of it to my congregation at the close of the Thanksgiving Sermon on Thursday last ; and since then, so many persons have desired to see it, that I have been induced, from a hope that it might be useful, to give it a wider circulation in the present form." Sergeant C[harles] W[ood's] letter is also pretty fully given in *M. Mag.*, 1816, pp. 284, 299. [For Wood at Bordeaux, see Entwisle's speech, *M. Mag.*, Aug., 1815.]

3. A most peculiar case of what, for want of a more appropriate word, I will call jugglery, has come under my notice, owing to my invariable rule of *reading* all the literature which comes into my possession. In 1810, Joshua Fielden printed at Leeds : "Enoch's Walk and Translation. A Sermon setting forth the Piety and Felicity of a Good Man ; occasioned by the death of Mr. Francis Fisher, of Pontefract. demy 8vo ; 28 pp." Twenty-two years after, in 1832, he reprinted the *same* sermon, almost textually, under the title, "Renowned Excellence : a Discourse upon the Character and Translation of the Patriarch Enoch ; with reference to the sudden and lamented decease of the Rev. Adam Clarke, LL.D., F.S.A., &c., &c. London : J. Mason. demy 8vo ; 31 pp." Osborn catalogues both sermons, without remark.

(II.) A TRACT BY THOMAS [NOT "GEORGE"] NEWANS, THE SHROPSHIRE PROPHET.

(*Journal*, 1 Sep., 1744.)

[The following material, discovered by Mr. J. T. Lightwood at the British Museum, sufficiently answers *Desid. et Quer.*, No. 25.]

The *brochure* consists of various extracts from Scripture, with comments thereon and occasional references to himself : "I have for almost twenty years past, travelled to London, and back again into the country, near fifty journeys, and every journey was 260

miles, to acquaint the Ministers of State, and several of the Bishops and other Divines with the certainty, danger, and manner of this war." "All the world will be at peace in the space of seven years," is one of his unfulfilled prophecies.

TITLE PAGE: A Key to the Prophecies of the Old and New Testaments, shewing: the Approaching Invasion of England, Desolation of Germany by the Mahometans, Destruction of Rome, Expulsion of the Mahometans, Extirpation of Popery and Mahometisme, Restoration of the Jews to their own Land, Rebuilding of the Temple at Jerusalem, Fulness of the Gentiles, and the Glorious and Triumphant Estate of Christ's Church upon earth during a Thousand Years. Written in the year 1744, by Thomas Newans, a Shropshire Farmer.

"When the enemy shall come in like a flood, the spirit of the Lord shall lift up a standard against him."—Isaiah lix, 19.

London: Printed for the Author.

PREFACE (Verbatim): An account of the Vision, and of the Tokens given in confirmation of the Truth thereof.

In the year 1723, in the night, I fell into a dream, and I seemed to be riding on the road into the county of Cheshire: I then lived in Shropshire. When I got about eight miles from home, my horse made a stop on the road, and it seemed a dark night, and on a sudden there shone a light before me on the ground, which was as bright as when the sun shines at noon-day. In the middle of that bright circle there stood a child in white: It spoke, and told me that I must go into Cheshire, and I should find a man with uncommon marks on his feet, which should be a warning to me to believe; and that the year after I should have a cow, that would calve a calf with his heart growing out of his body in a wonderful manner, as a token of what should come to pass; and that a terrible war would break out in Europe, and in fourteen years after the token it would extend to England.

I soon after rode into Cheshire, where I found the man; and a year after I had a cow that calved a calf with his heart growing out: there was a hole in the breast bone, and through that hole there grew a bladder, as big as a hog's bladder, and all the blood was in the bladder, and the heart tumbling in the blood; which was seen by all my family, who were seven in number. So then I rode to London to acquaint the Ministers of State of the approaching danger.

Some years after, it appeared to me in a dream, like a woman in a clean dress, and gave me reasons why it was in differ-

ent appearances. The first reason ; it appearing like a child, shows the Innocence of the English Cause ; the second was to show, that Christ's Church shall be cleansed of all its Errors, and be directed in the true Religion.

When Moses, through God's direction and goodness, had brought the children of Israel out of the Egyptian bondage, and had led them into the wilderness, God called Moses up into the Mount : and when he was gone Aaron made a calf out of the treasure which the children of Israel had brought out of the land of Egypt ; and God was wroth with them.

The reason, which was to encourage me to act in this affair is, that as the heart of this calf was out of the body from the time that it knit in the dam, it was a token that the heart of Popery shall be rent out of the earth at this present time : which may the God of heaven grant for His own glory and the world's good.

(III.) A RARE TRACT BY BISHOP WARBURTON.

[Our deceased member, Mr. F. M. Jackson, wrote this in the MS.
Circulating *Journal*.]

The following extracts are from *Notes and Queries*, and may be of interest, as no mention is made of *The True Methodist* in the Rev. Richard Green's *Anti-Methodist Bibliography*, nor in Tyerman, or anywhere else that I can trace.

"THE TRUE METHODIST ; OR, CHRISTIAN IN EARNEST.

"For the last fifteen years or so I have had in my possession a small 4to MS. of some importance, bearing the above title, and consisting of 205 unnumbered leaves, written on one side only. It commences with the words, 'A Wise and approved Ancient tells us,' &c., and is apparently a fair copy for the press made by another hand, but with notes and the words at end, 'Revised 6 July 1755 after reading of Mr. [Rev. James] Hervey's Dialogues on Theron and Aspasio—w^{ch} savours strongly of Methodism,' in the author's autograph. On a loose, inserted sheet, and written probably c. 1829, by the Rev. W. Valentine, Chaplain to London Hospital, is a schedule of 'Tracts in MS.,' referring to this as No. 12, and stating :

WESLEY HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

Of the true Methodist, we may form some opinion both of the style and matter, by some letters addressed to Mr. Broughton, a transcript of which I have already committed to the Inspection of the Public. The composition alluded to [No. 12] is not I believe in existence. Not any other of these papers have fallen into my hands, neither has it been communicated to me with any degree of certainty in whose possession they now are, in all probability the greater part of them are either inadvertently lost or carelessly destroyed.

“This MS. appears to have been written by a Church of England minister, in opposition to the teachings of the Wesleys and Whitefield. Can any reader state whether it has been printed, and furnish the name of the author ?

W. I. R. V.”

(*Notes and Queries*, 8th series, iii, 148. Feb. 25, 1893.)

In 1904 the same writer sent the following additional note :

“It is now about eleven years since my query was inserted without eliciting any reply. Being, however, at length enabled to myself supply the required information as to the authorship, I think it well to communicate the same. ‘THE TRUE METHODIST appears to be one of the ‘lost’ Works of the Rev. William Warburton (afterwards Bishop of Gloucester, and friend of the poet Pope). It was written from the Established Church point of view as to the character and belief of a *true* Methodist, in opposition to the Methodism of the Wesley and Whitefield type ; and the MS. in question was apparently revised for the press, 6 July 1755, ‘after,’ as the author states therein, ‘reading of [the Rev.] Mr. Hervey’s Dialogues on Theron and Aspasio, w^{ch} savours strongly of Methodism, but was never printed.’ The MS. memorandum which is inserted in the volume, and was, I believe, made (possibly c. 1829) by the late Rev. W. Valentine, M.A., incumbent of St. Stephen’s, Stepney, Chaplain and House-Governor of the London Hospital, but possibly copied from Hurd, is as follows :

Other Tracts in MS. :—8, Notes on the Prophet Isaiah ; 9, Notes on the New Tes^t—Epistle to the Romans not finished ; 10, On the Creed, or Credenda of Religion ; 11, Proofs of X^{ts} Divinity from the four Evangelists ; 12, The True Methodist ; 13, Letters on various

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Questions in Divinity ; 14, Reflections and Collections on the Subject of taking Oaths to Government.

Of 'The True Methodist' we may form some opinion, both of the style and matter, by some letters addressed to Mr. Broughton [probably the Rev. Mr. Broughton, of Great St. Helen's, Bishopgate, London, Afternoon Lecturer, who befriended the Rev. George Whitefield in January, 1739], a transcript of which I have already committed to the inspection of the Public. The composition alluded to in the Schedule of Tracts in MS. as No. 12 is not, I believe in existence.

"A MS. letter in a similar hand, of about 29½ small 4to pages, dated 6 December 1737, from W. W. (W. Warburton) to Mr. Whitfield (the celebrated Geo. Whitefield) dissenting from the latter's sermons and notions concerning Regeneration and the New Birth, is also in my possession.

"Whether Mr. Valentine (as above) possessed these two MSS. I am not certain ; but I believe they came to me, with others certainly his, from a London book-auction in or about 1878. His library was sold by auction in April 1842 ; possibly that of 1878 was of his son's books.

W.I.R.V."

(*Notes and Queries*, 10th series, i, 167, Feb. 27, 1904.
Broughton is undoubtedly the "Oxford Methodist.")

JOHN WESLEY AND THE MADANS.

[Our Society owes the following material to the kindness of Rev. F. H. Benson, B.A., our minister in Cambridge, and to that of Prof. J. E. B. Mayor, of Cambridge, who indicated it to Mr. Benson, and permitted him to copy it for our use, from a series of 4to MS. memorandum books in his possession, which are in fact a Common Place Book compiled by Mrs. Maria Frances Cecilia Cowper, not unknown amongst the writers of the Cowper circle. She was a Madan, sister of Mrs. Penelope (Madan) Maitland, wife of Gen. Maitland, and of Rev. Martin Madan and his brother, Bishop Spencer Madan. Their mother, Judith (Cowper), wife of Colonel Madan, was a convert of Wesley's, as the book records, and the extract referring to the indebtedness of her husband and herself to Wesley is copied by her daughter from a MS. book of her mother's. The Maitland-Wesley correspondence is a sample of the material which Mrs. Cowper treasured up. There are letters from the Countess of Huntingdon, Cowper the poet, John Newton, and others of the families connected with the Evangelical Revival. There is the Countess' hymn : "My gracious, everlasting Friend." There are many notes of visits

and interviews with the Countess and others. But Prof. Mayor pointed out to Mr. Benson the chief references, or all, to John Wesley. The visit to Hertingfordbury falls into, and helps to fill up, the long gap in the *Journal* between 21 December, 1751 and 15 March, 1752.

No light seems to be cast by these records upon the identification of a most interesting personality, Miss Fanny Cowper, who died at Donnington Park in the end of May, 1742. Wesley visited her, in response to her urgent appeal conveyed by the Countess of Huntingdon, as afterwards he visited Colonel Madan; and the visit not only set aside an intended visit to Bristol, but led him further northward to Birstal and Newcastle, with most fruitful consequences to the fortunes of the Revival. (17 May [letter to C.W., same date,] 22 May, 18 June, 1742; C.W., curiously, not until 7 Sep., 1743; letter of C. of H. to J.W., *Meth. Mag.*, 1798, p. 531; C. of H., *Life*, i, 52-7.) Both Prof. Mayor, and another accomplished Cowper student, Rev. Dr. Stokes, of St. Paul's, Cambridge, think it probable that she was a daughter of some cadet of the Cowper house. Fanny (Frances) is one of the family names. Is she by any chance the "person" in charge of a young daughter of the Earl and Countess, whom James Hutton met in 1741, and whom he describes as "a good simple sheep?" (*Memoirs*, p. 68.)]

(I.) WESLEY AND MRS. MADAN.

Being in the year 1750 under many inexpressible difficulties from a conviction (which I bless God! had been some years gaining ground in my heart) of the infinite importance of religion, I intreated a few lines from *that Person* who had by God's grace, been the Instrument of much good to my Soul, to instruct and direct me. The *World* & every discouragement threatened me. The everlasting consequence of a *better* & God's gracious invitation to sinners in his sacred Word—encouraged & called me—This my dear Maria! may perhaps give you some idea of the state of my mind, when my honoured Friend, the *truly* Rev^d M^r: John Westley sent me as follows, in answer to my request.

"There is much difficulty in knowing how to act in such a situation as yours is. You are not at liberty to choose what is, absolutely speaking the most excellent way: which is to cut off all superfluity of every kind—to expend all our time & all our substance in such a manner as will most conduce to y^e Glory of God, & our own Eternal Happiness. Nor is it easy to say, how far you may vary from this—Something must be allowed to the circumstances you are in—But who can say how much? Only the Spirit of God, only the unction from above which teacheth us of all things.

But perhaps this in general may be said.—All the time you *can* redeem from fashionable folly you *should* redeem. Consequently it is right to throw away as little as possible of that precious Talent, on dressing, visits of form, useless diversions, & trifling conversation.

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Herbert well observes

'If so thou spend thy time, the Sun will cry against thee; for his Light was only lent' and I ca'n't but think if you earnestly cry to Him who with every temptation can make a way to escape,* He will deliver you from abundance of that impertinence, which has hitherto swallowed up so many of your precious moments."

Nov 9th 1750.

* And this I bless God without any alteration of worldly circumstances or my situation of Life—was done.

M^r. Madan had held deistical views, but on the occasion of a great illness at Hertingfordbury Park in 1752 he was led back to orthodox belief and having received the Blessed Sacrament 'with great awe and devotion' he bade his wife write to their son Martin, who was gone to town for a few days, to procure him a visit from *Mr. John Westley*.

M^{rs}. Madan says—"On his repeated commands I did this: and *he*, notwithstanding the severity of the weather, (being frost & snow) set immediately out & arrived in the morning at the Park House. M^r. W. prayed by him, & had a good deal of discourse with him on the most important subjects, full of wisdom and piety—& such a truly Christian tenderness for the state of his Body & Soul as at once overcame much prejudice in some who happened to be present at that time. Before the Family were called to dinner, M^r. W. again prayed, with a flow of Christian eloquence peculiar to himself, and Mr. Madan appeared entirely pleased with his behaviour, as perfectly answerable to the character I had given him of this distinguished & excellent man. At his returning up again in the afternoon, Mr. Madan having taken a medicine to procure him sleep, it took effect at that time & he continued dozing almost all the afternoon and evening. . . . About nine o'clock I joined the Family, & after some conversation before we parted for the night, M^r. W. again prayed, in a manner that made, I hope, a deep impression on those present & I trust in God, had also an effect on the absent.

M^r. Westley being obliged to go to Town again early in the Day—was up before day-break, & I went down to breakfast with him (& one who had accompanied him in this journey) & made such acknowledgements as I thought justly due for his great goodness and humanity, in every instance so strongly impressed, thro' the course of this short but edifying & Christian visit—which many would have thought, the unusual severity of y^e weather a sufficient reason at least to have delayed. But 'the Faith that worketh by

Love,' finds no difficulties in the path that leads to Christian charity."

Mr. Madan recovered. For a time his religious impressions seemed to decrease, but in his last illness in 1756 earnestness returned and his wife buried him in sure & certain hope.

II. LETTER FROM MRS. MAITLAND TO THE REV.
MR. JOHN WESTLEY.

May 2nd 1763.

Dear & much honoured Sir,

Next to praying that I may never be found a hypocrite in the sight of God, my desire is, never to be one to Man, I hope therefore you will forgive this intrusion on your time, as it is to satisfy myself by a declaration of my sentiments. The God of my salvation led me to, & has (I humbly trust) blest your preaching for some years to my soul; I trust also, that thro the grace of God, my sole motive for hearing yourself, or anyone else is that I may know more of the Lord Jesus, believe in Him, & love Him more, become more conformed to His Image, & obedient to His will. I would not be mistaken, either by being thought, a *Professor of Perfection*, or *Seeker* after it, which perhaps my attendance where it is preached, might occasion me to be. There is no tongue, tho' ever so persuasive, no life tho' ever so exemplary, could (in my present way of thinking) make me believe any, who told me, they were without indwelling corruption—Sin does not indeed *reign* in the mortal bodies of Believers—But "covered it lies & still kept down" which is very plainly, & strongly affirming it is *still there*. "The heart is deceitful above all things, & desperately wicked, who can know it" save God?—I freely own, it appears to me one of ye most refined, & fatal delusions that ever Satan injected, to perplex, if not destroy the work of God, to set us on seeking any sinless holiness but that of Him "who became sin for us, that we might be made the righteousness of God in Him".

Believe me I mean not by this that we should so trust to what was done *for us*, as to neglect what is done *in us*, but I think, when once I have lost sight of my sinful heart, I shall soon lose sight of my need of Christ. M^r Maxfield's receipt for this, is indeed a very good one, namely "to believe away my sinful heart," but is this agreeable to the will of God who has given us His Holy Spirit, for this very end, to convince us of sin?

I think, Sir, in your second Thoughts on Perfection, you say

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you mean by this term “rejoicing evermore, praying without ceasing, & in everything giving thanks.”

This is indeed a high state of Grace, & what we should daily press after, & pray for, but (intreating your pardon for the liberty I take in offering the opinion of so incompetent a judge & insignificant a person as I am) I beg leave to say, I think even this, cannot be called *Perfection*, as they can only be *imperfectly* done by us, and a *Perfection*, any way *imperfect*, is too gross an absurdity, & an irreconcilable paradox, to admit of any defence. Would it not be safer then, to call it a high state of Grace, than *Perfection*? Can *this* be a decent and becoming expression in the lips of mortals who have to do with a God “who chargeth his Angels with folly”? It is surely a dangerous expression, making them *spiritually proud*, who have so far put out their eyes, as to think they have attained it, & those *mad* who have not, yet believe it attainable—indeed there have not been wanting instances of both these. It is the prayer of my heart daily for myself, that the Everlasting Spirit of Truth, may, for His Infinite Mercy’s sake, vouchsafe to guide me into all Truth, that the knowledge of the Truth may make me free, & that I may stand fast in that glorious liberty, never abusing it, but that I may be sanctified through the Truth.

I hope, Sir, that neither myself or any of my Family, shall ever forget the greatness of our obligations to you, under whose ministerial labours God has graciously imparted a measure of His Grace, & I hope we shall never be left out of your prayers, that He may daily carry on “the Work of His Grace in us, performing it, until the day of Jesus Christ.” I beg leave to assure you of my great, & unfeigned esteem, & most hearty prayers that God may abundantly bless you, & after long glorifying him on earth, crown you with everlasting glory.

I am, dear Sir,

Your affectionate and most obedient
humble servant, &c.

ANSWER TO MRS. MAITLAND’S LETTER.

May 12th 1763.

Dear Madam,

Both in the former & in the farther Thoughts on *Perfection*, I have said all I have to say on that head—nevertheless as you seem to desire it, I will add a few words more. As to *the word*, it is Scriptural. Therefore you, nor I, can in conscience object against it, unless we would send the Holy Ghost to school, & teach Him to speak, who made the tongue.

By *that word* I mean (as I have said again and again) "so loving God, & our neighbour, as to rejoice evermore, pray without ceasing, & in every thing give thanks." He that experiences this is scripturally perfect—& if you do not yet, you may experience it, you surely will if you follow hard after it, for the Scripture cannot be broken. What then does their arguing prove, who object against *Perfection*? "Absolute and Infallible *Perfection*" I never contended for it. *Sinless Perfection*? Neither do I contend for *this*, seeing the term is not Scriptural. A perfection that perfectly fulfils the whole law, & so needs not the merits of Christ? I acknowledge none such—I do now & always did, protest against it. "But is there not *sin* in those that are *perfect*?" I believe not; but be that as it may, they feel none, no temper but pure love,* while they rejoice pray & give thanks continually & whether sin is *suspended* or *extinguished*, I will not dispute, it is enough that they feel nothing but love. This you allow "we should daily press after" & this is all I contend for. O may God give you to taste of it, to-day!

I am, dear Madam,

Your very affectionate servant,

J. Westley

*Remark — what a contradiction is this! He *denies* sinless Perfection—but *believes* those who are *perfect* (according to this definition) have no *Sin*!

[Compare with Wesley's counsels to Mrs. Madan in the matter of her dress his criticism of Mrs. Osbaldeston's "going too far." (*Journal*, 22 June, 1784.) Can any member supply any account of this latter lady?]

WESTLEY HALL.

By the favour of its possessor, I have been permitted to examine and to use an original MS. of Westley Hall, which is in fact a chronicle of his career. Its foundation is a fairly orderly synopsis of his life, year by year. But in most cases the sentences are written with many ellipses, and often become little more than a series of separate words, of whose connection, and whether any connection at all, it is not easy to be sure. Names stand in isolated clusters, as *memoranda* well understood by the writer, of course, but the purpose of whose insertion in the page is now not

always even to be guessed at. Towards the end the chronicle becomes mere jottings. Moreover, Hall has gone over the MS., making interlineations and insertions, which may generally with fair confidence be interpreted in the light of the original entries.

The *Alumni Oxonienses* thus registers him. "Hall, Westley, s. Thomas, of Salisbury, Wilts, gent., Lincoln College, matric, 26 Jan., 1730-1, aged 20."¹ The question will naturally have arisen in the mind of many students of our *origins* whether Hall's christian name indicates any connection, close or remote, with one among the many "Westley" family stocks. The first entry accounts for the name, but it does not answer the question, unless the Lord Mayor's family had some remote relationship to the Dorsetshire Wesleys. Did they use the Wesley arms, or any variant of them, as the Cambridgeshire Wesleys did (*Proc.*, IV., 7, 167)? The MS. begins:

"1710. March 17th. Birth at Sarum, in New Street (correctly Dragon Street), of Margaret & Thomas Hall, the son of Francis Hall (clothier.) She was y^e daughter of Thomas Westley, Rector of Imber near Warminster. Her brother Sir Robert W— was Lord Mayor of London and knighted in 1744, her brother Thomas was Rector of Berkley near Frome in Somersetshire, and by him I was taught Latin and Greek having been under his care from my year to my I began at to learn the Hebrew without his knowledge." He also learned the flute, the fiddle, and dancing. He records the names of his teachers in these subjects, and those of his nurse Cooksey and her son, and that of his godmother. He continues: "17 The total eclipse of the Sun, when I read—the Prophet Joel by candlelight." And further down we read: "172 I was engaged in my Father's Bufinefs—on my cousin John Westley's marriage—and leaving it. in this I continued—till I went to Oxford & was matriculated."

He had already, in the phrase of the century, "commenced author;" beginning with a poem in a local paper. "172 The *Vinciad*—a poetical. Dream, celebrating Miss Vince and others, printed in Salisbury Journal by Boucher and—." Then again lower down: "173 I entered myself at Lincoln College Oxford (Comenfalís) Fellow commoner my first cousin John

1. Mr. E. Crawshaw has inserted in one of our circulating *MS. Journals* extracts from the minutes of the vestry-books of Islington parish church, in which Stonehouse, the rector, is reported to be intending to apply to the Bishop of London to license "John Westley Hall" to be his curate. (Minutes of 11 Sep., 25 Nov., 1739). Is this "John" only a blunder of the churchwardens?

Westley being there on one side & John Wesley my Tutor [and Charles; *written above*] on the other.¹ Dr. Jsham was Rector & always kind to me, & accepted my Prints of Raphael's Cartoons [when I left the College; *inserted*]. "173 · I parted with Mr. Morgan at Edgehill and he died in Jreland his brother Ric^d came to Lincoln College & married Miss Hall." A "clothier," it is hardly necessary to say, meant a manufacturer of fine woollen cloth, the production of which was a staple trade of the county, and has only within the last few months become extinct, in the closing of the last cloth-mill in Bradford-on-Avon. A note in our MS. throws light upon the social position of Hall and his father: "173 · My father died and left me Homington Manor;" as does a later note: "174 · My dear mother died and left me her house in Fisherton where my friends Ed. Baker, Westcot, Sydenham, Burrough, Io: Marsh and others fitted up a place for preaching." He was not a penniless suitor who came courting to Epworth.

We are on familiar ground when we read: "1735. Marriage with Martha the Daughter of Sam. Westley Rector of Epworth [7b 13 = p. 551 + 559 of G. Mag. = Duick; *inserted*] in Lincolnshire who died Ap. 25, 1735 & whose youngest D^r. Kezia— had carried on a correspondence + before—and lived with me together with her mother, and sister in 17 . . ." The notes of this year then become skeletonized and interlined, till it is difficult to weave out of them a clear and continuous story. But this specimen may be reproduced as it stands: "Mr. Chefelden— (Thos. Chubb's Lr to Sir Joseph Jekyll?) L^d Chancellor Hardwick [Lady; *written below*]—his Presentⁿ—of Rungton near Taunton say^s we will make you a Bishop—declined. [Nolo episcopari! *written later*]. At Combe,—Balmer's—my Wive's Mother lived with me there as before at Wootton, and afterwards in London—in Castle Street—Bloomsbury." Through the fragmentary and greatly abridged *notanda* we trace much early preaching in many London churches and at the Foundery, and we find Hall meeting "Spanenberg," Peter Boehler, and others well known to us. In 1740 we get a preaching visit to "New Castle with Tho. Keene & his Daughter in Law;" another to Gambold at Stanton Harcourt, who "addrest his Edition of (=Bengelius=)the Greek

1. The *Alumni* registers another "John Wesley" a little earlier than this time: "Wesley, John, son of John, of Oxford City, pleb. C.C. matric. 13 Mar. 1716-7, aged 17. B.A. 1720."

In N. & Q., 10th S., II, Nov. 26, 1904, enquiry was made by J. T. Page, West Haddon Rectory, Northants, without eliciting a reply, for information about John Wesley and Pasque Sharman, married there 12 May, 1794.

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Testament to me." Vaguely dated "174 ." are these interesting lines: "at Teddington with Mr. Belitha (=Paradise) and Dr. Hales with whom I resided—in 17 when I prepared Mr. Geo. Whitefield's writings for the Prefs—and here I wrote the Answer to to Bp. Gibson's Charge = I. Baptist = o Reed! [*later*] He—and Bp. Claget ordained me—at Whitehall and St. James his Chapel.

The Everlast^e Gospel was published in 17 The Conferences with the [Quakers and] Preachers [= Primitive X^y—in 17 ; *later*] of different denominations = G. W^d Seagrave, An Affectionate Address to Preachers in 17 ." Such fragments are a fair sample of much more.

The next extracts bring us to the terrible days of sin and shame which darken the story of Hall's middle life. The first is thus set out, the upper line being written later.

"1747 At London E.R. } in Oxford Street (= Arms)
with Mrs. Voutron—and her Daughter J —my wife and son Westley."
And next :

"At Salisbury +
at Holt E.R. = Margareta? at Bristol North's!
(in Gdiana !)
on St. Michael's Hill + at Coalford + ."

Henry Moore (*Life of W.*, i, 89) has identified for us the "Mr. H." and "E.R." of the strange entry in the *Journals*, 26 Nov., 1758. He is Westley Hall; she is "his chief favourite . . a remarkable woman." ("Negroes in Insurrection," says Hall's MS.)¹ The disjointed notes mention Barbados, Fort Island in Essequibo in Guiana, and "Demirari." He moves from island to island, apparently in company with the law officers and military men of the colony. And, what is more astonishing, on his return to England,—"*176 · England, Mr. J. Trent,*"—he seems at once to move in aristocratic and university society. "British Museum" occurs repeatedly, in company with notes suggestive of research there and literary work. He jots down too in a corner of the MS., "Newbery, Dodsley." Notwithstanding Henry Moore's express statement, Stevenson thought it uncertain whether Hall ever met his wife after his return to England. (*Wes. Fam.*, 373). Hall seems to confirm Moore. He says: "In London in Long Acre = wife," and beneath the last words writes "(at Sarum)," but any inference is very insecure from such dislocated jottings as are found at this point. It is difficult to believe, and yet difficult not to

1. Why does Moore say so distinctly "*not to Ireland, but to the West Indies?*" (ubi supra). In express contradiction,—one case of many,—to Adam Clarke's words (*Wesley Fam.*): "Not to the West Indies, but to Ireland."

believe, that for several years following his notes mean that he was taking clerical duty in town and country. For example: "At Long Acre and St. Peter's Cornhill, for Mr. Homington"; or this: "at Clerkenwell—[for?] Sellon"; or this: "White Chapel + Spring Gardens, Bedford C [hapel] and for Mr. Dod and for Mr. Berrow at St. Bennetts." Another memorandum is thus set out upon the page:

| | | | | |
|--------|-----------------|--------|---|-----------------|
| " 1767 | At Dodington | Curate | } | Hurton Church." |
| — 8 | | | | |
| — 9 | and Ford Castle | Rector | | |
| 1770 | | | | |

"Seaton Delaval" also and "Lord Grey of Wark" occur in such repeated and close association with these names that Hall was clearly in that neighbourhood for some time. At Dodington he is definitely said to be "preaching for Mr. Hall of . . ."

Once and again towards the end he counts up his children; "12 Sons and 6 Daughters—only 3 living 1774." And lastly we come to such signs of physical distress and approaching death as these: "Fevers"; "Dyspnœa"; "Gouty fit Feet"; "after Tooth-ache—and travell^e to Epworth;" if these last are to be run together in fact as they do in the line. He has throughout frequently made *memoranda* of family business transacted by him; he now sells Homington and Fisherton. "All the winter of 1773, season^e at Barbados"; his difficulty of breathing has driven him to the West Indies again. The last clearly dated entry is this: "1774. Castle Howard. Duncombe Park." We all know how John Wesley, under 2 Jan., 1776, speaks as hopefully as he can of his brother-in-law's end.

It may be worth while to add that Hall sets down "Mrs. Phoebe Wright and Cath. Macaulay," it would seem as amongst people he met in London in 1773. "Gibbs and Miss—" occur amongst other Barbados names in a list of "Acquaintance," and probably refer to the Philip Gibbs of Springhead, Barbados, and of Faikley, co. Gloucester, Baronet, (cr. 1774, ob. 1815) whose family Wesley met at Hilton Hall, with Blackwell's "cozen" Miss Freeman, 26 March, 1783.

Under "Connections" Hall thus jots down concerning an early Oxford Methodist: "Hutchins! † 1773 disordered in mind? Letter!" May we lay beside this for consideration,—first, a mere inserted word dated 1740, "^(Hutch) £1,800"; and then also this other in Wesley's *Journal*, 4 August, 1755, "my old friend H—s, now a beggar and forsaken of all?" They had been separated, Wesley says, "for sixteen years," which brings us back to 1739, and makes

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this last look like "Hutchins." At all events, the three bits of fact may lie together, awaiting connection, or distinction, or rejection, in the light of future knowledge. (Moreover, the possessor of the MS. tells me,—what I had not preserved in my memoranda—that the next following words are concerned with Thomas Broughton, the Oxford Methodist.")

H. J. FOSTER.

NOTE.—HUTCHINS, THE OXFORD METHODIST.—The Rev. T. McCullagh shows (*London Q. Rev.*, Jan., 1905, p. 145,) Tyerman to have gone astray on making the Rev. Dr. Richard Hutchins, Rector of Lincoln College from 1755 to 1781, to be the Hutchins with whom we are above concerned, and who was "J. Hutchins," (C. W., letter to Whitef., 10 Aug., 1739 *Journal*, 5 Jan., 1739, Moore, i, 474) and of Pembroke College. Tyerman is no doubt in error. Besides a special, though short article devoted to Dr. Richard H. (pp. 37 and 71) he says (p. 202, note). "Mr. Hutchins, one of the Oxford Methodists and afterwards doctor, and rector Lincoln College, was Hervey's tutor (*Gospel Magazine*, 1769, p. 12)." And his concluding words on p. 371, are definite. He only knows of one Methodist Hutchins, and believes him to be Richard. But the *Alumni Oxonienses* notes two "Richard Hutchins," and one "John," who is plainly our man, though the name is spelt with a variation. (Cf. on this point, J. W.'s *Journal* "Hutchins," 1 Jan., 1739, the Fetter-Lane Watch-night, and "Hutchings," 28 April, 1745, at Oldfield Brow, near Altrincham. These are separately indexed. Are they different persons?). "Hutchings, John, s. Richard, of Woolminster, Somerset, pleb., Pembroke Coll., matric. 30 May, 1734, aged 18; B.A., 3 Feb., 1737-8." Rector Hutchins appears thus: "Richard, s. John, of Eydon, Northants, cler. All Souls' Coll., matric. 12 July, 1716, aged 18, B.A., 1720; Lincoln College, M.A. 16 Jan., 1728, B.D. 1734, D.D. 1747, and rector 1755-81; rector of Culworth, Northants, 1765 until his death 1781." If Tyerman's reference to the *Gospel Magazine*, which I have no opportunity of verifying, supports his statement that this Richard Hutchins was James Hervey's tutor, then this, coupled with the fact that he was at Lincoln early enough to make him acquainted at close hand with the Holy Club and their doings, renders some degree of sympathy on his part with the Movement a possibility. (The other "R. Hutchins," of Corpus, need not be taken into account.) The watcher for clues will in that case ask whether the Rector of Lincoln may be referred to by Wesley, under 9 March, 1761: "In the afternoon I rode on to Oxford, and spent an agreeable evening with Mr. H. His openness and frankness of behaviour were both pleasing and profitable. Such conversation I want: But I do not wonder it is offensive to men of nice ears." Perhaps the "Mr." is fatal to the suggestion.

[Another "Mr. H." wants identifying; in C. Wesley's *Journal*, 22 Sep., 1756.]

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

VOLUME III — (CONTINUED).

Lord Cardinal,
P. 443, If thou hast any hope of Heaven's grace,
Oct. 3, 1771. Give us a sign. He dies, and makes no sign.
This is almost a travesty of Shakespeare's words, *2 Hen. vi*, III, iii,
27-29.

“ Lord Cardinal, if thou think'st on Heaven's bliss,
Hold up thy hand, make signal of thy hope ;
He dies, and makes no sign.”

C. W. in one of his hymns on “ Preparation for Death,” has the line
“ And hopeless die—*without a sign*,” evidently in allusion to this Shakes-
pearian passage. See *O.*, vii, p. 399.

This “ bad Cardinal ” was Cardinal Beaufort, bishop of Winchester, and
interred in the Cathedral. He was charged, apparently on good grounds,
with the murder of his rival, Gloucester. Hence the epithet. “ His death-
bed scene has been painted in immortal colours by Shakespeare, but the
imagination of the poet has supplied the darkest features in the picture.”

His *mind* has not yet lost
P. 450, All its original brightness, but appears
Dec. 8, 1771. Majestic, though in ruins.

A curious blending of two Miltonic passages, with intentional alteration.
In *P.L.*, I, 591-3, it is said of Satan :

“ His form had yet not lost
All her original brightness nor appeared
Less than archangel ruined.”

And in *P.L.*, II, 305, the aspect of Satan is described as “ majestic,
though in ruin.”

The first passage occurs more at length in *Serm. lxxii, Of Evil Angels*
(*Works*, VI, 372) but again in exactly quoted.

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P. 451, Behold, what frailty we in man may see !
Dec. 30, 1771. His shadow is less given to change than he.
[Source wanted.]

P. 461, Leave off thy reflections, and give us thy tale.
Ap. 28, 1772. [Source wanted.]

J. W. had no patience with prolixity. "Brevity," with him, was "the soul of wit." His motto was "Brevis esse laboro," without the "obscurus fio." Nevertheless his condemnation of Robertson's *Dissertation* seems hasty and superficial in the light of more careful criticism. Chambers' *Cyclop. of Engl. Lit.* (1902) says: "His *History of the Reign of Charles V.* is undoubtedly his masterpiece. The prefixed *View of the State of Society in Europe*, &c., impressed Hallam, and amazed Carlyle, by its sagaciousness and broad generalisation: and in virtue of it Cotter Morison affirmed that Robertson had a wider and more synthetic conception of history than either Hume or Gibbon."

VOLUME IV.

P. 29, Soft fell the word, as flew the air.—Prior.
Oct. 9, 1774. See note, III, 433.

P. 45, The nymph did like the scene appear, &c.
May 22, 1775. See preceding note.

P. 49, She sat, like Patience on a monument,
June 17, 1775. Smiling at grief.—Shakespeare, *Twelfth Night*, II, 4, 116.

P. 50, Man was not born in shades to lie.—Rekurs
Aug. 27, 1775. IV, 471.
[Author wanted.]

Ib. Death sings a requiem to the parting soul.
Unless this line can be traced to any English author, I would suggest a possible reminiscence of Shakespeare, *Hamlet*, V, i, 258-260: "We should profane the service of the dead, to sing a requiem, and such rest to her as to peace-parted souls." But it seems hardly likely that J. W. should construct a metrical line of his own out of this.

Is it taken from some author who had Shakespeare's lines in mind?

P. 68, Heaven its choicest gold by torture tried.
Feb. 28, 1776. Altered from Pope's *Epitaph on Mrs. Corbet*, who, like Mrs. Rowe, died of cancer.

For the correct reading of the line see note II, 406, where the whole epitaph is given.

P. 90, "Full as good a poet"; said by J. W. of Mason,
Dec. 5, 1776. as compared with Gray.

An instance of the difficulty of judging of contemporary literature. The author of *The Age of Johnson*, who says of Gray that he "entered the noble ranks of the English poets," and that he "was a scholar-poet like Spenser, like Milton, and like Tennyson, and, in elaborating his work as he wrote, he seems to have far surpassed them all," speaks shortly after of the "pseudo-poetical career" of his friend William Mason, and passes by his Tragedies as negligible. The *Elegy* is immortal; but who now reads *Ehrida* or *Caractacus*?

[Gray wrote of Mason: "One of much fancy, little judgment, and a good deal of modesty,—a good well-meaning creature, but in simplicity a perfect child; a little vain, but in so harmless a way that it does not offend. . ." "Not content with his fame as a poet, he desired to shine in the sister arts of music and painting, and composed a *Te Deum* of not much account, whilst as a limner he never reached even mediocrity." Gray is certainly "not much inferior to Pope," who could write "low-born Allen" of his friend and host at Bath.]

P. 99, Teach her, at once, and learn of her, to die.
May 28, 1777.

Altered from Pope, *Eloisa to Abelard*, a poem which, from the frequent allusions to it in the Wesleyan Hymn Book, was evidently very familiar to both J. and C. W., and was probably learned by heart by them in their younger days. Eloisa says to Abelard:—

"Thou, Abelard, the last sad office pay,
And smooth my passage to the realms of day;
See my lips tremble, and my eyeballs roll,
Suck my last breath, and catch my flying soul!
Ah, no—in sacred vestments mayst thou stand,
The hallowed taper trembling in thy hand,
Present the cross before my lifted eye,
Teach me, at once, and learn of me, to die."

P. 115, He is, indeed (what I doubt Secretary Craggs
Feb. 2, 1778. never was)
'Statesman, yet friend to truth.'

The allusion is to Pope's epitaph *On Jas. Craggs, Esq.*, in Westminster Abbey, preceded by a Latin inscription:—

"Statesman, yet friend to truth! of soul sincere,
In action faithful, and in honour clear!
Who broke no promise, served no private end,
Who gained no title, and who lost no friend;
Ennobled by himself, by all approved,
Praised, wept, and honoured by the muse he loved."

This epitaph forms the close of Epistle VII. Moral Essays. "To Mr. Addison."

There seems to be ground for J. W.'s doubt as to Craggs' moral character. Elwin, in his notes on Pope's lines (*Essay on Man*, IV, 105-6)

"Tell me, if virtue made the son expire,
Why, full of days and honours, lives the sire?"

says: "Virtue had certainly no share in his death; for he was licentious in private life, and in his public capacity accepted a bribe from the South Sea

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Directors." Elwin and Courthope's *Pope*, II, p. 436. His death alone saved him from an investigation into this last charge.—Green, IV, 183.

Who are the "two honestest men in the kingdom", who serve King George?

P. 133, Must I then leave thee, Paradise? then leave
 Aug 1, 1778. These happy shades, and mansions fit for
 Gods!

—Altered from Milton, *P.L.*, xi, 269.

See note, II, 511.

P. 139, All but their attention dead.
 Oct. 16, 1778. —Rekurs, IV, 361.
 [Author wanted.]

P. 149, Majestic, though in ruins. —Milton, *P.L.*, II,
 Ap. 22, 1779. 305 (altered).
 See note, III, 450.

P. 158, Love, like death, makes all distinctions void.
 July 5, 1779. —Prior's *Solomon*, III, 242.

"Or grant thy passion has these names destroyed,
 That love, like death, makes all distinctions void."

Prior himself may have been imitating Waller:

"Love, strong as Death, and like it levels all."

—*Divine Love*, Canto V.

C. W. utilizes this couplet of Prior's in his hymn on *The Communion of Saints*, 518, 10 (1875):

"Love, like Death, hath all destroyed,
 Rendered all distinctions void."

The primitive "Agape" or Love-feast was "a Christian feast, at which all distinctions of earthly rank and condition disappeared."

—Taylor's *Hippolytus* (1853) p. 194.

On Prior, see notes, III, 433, 437.

P. 187, All was still as "summer's noontide air."
 July 28, 1780. [Reference not traced.]

IV, 209. So firm, yet soft, so strong, yet so resigned.
 From Pope's *Epitaph on Mrs. Corbet*, for which see
 note on II, 406, where the last two couplets are quoted by J.W.

P. 210. 'The fortune of Certiz' or 'chance' did thus
 and thus.

"Certiz" must be a slip or misprint for Cortés (Robertson has Cortes, without accent).

One of the passages J.W. had in mind may be this:—"Though the good fortune of Cortes interposed so seasonably on this occasion, &c." vol. II, p. 253 (7th ed., 1796).

P. 246, And must he leave this paradise, &c.?
 May 3, 1783.

Altered from *P.L.* xi, 269. Also IV, 133, and see the
 note II, 511.

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P. 340, A heap of dust is all remains of thee, &c.—
 July 4, 1786. From Pope, *Elegy to the Memory of an Unfortunate Lady*.

See note II, 217.

P. 352, So does 'the earth drop its inhabitants, as the
 Oct. 13, 1786. tree its leaves.'

This seems to be a quotation from some author, who may have had in his mind the well-known lines of Hom., *Il.*, vi, 146:

οἷη περ φύλλων γενεή, τοιῆδε καὶ ἀνδρῶν.

"Like leaves on trees the race of man is found."—Pope.

P. 359, For when had youth the leisure to be
 Feb. 18, 1787. wise?

Sam. Wesley, Jun., *Battle of the Sexes*, stanza xi, where Wisdom, the warrior, is thus described:—

"Calm, without fear, and fervent without rage,

In action quick, and wary to advise,

He seemed advanced to more than middle age,

For when had youth the leisure to be wise?"

—*Poems* (1743), p. 25. Cf. Matthew Arnold, *Obermann*:—

"What shelter to grow ripe is ours?

What leisure to be wise!"

—*Poet. Works*, 1898, p. 328.

It is remarkable that when J. W. quotes, as he so often does, from the poems of his two brothers, and, as he now and then does, from his father's verse, he does not mention their names, except in a very few cases that of C. W. For John W.'s estimate of his brother's poetical powers, see 15 Dec., 1775; 8 Dec., 1788; 28 Dec., 1789 (Garrick's opinion; C. W. compared with Thomson;) and *Obituary* in *Minutes*, 1788, ("his least praise was his talent for poetry.")

P. 361. All but their attention, dead.
 Repeated from IV, 139.

P. 364, So 'winning soft, so amiably mild.'
 March 23, 1789.

Adapted to Wesley's purpose from *Paradise Lost*, IV, 479. [A.H.V.]

"Less winning soft, less amiably mild." Said by Eve to Adam, of her first sight of him.

P. 369, I opened and applied that glorious text: 'The
 April 22, 1787. help that is done upon earth, he doeth it Himself.' Is it not strange that this text, Psalm lxxiv, 12, is vanished out of the new translation of the Psalms?

So in the entry for Sept. 14, 1785 (IV, 320): "I preached in the evening . . . on Ps. lxxiv, 12. In the old translation it runs, 'The help that is done upon the earth, God doeth it Himself.' [Incorrectly quoted.] A glorious and important truth! In the new, 'Working salvation in the midst

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of the earth.' What a wonderful emendation! Many such emendations there are in this translation. One would think King James had made them himself."

But the Hebrew, the Septuagint, and the Vulgate, all show that the A.V. rendering (kept in the R.V.) is the only correct one. Wesley's knowledge of Hebrew, as he himself admits, was not profound. (*Works*, xiv, p. 251.)

The curious history of the P.B.V. error, sanctioned even by Luther, was given me by the late Dr. Moulton a few years ago. I inserted it in the Wesley Historical *MS. Journal*. I may add that the false reading is embodied in one of C.W.'s hymns, 270, 3 (1875):

"The help which upon earth is wrought,
Thou dost it all alone."

P. 372, The river 'rolled its sinuous train.'

May 4, 1787. —At vol. III, 404, we had:

The smooth clear river drew its sinuous chain.

Reference not discovered; [unless both are variants, or merely reminiscences, of Milton, *P.L.*, vii, 305-6:

"Where rivers now

Stream, and perpetual draw their humid train."

The position of the quotation marks in the line, as printed by Jackson, is to be noted.—H.J.F.]

P. 383, The verdurous wall of Paradise upsprings.

June 14, 1787.

Altered from Milton, *P.L.*, iv, 143, where the verb is in the past tense.

P. 389, Vital spark of heavenly flame.

July 27, 1787.

The first line of Pope's well-known Ode, entitled *The Dying Christian to his Soul*, on the model of *Adriani Morientis ad Animam*. Hadrian's first line is

"Animula vagula, blandula."

Other imitations are extant, by Fontenelle, Prior, and Byron. An earlier version by Pope, as given in Elwin and Courthope, VI, p. 187, was inferior to this. Pope's Ode is no. 694 in Lady Huntingdon's *Hy. Bk.* of 1865, but does not appear in the Bath edition of 1774 (?). Possibly it was in some one of the various Methodist hymnals in use before 1780. [It appears (later) in *Sacred Harmony*.—R.G.]

J. W. alludes to Hadrian's lines thrice in his Sermons. See *Works*, VI, 358; VII, 259; VIII, 196. In each of them he quotes Prior's version, and in the first case he supplies the Latin.

P. 430, So fleets the comedy of life away.

July 5, 1788.

Altered from Watts' *Casimiri Epig.*, 100. "On Saint Ardalion," a martyr, and a *quondam* stage player. The last stanza reads:

"So goes the Comedy of Life away;
Vain Earth, adieu! Heaven will applaud to-day;
Strike, courteous Tyrant, and conclude the Play."

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P. 443, How well is thine: How long permit to
Jan. 1, 1789. Heaven.

Altered from Milton, *P. L.*, xi, 554:

“Nor love thy life, nor hate; but what thou liv’st,
Live well; how long or short permit to Heaven.”

Cf. Baxter’s well-known hymn: “Lord, it belongs not to *my* care, &c.” Pope has an echo of this at the end of the *Prologue* to the *Satires*:—

“Thus far was right; the rest belongs to Heaven.”

P. 471, Man was not born in shades to lie.
Sept. 11, 1789.

Repeated from iv, 58. [Author wanted.]

P. 477, To make vice pleasing, and damnation
Dec. 28, 1789. shine.

Altered from Sam. Wesley, Senior, *Epistle to a Friend concerning Poetry*. He there says of Dryden, alluding to the Last Day:

“How will he wish each lewd applauded line
Which makes vice pleasing and damnation shine,
Had been as dull as honest Quarles’, or mine!”

—See Stevenson’s *Wesley Family*, p. 78.

Quarles, on the whole, was much less “dull” than Sam. Wesley, who actually had, originally, a niche in a “surreptitious” edition of the *Dunciad*, that great Epic of Dulness. See his *Life*, by Tyerman, p. 161; also Elwin and Courthope’s *Pope*, IV, p. 319, where the edition given is that of 1728. On the same page we find, “Dunton describes Wesley’s *Life of Christ* as intolerably dull. Even his son, S. W., Junr., gives him ‘faint praise’:

“With Vida’s piety, but not his fire.”

Quarles retains *his* place in the *Dunciad*, Bk. I, v. 140: “And Quarles is saved by Beauties not his own.”

P. 480, Earth and heaven destroyed,
Mar. 3, 1790. Nor left even one in [all?] the mighty void.

Altered from Young, *The Last Day*, Bk. 1, 67-68:

“Time shall be slain, all nature be destroyed,
Nor leave an atom in the mighty void.”

J. W.’s quotation might seem to indicate a failure of memory natural to his advanced age (87 nearly), but there is more probably something of that corruption of the text in the last printed *Journals*, to which the Editor alludes, IV, 339.

This fine poem of Young’s was evidently very familiar to both the Wesleys, and echoes of it or quotations from it occur frequently in their writings. It is from one of its most forcible, even harrowing passages, that J. W. quotes in one of his Sermons the awful couplet, as the fruitless prayer of a damned soul:—

“When I have raved ten thousand years in fire,
Ten thousand thousand, let me then expire!”

C. W. again has in mind the couplet quoted in this entry, when he writes:—

“Yet still the Lord, the Saviour reigns,
When nature is destroyed,
And no created thing remains
Throughout the flaming void.”

—Hy. 64, 5. (1875).

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P. 490, The weary springs of life stand still at
June 28, 1790. last.

Altered from Dryden, *Oedipus*, IV, 1 :

“Till, like a clock worn out with eating time,
The wheels of weary life at last stood still.”

Cf. Punshon's line in Hy. 961, 5 (1875 Bk.) :

“When all the weary wheels stand still.”

The alteration of “wheels” to “springs” was perhaps due to a reminiscence of Watts, Hy. 664, 7 (1830 Bk.), where in a similar metaphor both “wheels” and “spring” go together.

P. 497, Papa, if you are hungry, do not eat your own
Oct. 7, 1790. arm, but mine.

A loose quotation of Dante, *Inferno*, XXXIII, 61-2 :

“Padre assai ci fia men doglia,

Se tu mangi di noi.”

“Father, we should grieve

Far less if thou would'st eat of us.”—Cary.

The passage is a *locus classicus*.

This appears to be the only reference to Dante's *Work* in J.W.'s *Journal*. I do not remember it as mentioned or quoted from in any other of his writings. His knowledge both of Italian and Spanish was probably very slight. In his allusions to Ariosto and Tasso at vol. IV, 266, we are not to suppose him to be judging from the originals, but only from Hoole's *Translations*: that of Tasso pub. 1763, and that of Ariosto 1773-83. The date of the entry is 1784.

P. 497, Here is no gay account of the Islands of
Oct. 13, 1790. Pelew, or Lapita, but a plain relation of
 matter of fact.

“Lapita” must be a slip or a misprint for “Laputa,” the flying Island in *Gulliver's Travels*. For the Pelew Islands, see XIII, 411-13; XIV, 294.

C. LAWRENCE FORD.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

315. QUOTATION FOUND.—(Ford's List: *Proc.*, V, 4, 119; 5 Sep., 1769. "The last faint effort of an expiring muse.")

John W., writing to Charles, Manchester, 6 April, 1786, (*Works*, xii, 141,) says: "Where is your Elegy [upon Fletcher]? You may say, as my father in his verses on Mr. Nelson,—

'Let friendship's sacred name excuse
The last effort of an expiring muse.'"—*F.*

This was Rev. Robert Nelson (1856-1714) a Nonjuror, but received back into the Established Church in 1710. Teale's *Life of English Laymen* includes his biography, with those of Lord Falkland and Izaak Walton. (London, James Burns, 1842). In the *Appendix* Samuel Wesley's *Elegy* is given *in extenso*, and the four last lines contain the reference wanted:—

"Let friendship's sacred name at least excuse
This last *effort* of a *retiring* muse;
For Nelson oft she strung her humble lyre,
And on his tomb may decently *expire*."

Here, as so often, J.W.'s memory is at fault. The transference of accent in "effort", without which the line cannot be scanned, will be noticed, and for this older practice see Abbot's *Shakespearean Grammar*, p. 378. (1894). The H.E.D. gives 2 or 3 instances in the case of this very word.—*C.L.F.*

316. WILLIAM B—R (26 Oct., 1786; N. and Q., 308)—This name is "Barker," as was shown at the above reference. If this is William Barker, an itinerant, traceable through the *Minutes* from 1769 to 1780, when he desisted from travelling for want of health, a sufficient reason is found for Wesley's interest in the death and for its record in the *Journal*.—*F.*