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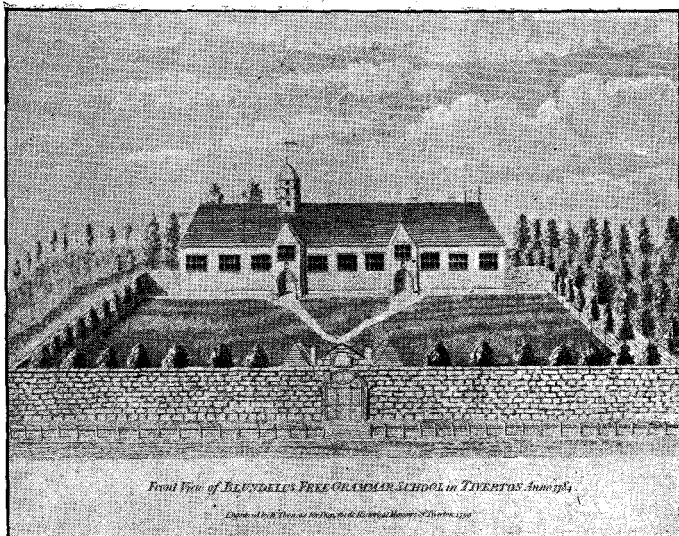
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OLD BLUNDELL'S SCHOOL, TIVERTON, 1784.

From the print in Dunsford's "Tiverton," 1790. Hogarth's Ticket (for the School Feast, 1740, shows the same main buildings, and the chimneys of the Headmaster's house behind. In 1880, when the school was removed to new premises, a mile from the town, this old building was converted into five dwelling houses, leaving the front elevation almost untouched, and much as it appeared in the days of Bishop Bull and the Wesleys.

SAMUEL WESLEY, JUNIOR. AND
HIS CIRCLE. 1690-1739.

(Concluded from page 129).

V.

THE WESLEY BROTHERS: OXFORD 'DEISTS':
BLUNDELL'S SCHOOL.

During his last three years at Westminster, the thoughts of Samuel Wesley often turned to Oxford, whither his brother John had returned from his brief curacy at Epworth and Wroote (1729) to resume his office of Greek Lecturer and other work at Lincoln College, and to lead the Methodist movement commenced by his brother Charles. One of Samuel's letters to John relating to the Holy Club and its work among the poor and the prisoners in the Castle is characteristically frank :

I cannot say I thought you in everything right ; but I must now say, Rather than you and Charles should give over your whole course, especially in what relates to the Castle, I would choose to follow either of you, nay, both of you, to your graves. I cannot advise you better than in the words I proposed for a motto to a pamphlet, "Stand thou steadfast as a beaten anvil, for it is the part of a good champion to be flayed alive and to conquer."

Another letter of 1730 reveals his concern for his brother John's health, and contains a prophetic sentence :

Your last letter affected me much. I find . . . that you are not yet in a consumption, though there is apprehension and danger of your being so. Your life is of benefit and consequence to the world, and I would therefore willingly for the sake of others draw out your days to their utmost date As to any faults I have to tell you of, I think you know already all I say and all I think too upon that subject. The main is what I have often repeated—your soul is too great for your body ; your watching and intention of thought for a long time, your speaking often and long when wearied—in short, your spirit, though in a better sense than Dryden meant it, "o'er-informs its tenement of clay."

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Samuel Wesley was distressed to hear that the mode of thought known as Deism was becoming prevalent in the University and—as *Fog's Journal*, July 24th, announced—that one of the principal colleges had been 'infested with Deists,' three 'Deistical students expelled,' and a fourth subjected to lesser penalties.¹ This had followed the Vice-Chancellor's declaration against 'ill-designing persons who have not only entertained wicked and blasphemous notions, contrary to the truth of the Christian religion, but have endeavoured to instil the same ill-principle into others.' The Dean of Christ Church, Dr. Wm. Bradshaw, refused to allow this to be exhibited in his hall!² Matthew Tindal, who had been a student at Lincoln and Exeter Colleges, and was a Fellow of All Souls, seems to have been regarded by friend and foe alike as the chief exponent of Deism on its positive or constructive side. He published his *Christianity as old as the Creation* in 1730. But the most extraordinary controversial excitement arose over the six *Discourses on the Miracles of our Saviour in view of the Present Controversy between Infidels and Apostates (1727-8-9)*.³ It proceeded from what Leslie Stephen calls "the ricketty brain" of Thomas Woolston, Fellow of Sidney College, Cambridge. Woolston can hardly be classed with the 'Deists.' From his standpoint the 'Infidel' was Collins, the pioneer of the 'Free Thinkers,' and the 'Apostate' the Church of England, 'which had left the good old paths of allegory to become slaves to the letter.' To put his theory in his own words, 'The history of Jesus's life as recorded in the evangelists is an emblematical representation of his spiritual life in the soul of man, and his miracles are figures of his mystical operations. The four gospels are in no part a literal story, but a system of Mystical Philosophy of Theology.'⁴ Thirty thousand copies of this were quickly sold. It was in much request at Oxford. The authorities instituted a search, and a copy being found in the writing desk of Robert Jennens, of Trinity College, together with two dangerous letters by Nicholas Stevens, M.A., Fellow of Trinity Coll., the latter was expelled from the

1. It is curious to find that one penalty imposed on a student who escaped expulsion was "the translation of Leslie's Short and Easy method with the Deists." John Wesley abridged Leslie's work and included it in his *Preservative against unsettled notions in Religion*. But some of Wesley's omissions are very significant.

2. Hearne was annoyed that he was unable to obtain a copy of this (*Reliquiæ Hearnianæ* III., p. 14). Dr. Whitehead was more successful in 1793 and gives it in his *Life of Charles Wesley* I., p. 101.

3 and 4. Woolston's (first) *Discourse*, 1727, p. 63.

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University, and Samuel Wesley tells us that Stevens' 'unhappy friend sent himself out of this world by his own hands, to learn the truth of a future state.'

On all this Wesley wrote a quarto pamphlet, entitled :—

Two letters from a Deist to his friend concerning the truth and Propagation of Deism in opposition to Christianity.

John iii., 19. *This is the condemnation, &c.*

London. Printed for James Roberts, in Warwick Lane, 1730.

Hearne, in his note on Samuel Wesley, already quoted, says 'it is he that published Nich. Stevens', late of Trin. Coll., two deistical letters with remarks on them—Lon., 1730.' This is confirmed by an annotated copy of the pamphlet which Dr. Augustin Leger found in the Bodleian Library, and carefully transcribed for the *Appendix* to the first of his treatises on *L'Angleterre Religieuse et les origines du Méthodisme au XVIII. siècle. La jeunesse de Wesley*, 1910. (Hachette and Co., Paris).

The obvious insincerity of Stevens made it easy for Wesley, as he expresses it, 'to pull off the mask and present a Deist speaking in his own sentiments.'⁵ One sentence from Stevens' second letter must suffice: 'The way to convince a prejudiced man is not to let him know your own sentiments, but draw him in first, before he knows where he is, till 'tis too late for him to step back.' He says he had thus 'converted to Deism' a man too much given 'to his bottle and hounds who owned that he drank for fear of thinking.' This was Henry Dodwell, elder son of the learned Nonjuror. He 'was bred a barrister and became sceptical in his opinions,' and at a later date wrote pamphlets in which he describes himself as 'A Christian Freethinker.'⁶ Samuel Wesley confuted Stevens with relentless logic and sarcasm. It is doubtful if Christianity gained much by this. But more effective influences were at work. His mother was commending

5. In regard to himself, lest he should be 'drawn into a scrape,' Stevens asks Jennens to be so cautious of revealing my sentiments of Christianity as not to discover them to any man whatsoever that is a Christian.' Dr. Leger, pp. 38, 39.

6. For a recent account of Henry Dodwell, see Prof. J. B. Bury's *History of Freedom of Thought*, pp. 147-8. "In order to avoid persecution they generally veiled their conclusions under sufficiently thin disguises," says Prof. Bury of some of the Deists, and this Samuel Wesley saw in dealing with Stevens' letters. Darling's *Cyclopaedia Bibliographica* col. 939. Bampton Lecture 862: *Critical History of Free Thought*, by Adam Storey Farrar. *Note*, pp. 201-202. Hearne has an interesting page on this Henry Dodwell, Jun., many on his father the Nonjuror, and one on his younger brother who became Dr. William Dodwell, an orthodox and learned divine, and a critic of Whiston and Middleton. On John Wesley and Dodwell, see p. 153

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Pascal's saying, 'The heart has its reasons, which reason knows not'; his brother John was reading the first edition of Law's *Serious call to a holy life* (1729); Charles was forming the much-derided Holy Club, and a spiritual movement was commencing with a dynamic greater than the clever, satirical, and most orthodox pamphlets of which Samuel Wesley wrote one, and that not one of the best.

Wesley appears to have accepted the Headmastership of Blundell's School in 1733 and entered on his duties there early in 1734. His verses and letters show that he felt his removal from historic Westminster very keenly. The school at Tiverton was founded in 1604 by Peter Blundell, a merchant clothier, and linked with the Universities by six scholarships for Balliol College, Oxford, and Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge. Wesley must have felt interested in the fact that his favourite divine, Bishop Bull, whose name appears in his correspondence with his brother John on the subject of the Witness of the Spirit, was a Blundellian. From the school-days of Bishop Bull to Archbishop Temple and Dean W. Farquhar Hook in our own day the school has had a fair list of distinguished names on its register. Among them is R. D. Blackmore who, in his *Lorna Doone*, has painted vividly the old life of Blundell's in the latter part of the seventeenth century. Frederick John Snell, M.A., the modern historian of Tiverton (Twyford of olden time) went as a Blundell's Scholar to Balliol College, and his volume throws much light on the condition of the town and school when Samuel Wesley was headmaster.

The town had been a famous centre of the woollen industry and the home of enterprising merchants from the 16th Century onwards. It was the scene of many destructive fires, of which the *Wofyll News* is told in the chapbooks, but the school escaped destruction.⁷ Wesley would be interested in the tradition that many of the timbers in the dining hall were from the wreck of the Spanish Armada. In that Hall the Headmaster's boarders took their meals. According to Blundell's deed the Master had the use of the buildings 'and yearly for ever fiftie pounds.' The Usher had to be content with 'one chamber to himself only in the saide buildings.' The draft

7. Martin Dunsford, the first historian of Tiverton, wrote in 1790 'few alterations have taken place since these buildings were first erected.' In 1880 the school was removed to Horsdon, one mile from the town, and the old premises were converted into the present dwelling-houses. The front elevation remains almost untouched. (*Snell's Chronicles of Twyford, 1892*).

of a letter in Samuel Wesley's handwriting, shows that he did not consider the antiquity of his dwelling a compensation for holes in his 'study windows' and 'a hundred other things.'⁸ About the time he became headmaster the financial position of the school trust was improved by the receipt of some accumulated interest on an investment and other dues, and during his first year, as Lord Oxford observed in his letter, forty new scholars were received, so that improvement in Wesley's residence became possible. Stevenson says that 'during the seven years he was at Tiverton he was nearly idolised,' and implies that he introduced the entertainments for which Hogarth engraved cards of admission, of which two copies may be seen in the present register. But the first Blundell celebration was held in 1725, and there is doubt as to the date of Hogarth's *Ticket of Admission to the School Feast*.⁹

There is one characteristic reference to Wesley's Usher in his letter to his brother Charles (Jackson's *Life of C.W.I.* p. 111) dated Nov. 16, 1737.

Mr. Greenway, my Usher, who bore evidence against a young man who was going into orders, for two small faults, Arianism and treason, is to have his final hearing on Wednesday next; and if I am able I shall not fail to go along with him, to keep him in countenance.

Another passage in the same letter shows that the Headmaster, in spite of his opposition to Dissenters, was not on bad terms with a local Presbyterian, while he was severe towards what he regarded as heresy in a bishop of his own church.

I have read Law against (Bishop Hoadly) *Plain Account (of the Lord's Supper)* borrowing it of my neighbour, Mr. Pyke, the Presbyterian Teacher.¹⁰ I think it *an excellent book*. I have seen Hoadly demonstrated before into a Deist, pretty plainly; but I never saw him so plainly proved an Atheist.

It is strange that Wesley does not refer to the current of mysticism which was beginning to appear in Law's writings, and gleams in some suggestive passages in the book he pronounces

8. See this letter, and some notes on p. 154.

9. Snell's *Chronicles of Twyford*, pp. 215-6. The Celebration, School Feast, and revivals of 'Old Boys' Day.' At the celebration of 1728 the sermon was preached by the Rev. John Jones, Wesley's predecessor in the Headmastership.

10. Probably of the Pitt Meeting House, on the East bank of the Exe, founded by the Rev. Richd. Saunders, M.A., one of the ejected Puritan clergy of 1662. A well-written *History of the Baptist Church in Tiverton, 1607-1907* by Rev. H. B. Case, (Gregory, Tiverton) throws light on the condition of Nonconformity in Samuel Wesley's day.

'excellent,' for his poem on the death of William Morgan (1732) reveals his antipathy to

enthusiast dreams ;
Whims of Molinos, lost in rapture's mist,
Or Quaker, late reforming Quietist.¹¹

William Law writes on immediate and personal 'divine communications and impressions' as essential to the life of the soul. 'To turn men from faith love and desire of these divine impressions, is to lay the axe to the root of religion, and is as direct a way to *Atheism* as to teach him . . . that God is afar off. For a God *without* any communications and impressions upon us, and a God afar off are equally atheistical tenets.'¹²

During his Headmastership at Blundell's School, Samuel Wesley manifested much interest in the new colony of Georgia, of which his friend, General Oglethorpe, was the first Governor. He subscribed to the mission of the S.P.G., was appointed at his own desire by the Georgia Trustees to collect money for the enterprise, presented 'a pewter chalice and patine for present use in Georgia until silver ones are had,' and received the silver ones 'for the use of the first church in Savannah' in 1733, sending them out in the ships *Volente* and *Susannah*. Dr. Whitehead says that Samuel consented that John should go to Georgia as a missionary in 1735, but vehemently opposed the design by Charles to accompany him. This is confirmed by the draft of an unpublished letter in Samuel's handwriting in Mr. G. Stampe's collection :

Oct. 11, 1735.

DEAR CHARLES,

Your desire has power to make me write, though I am sure it is vanity of vanities, nay, and I may add, vexation of spirit.

I know you was not [in your own power, else your common sense, if not love to me would have inclined you to stay for my advice when you had once asked for it. I would not therefore send my reasons and enter into an idle dispute ; for I saw that I could no more prevail on you to stay than the Sirens could Ulysses when he himself was tied to the mast,

11. *Poems on Several Occasions*, 1736, and *Standard Journal* I., p. 105.

12. Law's 'Demonstration of the Gross and Fundamental Errors of a late book called *A Plain Account . . . of the Lord's Supper . . . wherein the Pretences of the Deists for a religion of Natural Reason instead of it, are examined*, 4th edn. 1769, p. 288. In spite of its controversial trend, this book contains some of Law's most beautiful passages on the possible immediacy of Divine communications.

and all about him had their ears stopp'd. An^d apposite simile, since everything I can say is but as one of their songs in your opinions calculated only to promote your destruction.

I heartily hope you bely my Brother when you say he would not have gone without you. Was that his zeal or his apostleship? Did it depend on a younger brother's resolution? Did St. Paul cease labouring when St. Barnabas left him? Did even the latter do it when parted from his superior? But I think the edge of these questions may fairly be taken off. Jack knew his strength and used it. His will was strong enough to bend you to go, tho' not me to consent. I freely own 'twas the will of Jack, but am not yet convinced 'twas the will of God, except in such a sense as is included in Spenser's question,

Is not his deed, whatever thing is done
In heav'n or earth?¹⁸

. . . . By being renewed in the image of God, if you mean growing still better, 'tis sense and piety; but if you hint at your not being now in a state of salvation, I should fear you are distracted.

I perceive I have embittered your cup, but what should I have done? Should I have told a lie, and pretended to approve a thing which I disapprove almost in every circumstance? Had I said nothing at all, that would have been as bad or worse!

Ah! what can change of place avail!
Care will not be forgot or lost,
'Twill reach us though we're under sail
And find us on another coast.

We heartily pray God to bless you both, and desire the continuance of your prayers. I should like some account of your progress if Jack or you have any leisure.

Samuel's affectionate and critical letters to his brothers in Georgia may be found in the early biographies and in the journals of his brothers.

Charles Wesley records his joyful visit to Tiverton (March 2, 1737) on his return from Frederica. 'In the morning reached Tiverton. I ran upstairs to my sister who received me with tears of joy. I saw Phil next, and last my brother, who seemed at least as well as when he left me at London, three years before. I went to comfort my mother, indisposed in her

13. The Faery Queen. Canto ix., l. 42.

chamber.' His mother had resided with 'Son Samuel' as she always fondly called him, since September, 1736, and remained until July, 1737.

In what appears to have been his last letter to John, from Tiverton, Samuel lamented the lax ecclesiastical discipline of the day, which made some of his brother's 'irregularities' excusable :
Sept. 3rd, 1739.

It is good news that you have built a charity school, and better still that you have a second almost up I wish you could build not only a school, but a church, too for the colliers, if there is not at present any place of worship where they can meet, and I should heartily rejoice to have it endowed, though Mr. Whitefield were to be the minister of it, provided the Bishop fully joined. Your distinction between the discipline and the doctrine of the Church is, I think, not pertinent, for surely Episcopacy is a matter of doctrine too ; but granting it otherwise, you know there is no fear of being cast out of our synagogue for any tenets whatever. Did not Clarke die preferred? Were not Collins and Coward free from anathema? Are not Chubb and Gordon now caressed ?

Dr. S. Clarke, whose doctrine of the Trinity was held to savour of Arianism, had been Chaplain to Queen Anne and Rector of St. James', Westminster (1729). Anthony Collins had closed his 'Discourse on Free-thinking, with a list of nineteen notable, and 'virtuous free-thinkers' from Socrates to Archbishop Tillotson, and escaped penalty ; Dr. Coward, the speculative physician, refused to admit he was a materialist, and suffered nothing worse than condemnation in the House of Commons and the burning of his treatise on the soul. Thomas Chubb, the sceptical working man, of strong native sense, who resembled Thomas Paine of a later date, was not pilloried, and Thomas Gordon, advocate of the Scotch Bar, who attacked the 'three High Churches of England,' in his *Independent Whig*, had been 'caressed' by Walpole, who gave him the post of First Commissioner of wine licenses ! All this made Samuel Wesley cynical.

His letter to the Rev. G. Tomkins, who was assisting Dr. Rawlinson in preparing a continuation of the *Athenæ Oxoniensis*, shows that he did not set a high value on the pamphlet of which an account has been given, and that while he commended some of John's enterprises he was by no means reconciled to his brothers' distinctive Methodism. At the close of this letter of Oct. 20, 1739, he says :

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There is nothing of mine considerable enough for notice I think but a Book of Poems on several occasions in Quarto.

My two Brothers are at Age, tho' alas! I doubt hardly at years of Discretion. I'll spirit them up if I can to answer for themselves & for their Father, & I shall thank you for the Occasion if it can but slacken their Pace a little in the wrong way they are so fond of, as falsely as foolishly miscall'd Methodism.¹⁴

Certainly Samuel Wesley must not be 'miscall'd' a Methodist Nor will we label him as did the Dissenting Doctors Bogue and Bennet in their history of Dissenters as 'a worldly priest, who hated all pretence to more religion than our neighbours as an infallible mark of a Dissenter.' He was peculiarly an *early* eighteenth century churchman, versifier and schoolmaster. We must not judge him from an exclusively twentieth century standpoint. He only lived to get a glimpse of Methodism in its first formative stages. He knew not the power of its revived spiritual fellowship, and mingled little with the people it sought to evangelise. But we may remember that he held its doctrine of a world-wide redemption, that he took a practical interest in missionary enterprise, that he was one of the first promoters of compassionate provision on an adequate scale for the sick poor of the Metropolis, that he was a devoted and generous son and brother, that he maintained the traditions of a pure home life. Twenty years of residence and educational work in low-lying Westminster, in his day, notoriously unhealthy, told severely on a constitution never very robust. He worked strenuously at Tiverton, and fought against much sickness, declaring himself 'on the mending hand in spite of foul weather.' But on November 6th, 1739 'he resigned his soul to God,' in the fiftieth year of his age. He was buried in St. George's churchyard, Tiverton, where is a stone to his memory.

T. E. B.

HENRY DODWELL, JUNR., (*of Samuel Wesley's pamphlet*) and JOHN WESLEY'S EARNEST APPEAL *to men of reason and religion.*

John Wesley refers to Dodwell's *Christianity not founded on argument* in his *Earnest Appeal*, pars. 36-7, but does not name the author. He says that at first, like many others, he had mistaken the writer 'for a friend of Christianity.' Leslie Stephen mentions this in his *English Thought in the 18th Century* (ii p. 415). Wesley himself held that so far as a man 'departs from true genuine reason, so far he departs from Christianity.' But he

14. The entire letter appears with some useful notes, in the Appendix to Dr. Leger's *La Jeunesse de Wesley* p. 19. The original is in the Rawlinson Coll. Bodleian Library.

carefully guards this position against the group of Oxford men described by his brother, who with 'all possible art and show of reason, really sought to prove ' that Christianity is contrary to reason, or that no man acting according to the principles of reason can possibly be a Christian.'

LETTER OF SAMUEL WESLEY, JUNR. TO "MR. CAREW."

The following is the draft of a letter in Samuel Wesley's handwriting found on the back of another paper in Mr. G. Stampe's collection, and referred to in our preceding article, (p. 149). The present Headmaster of Blundell's School, Mr. A. E. Wynne, M.A., kindly sends us some notes on it, and says that he obtained the facts he gives from the present Rector of Bickleigh, the Rev. R. B. Carew, who has consulted his family records and the Parish registers. He writes: "The Rev. Theodore Carew (father of the "King of the Gypsies") died in 1722. The Mr. Carew addressed by Samuel Wesley in his letter of 1735 was probably a Carew of Bickleigh Court. After 1722 there is no record of a Carew in Holy Orders until the end of the century. The School account book (1730 onwards) contains the following entries: "

<i>July 30, 1732...Paid Mr. Jones, the Schoolmaster, half-year's salary ending Midsummer last.....</i>	<i>£25</i>
<i>Jan 7, 1733.....Do, ending Christmas</i>	<i>£25</i>
<i>July 28, 1734 ...Paid Mr. Wesley, the Schoolmaster one quarter's salary ending Midsummer last... £12 10 0</i>	

Now Mr. Jones preceded Mr. Wesley and evidently drew his salary half-yearly. Hence the fact (that the first reference to Mr. Wesley is to the effect that he drew a quarter's salary at midsummer) indicates that he was appointed about Easter, 1734.'

To Mr. Carew, Oct. 30, 1735.

Though Mr. Culme (?) and I know one another so well that I dare say we should never quarrel, yet there have arisen two points of difference between us which I choose to consult you about rather than Mr. Cruwys, because you are nearer, and because my main strength lies in equity which I may tolerably judge of, rather than in law, a Science I have never been skilled in. 1. Mr. C. will not pay me 15 lbs for the Mich'mas quarter, the order he says not being express I conceive that quarter was intended by the Trustees, and shall always think so until they assure me of the contrary. 2. He will mend nothing more within the house of any kind, though some things of perpetual use have not been repaired for many years. Particularly he refuses to put any more glass into the windows, insomuch that I am forced to paper up the holes in my own study. . . . There are 100 things which want to be done, and I have laid out some pounds, every farthing upon necessaries If any part should fall for want of repair I shall comfort myself, as I have told him, like the man on board when the ship was sinking, "I am but a passenger. 'Tis not my fault."

We heartily join in service to yourself and lady, and hope to live to see you again, and in the meantime a letter from you will add to the obligations of Dear Sir, your oblig'd and sincere friend and humble servant,

(Sl. Wesley.)

"THE WESLEYS,—AN ATTEMPT TO
ACCOUNT FOR THEIR HIGH
CHURCH PRINCIPLES. 1808."
BY J. T. RUTT.

The following letter appeared in the *Monthly Repository*, July 1808, under the above heading :

Clapton, May 19, 1808.

" Sir,

In the very informing work, entitled 'A
"Portraiture of Methodism, Mr. Nightingale¹ has the following
"remark :

'When Mr. John Wesley was about six years of age, he
was almost miraculously saved from being destroyed by fire,
on which account he used to consider himself in another
besides a spiritual sense, a brand plucked from the burning.'
p. 12.

"I have in my possession a print of 'John Wesley, M.A., Fellow
"of Lincoln College, Oxford, in a clergyman's habit Ætat. 40.
"Sculp 1745. The print was probably never seen by the author
"of the 'Portraiture.' At the top are the words, 'through evil report
"and good report,' and at the bottom, 'is not this a brand plucked
"out of the fire?' The last sentence refers to a scroll depending
"from the oval of the print, on which is represented a lone house
"in flames and a child taken out of the window, by one man
"standing upon the shoulders of another, as described in Mr.
"Wesley's letter quoted in the 'Portraiture.' (p. 16). At the
"bottom of the scroll is "A" Ætat 6.'² Having mentioned Mr.
"John Wesley, I will by your leave attempt to account, rather
"more fully than I have ever seen done, for that strong, though
"inconsistent, attachment to the Established Church, which is so
"observable in the history of both the brothers. Dr. Whitehead
"their biographer, says of their father (1-20) that in 1705, he
"engaged in a controversy with the Dissenters,' and adds that
"they hindered him from obtaining a prebend, and worked him

1. J. Nightingale's *Portraiture of Methodism*. For a full account of this publication and its author, see *W.M. Mag.*, 1823, p. 751, and Dr. George Smith's *History of Methodism*, vol. ii, pp. 274, 440, 441. T.E.B.

2. See Mr. Wallington's note, p. 158.

“out of the chaplaincy of a regiment.’ The pious rector of Epworth was thus prepared to aid the high-church cry which became so loud during the reign of Queen Anne. I had a venerable relation who passed his years in the early religious connexion of the brothers, and maintained a friendship with them through life. He was informed by Mr. Charles Wesley, that his father was on such terms with Dr. Sacheverell as to have drawn up for him, or at least materially assisted him in preparing, his defences.³ A father, who had thus outgrown the effects of his own education, among the nonconformists, whom indeed, according to Wood (Ath. Oxon.) he quitted at the age of 18, would most conscientiously inculcate high-church principles upon his rising family. To this influence should be added that of his elder son Samuel, who, though he failed to restrain the clerical irregularities of his brothers in their manly age, may be fairly supposed to have communicated his own prejudices to their youthful minds.

“Samuel Wesley, who died in 1739, at the age of 49, soon after his more zealous brothers had commenced their Methodistic career, appears to have been a respectable scholar, and a pious regular clergyman. He is now chiefly known as the author of a volume of poems, published by a subscription to which his contracted circumstances, as he modestly confesses, constrained him to resort. Of these poems several have been admired and have found their way into a variety of selections. Among others Mr. John Wesley published many of his brother’s pieces in the third volume of his “Collection of Moral and Sacred Poems.”

“The following lines, quoted from that collection, rather indecorously display the high-church spirit of their author. In an elegy on the death of his wife’s father, he thus expresses the circumstance that “there was neither a papist nor dissenter in his parish”:

‘Around his fence no Romish wolf e’er prowld,
Nor fox-dissenter earth’d within his fold.’

“Another elegy, on the death of a lady who was a dissenter opens with a complaint that

‘Cromwell and Ireton long had heav’n possess’d,
Enshrined in Baxter’s everlasting Rest.’

3. *Dr. Sacheverell and Samuel Wesley, Senr.* Rutt’s ‘venerable relative’ confirms John Wesley’s note in his *Concise History of England 1776*, concerning Sacheverell’s defence: ‘It was wrote by the Rector of Epworth in Lincolnshire.’ See also p. 126 in the present vol. of *Proceedings*. T.E.B.

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"I am not aware to what passage in the 'Saint's Everlasting Rest,' this couplet could refer, if anything were designed beyond an Episcopalian's sneer at the famous work of a Presbyterian divine.

"Our poet however proceeds to celebrate the lady as
'Too good for those with whom she
Sojourn'd here';

"and after uttering the unavailing desire that he had been honoured to restore this wandering sheep to the right fold, he is so far assisted by charity (like Watts in the case of Locke) to find his friend in heaven, that he solaces himself with the reflection, how she

'Now the true church in full communion owns,
Nor starts at bishop-angels on their thrones.'

"All this is amusing, but the bard has not spared an unworthy insinuation against that voluntary remuneration of their preachers, in which Nonconformists justly glory. He declares rather prosaically that, in the case of this lady,

'The meeting never robb'd the counting house.'

"I cannot however allow myself to leave this high church zealot entirely in disgrace with your Nonconformist readers. Should his bigotry have disgusted, his self denying sincerity may claim their approbation. If Samuel Wesley lived with and complimented the tory Minister Harley,⁴ and the Jacobite prelate Atterbury, in their prosperity, he equally attached himself to their declining fortunes, especially to those of the latter, though to the utter ruin of his own hopes of preferment. He thus exemplified the rare virtue which he attributes to a lady, who accompanied the great Stuart family to St. Germain's, and of which he says that,

'She falls uncourtly, with the falling court.'

"If I have offered any hints which may assist in accounting for the characters of men so celebrated among the founders of sects, as the Wesleys must always be considered, I shall have attained my purpose.

Yours

J. T. RUTT.

4. *The Tory minister, Harley.* Like Tyerman and others, the letter writer confounds the statesman, Robert Harley, with his son, Edward Harley, the second Lord Oxford, the friend and often the host of Samuel Wesley, Junior. Wesley did not 'live' with either, but he complimented both in his poems (1735). T.E.B.

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Doubtless, the influence of the Rev. Saml. Wesley, Senr., and his elder son Samuel, did much to foster the attachment of the brothers John and Charles to the establishment and to account for some of their high church principles referred to by Mr. Rutt. It is not surprising that they were influenced by them, but they were not governed by them when they saw the people perishing for lack of knowledge. It was the preaching of the Gospel of Christ and calling sinners to repentance that, in the great revival, led them to set aside some of the principles to which they had formerly adhered. To the end of their lives, however, both John and Charles Wesley regarded with affection the church wherein they were ordained but, that they were life-long high-churchmen, as the term is understood to-day, it would be difficult, I think, to prove.

Although at the commencement of the great revival, and for many years after, the church thrust the brothers from its pulpits and bitterly persecuted them, yet we find that toward the close of his life John Wesley's apostolic character and piety won him the sympathy and respect of all good men, many churches opened their pulpits to him, and he became one of the best loved men in the Kingdom.⁵

Was the print mentioned by Mr. Rutt an engraving from the portrait painted by J. M. Williams, R.A. [see vol. iii W.H.S., p. 186] or was it something different? Is any copy of the print now in existence?

WILLIAM PARLBY.

In our *M.S. Journal*, Mr. A. Wallington replies to Mr. Parlby's question:—This portrait is doubtless that drawn and engraved by G. Vertue in 1742. If reference is made to the frontispiece of the article by Mr. J. G. Wright in Proc. iii 185-92, it will be seen that the portrait given as No. 1 is the one referred

5. *The Wesleys' 'High Church Principles.'* A Bibliography of this subject would occupy many pages. (1) For the Dissenters' view at the period of the above letter, see *History of Dissenters*. 1688-1808, by Dr. D. Bogue and Dr. J. Bennett. For Southey's review of this work: *Quarterly Review*, 10-90, and his reference to it in his *Life of Wesley*. (2) From a fair Anglican historian's standpoint, Abbey and Overton's *His. C. of E.* vol. ii, pp. 57-70-83, and Overton's *John Wesley*. (3) From the 'Evangelical' churchman's standpoint, Balleine's *His. of the Evangelical Party* (1908). (4) Wesleyan-Methodist Church View: Gregory's *The Holy Catholic Church* (Fernley Lecture). Rigg's *Churchmanship of John Wesley*, and *Church Organisation*. Simon's *The Revival of Religion in the 18th Cent.* (37th Fernley Lect.) pp. 37-309-19, and *The New History of Methodism*, 1909, vol. 1, pp. 183-9 227-32. T.E.B.

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to, the scroll at the top and the larger scroll at the bottom being both shown, also the 'lone house in flames.' In the Conference Office Board Room there hangs an original of this, but with the face of Wesley copied from the Williams portrait (see Wright article, p. 186, line 10), the rest of the picture, however, being shown exactly as described by Mr. Rutt. A full-page reproduction of the picture (No. 1 as above) may be seen in the *Wes. Meth. Mag.* 1896, p. 503. Another reproduction appears in the same *Mag.* as No. 1 of the series of Wesley Portraits (24 of which were given in 1916 and 1917) but without the scrolls. This was the one referred to by Mr. Wright on p. 186 line 8.

THREE LETTERS. OF JOHN WESLEY, 1790-91.

To Rev. T. McGeary, of Kingswood School.

(See *History of Kingswood Sch.* p 80.)

London.

Jan. 9. 1790

Dear Tommy,

There is no danger of my thinking your writing troublesome. If Mr. Funnal [?] thinks he did wrong in going away, and that it is a favour to receive him again, you may receive him, but he seems to me to be out of his senses. Mr. Carr has not wrote to me at all. I hope *he* (at least) knows when he is well. Such another place for him can scarcely be found.

You must be absent from the School at some times, that you may be present more effectually. But I desire you will take a little tour next month, if the weather will allow. The spending a week or two now and then in the open air is the best physic in the world for you. Perfect Love, *οὐκ ἀσχημονεῖ* is not ill-behaved or ill-natured. Peace be with all your spirits!

I am,

Dear Tommy,

Yours most affectionately

J. Wesley.

Mr. Bradily, a pious young man from Antigua, earnestly desires to be a boarder at Kingswood. I do not object.

[From Mr. Geo. Stampé's collection.]

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London, Nov. 6. 1790.

My dear Brother

When you went into the West I was fully persuaded our Lord would go with you and prosper your labours. And I make no doubt He will fulfill in you all the good pleasure of his goodness and all the work of God with power. You do not know the Cornish yet. Many of them have little sense, and a great inclination to criticise. Robt Empringham is a sound, tho' not a bright preacher. Bro. Legatt's far from a contemptible one. If they use the preachers I send thus they shall. If Jo Bredin goes for some months who will keep him? I will have no demands made on ye Conference.

I am, with kind love to S. Valton, ever yours,
J. Wesley.

To

Mr. Valton,
at the New Room,
Bristol.

[From Mr. Geo. Stamp's collection.]

London

Jann 22 1791

My Dear Brother

I am half blind and half lame ; but by the help of God, I work on still. You have great reason to thank him, for the Blessings He hath given you from your youth up untill now. Undoubtedly many of these were sent, as you observe, in answer to the Prayers of your good Mother Now, do all the good you can, to your poor neighbours. A word spoken in season, how good is it. Wishing You and Yours all Happiness

I am,

Your Affectionate Brother

J. Wesley.

The above is copied line by line from a facsimile. The copy, by the broken character of its writing, bears pathetic testimony to Wesley's physical condition. The letter was written to Thomas Greathead, linen-draper, Sheerness. See *Standard Journal* viii, p. 122.

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LETTER OF JOHN WESLEY TO
CHRISTOPHER HOPPER, 1776.

Edinburgh,
May 28: 1776.

My Dear Brother,

You did exceeding well, in writing to the Mayor. I believe he will not burn his fingers again.

I have found one that I think wou'd Serve Mrs. Wagner as an upper Servant. But she is not willing to engage, till she knows what she is expected to do. Send me word to Newcastle.

Pray tell Michael Fenwick, that I am to be at Sheffield, not on the 23rd, but the 19th of July. I am, with love to S. Hopper,

Your affectionate Friend and Brother

J. Wesley.

Address: To Mr. Hopper,

At the Preaching house,

in Liverpool.

X Post.

This letter, in an excellent state of preservation, has been kindly lent by the Lord Mayor of Newcastle upon Tyne, Councillor Geo. Lunn, J.P. So far as I can trace, it has not hitherto been published,

F. F. Bretherton.

WESLEYAN METHODIST REGISTERS
IN SOMERSET HOUSE.

To readers engaged in research the following article will be of value, as it supplements the notes on the above subject in our present volume (xi. pp. 66-68). Mr. Wallington has found it in the *W.M. Mag.* 1866, where it appeared as an extract from *Good Words*.

About nine-and-twenty years ago, a number of venerable but somewhat dingy-looking volumes began to travel from all parts of England and Wales to a certain London office. So varied were these volumes in size, shape, and style of binding, that any similarity as to their contents would scarcely have been surmised from their external aspect. Some of them were folios strongly

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bound in leather ; some were books only a few inches square, enclosed in paper covers ; some were three-hundred years old ; some had not been in existence a quarter of a century : yet these miscellaneous volumes were pretty much alike as to the nature of the matter which they contained. Upon their arrival in London, moreover, the smallest and most insignificant-looking of the number, as well as the more bulky and pretentious, underwent a scrutiny so careful as to show that they were one and all held to be documents of no little importance.

The volumes to which we refer had been sent by their custodians to the metropolis on the invitation of certain commissioners appointed under the Great Seal. They were nothing more nor less than records of births, baptisms, marriages, deaths, and burials, which had been kept by such divisions of the community as did not belong to the Established Church. A new system of registering, in the case of every individual Englishman, the great landmarks of his earthly existence, had lately been passed into law by Act of Parliament. It was now designed to collect together, so far as it might be practicable, the records which, in the absence of a general system, had hitherto been locally kept by the various bodies of Nonconformists. The object in view was twofold : that these documents might be placed in Government custody ; and that extracts from such of them as should be deemed trustworthy evidence, might henceforth be issued on Government authority.

The design met with general favour amongst the Dissenters. It is true that some bodies altogether withheld their registers from Government protection, and that others, which ultimately acceded to the Government proposal, began by objecting to it. But 3,630 religious congregations at once consented to deliver up their records ; and the transmission of 7,000 volumes to the commissioners was the immediate result of this consent. The number of books has since been largely augmented. At the present time there are in the custody of the Registrar-General nearly 9,000 registers which have been deposited with him by the Nonconformist bodies ; and, by an Act of the 3d and 4th Vic., cap. 92, extracts therefrom, sealed with the seal of the General Registrar Office, are made receivable as evidence in all courts of law, without any additional proof whatsoever.

Various are the shades of religious belief which these 9,000 volumes represent. French Protestants, whose confession of faith was drawn up by Calvin himself, have contributed several venerable folios to the number. That remarkable body, the

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Society of Friends, has materially added to the total. The Independents, whose name is associated with moderate doctrinal views and with the Congregational system of church government, are present in great force. The more exclusive Baptists muster strongly. The Presbyterians are not absent.

The Wesleys, and their several secession branches, have given over to the care of Government 856 volumes of registers. These records may briefly be described as accurate and orderly. The first fact which strikes us with regard to them, is one that at once betrays an important circumstance in the history of the denomination. It may be said that the Society was fairly established by the year 1744, when the country had been divided into Circuits, and when the first Conference was held; but the most ancient registers before us commence from a period nearly twenty years later. How is this to be accounted for? The answer to the question is to be found in the fact that John Wesley did not originally design the foundation of a new religious body. His teaching was intended to infuse new piety into churchmen, but it was not intended to destroy their churchmanship. Thus for a long period the children of parents who attended Wesleyan class-meetings and lovefeasts were baptized and registered at church in the usual manner; and had it not been for the short-sighted illiberality which at length absolutely compelled Wesley's retirement from the Establishment, the names of his disciples might have been found recorded in parish registers to this day.

Up to the commencement of the present century no effort was made amongst the Wesleyan denomination to begin a general system of registration. In the year 1818, however, they instituted a Metropolitan Office in Paternoster-Row, London, for the registration of the births and baptisms occurring amongst the different congregations of their adherents. The registers from this office, accompanied by certificates on parchment,—which certificates were signed by the parents of the registered, by witnesses present at birth, and by the minister who performed the baptismal ceremony,—have been handed over to Government, and have taken their place on the shelves of our old library. A large place it is; for they are the most enormous folios we ever saw. They are three in number, and contain together the births and baptisms of 10,291 children. We should state that we have not included these volumes in the total of Wesleyan registers already given.

The Metropolitan Wesleyan Registry was kept with an

elaborateness and precision characteristic of the Society. The registrar furnished the ministers on the various Circuits with duplicate printed forms on parchment, both of which were signed by the several persons whom we have mentioned above. These forms were then transmitted to the registry, when the registrar entered the particulars contained therein in one of the large folios which we have described, adding to the forms a certificate of the date of such registration, with the number and folio of the volume in which he had made the entry. One of the duplicate parchments was then returned to the parents, the other being filed at the office. The forms employed were very carefully and lengthily worded, and they recall by their scrupulous exactness, the registers of the Society of Friends. The Metropolitan registration of the Wesleyans was not designed to supersede their congregational registration. Both the old and new systems proceeded together until the year 1837, when the passing of the Act before alluded to, obviated the necessity for any further denomination efforts of the kind.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

522. ADAMS-WATSON, OF OSMOTHERLY. WAS HE A PRIEST?—
 “Among some documents kindly put at my disposal by the representatives of the Rev. David Simpson, whose life I am trying to write in accordance with a promise given to the late Professor Mayor of Cambridge I find an agreement between “Thomas Adams *alias* Watson of Osmotherly in the county of York, Gent., on the one part and Ralph Simpson of Ingleby-under-Arncliffe on the other part to let . . . the said parcel of ground containing by estimate 7 acres, on Osmotherly Moor.”

The document proves the identity of Thomas Adams with Watson. Does not the fact that he is designated as “Gent” rather militate against the popular belief that he was a Roman Catholic Priest?”

Thus writes the *Rev. Alfred Leedes Hunt, Rector of Great Snoring, Fakenham, Norfolk*. We shall be glad to receive the date of the document, and then to collate the numerous references to Adams, *alias* Watson in *Wesley's Journal*, beginning March 28, 1745; in *Wesley's letter* (xlix); *Wes. M. Mag.*, 1847, pp. 139-144; *Stamp's Orphan House of*

Wesley; Tyerman's *Life of Wesley*; *Proc.*, W.H.S., Vol. iii., iv; Ward's *Meth.* in the *Thirsk Circuit*, and Bingley; Thaddeus's *Franciscans in England*; Gasquet's *English Monastic Life* (wherein Mount Grace is 'Carthusian'); McCullagh's Art. on *Adams of Osmotherly* in *W.M. Mag.*, 1903, and Art. on *Mount Grace Priory*, Oct.-1850, in *The Youth's Instructor*.

Probably our conclusion will be that Thomas Adams was at one time a priest, that he renounced Romanism, that he married, that he was *not* a priest when Wesley made his acquaintance, that Wesley never called him a priest, that a few nineteenth century writers did so and followed a local tradition. Here is material for an interesting article. Will some reader write one?—*T. E. B.*

523. INITIALLED PREACHERS: J. W.—In reference to the identification of J. W. in Mr. Wallington's article, *Proc.* x. 154, I have examined the Steward's book at the Kirkgate Chapel, Bradford, and find the following entry for June 22nd 1776 "For Coals and Mr. Waldron's Horse

£1 3 10 $\frac{1}{2}$."

It may be that the horse was used when Mr. Waldron visited Mr. Wesley at Pudsey in April. This is another piece of confirmatory evidence that the J. W. stationed in Bradford was Isaac Waldron.—*Mr. Geo. Severs.*

524. WESLEY'S VISIT TO BINGLEY IN 1784.—I beg to draw attention to two facts which have been brought to light by Mr. Curnock's translation of Wesley's Diary, and by Mr. J. W. Laycock's discovery of the diary of Mr. A. Edmondson, a Bingley Methodist of the above date.

On Sunday, 18 July, 1784, when Wesley came from Keighley to conduct service in the Bingley Parish Church he dined (according to the Diary) with Mr. Hartley. This would doubtless be Rev. Richard Hartley, B.D., who held the living from 1741 to 1789, and who had on three previous occasions 1779, 1780, and 1782 allowed Wesley the use of his pulpit. All this courtesy on the part of the Vicar, together with the absence of persecution in Bingley, shows the good feeling that existed towards Wesley and his followers at this time.

Rev. J. Ward in his *History of Methodism in the Bingley Circuit* suggests as there was an apparent gap in Wesley's *Journal*, that he rested a full week here at Myrtle Grove, as "bodily infirmities were beginning to come upon him." But

both the above diaries state that at the close of the afternoon service on *Sunday*, he returned to Keighley where he preached at 5-30. On the following morning (*Monday*, the 19th) he preached at Keighley, then he proceeded by chaise to Baildon, where he preached; thence to Otley, where he, along with Mr. A. Edmondson and Samuel Bradburn, dined at Miss Ritchie's, and afterwards met the Society. QUERY:—Where did he spend Tuesday, Wednesday and Thursday?

On *Tuesday*—his diary states he took tea with Mr. Hartley, (was this the vicar of Bingley?)

On *Wednesday*—He was at Parkgate (Guiseley) at noon.

On *Thursday*—he was preparing for the Conference.

QUERY:—Where? At Otley or Leeds?

On *Friday*—we find him at Ecclesall and Bradford and

on *Saturday*—at Daw Green and Hanging Heaton (both near Dewsbury).—*Mr. Geo. Severs.*

525. DR. ADAM CLARKE AND H.R.H. THE DUKE OF SUSSEX—THE LONDON AND PARIS POLYGLOTTS.—The Rev. Maraduke Riggall inserts in our M.S. Journal a copy of Dr. A. Clarke's letter to the Duke of Sussex, 11 Feb., 1822, relating to that 'part of the *preface* to the *London Polyglott* which Bishop Walton had cancelled on the Restoration of Charles II,' and the missing title-pages of nine volumes of the *Paris Polyglott*. Mr. Riggall possesses the original letter by Clarke. It appears in full in the *Life of Dr. Clarke*; partly autobiographic and partly by his daughter, which was published in 1841. In this volume the Duke's reply is also given. References to this correspondence may also be found in the anonymous *Life of Clarke* (by T Middleton Hare) 1834. As the letter has thus appeared we do not re-print it, but congratulate Mr. Riggall on possessing such a valuable autograph.

526. THE FORTHCOMING EDITION OF WESLEY'S LETTERS.—The following appears at end of *Corrigenda*, vol. 8, *Standard Journal* (bearing on remarks in *Proc.* xi. 13): 'The new edition of Wesley Letters, to which the Rev. N. Curnock often refers in the later volumes of this edition of the *Journal*, is being prepared by Mr. Telford. The set, which now numbers more than 2,200 letters will be made as complete as possible and arranged in chronological order, with Notes and Introductions. Help in completing the set

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will be welcomed by the editor, if sent to 25, City Road, London, E.C. Stray letters are still being added, slowly, to the set, but there must be still many more.—

Mr. A. Wallington.

527. THE JACKSONS OF SANCTON.—In a foot-note on 406 of vol. vii of the Standard Edition of Wesley's *Journal* there is a reference to the Jacksons of Sancton and it is there stated that the Rev. Robert Jackson was buried near his father and mother in Sancton Church-yard.

The authority quoted is apparently the "Methodist Recorder Winter Number 1896" which contained a view of Sancton Church and Church-yard under which was the following. "Sancton Church-yard with grave of Thomas and Mary Jackson in foreground and that of Rev. Robert Jackson behind." This is an unfortunate error, so far as the Rev. Robert Jackson was concerned. He died in the City of Hull, and was buried there in the General Cemetery, Spring Bank, his tombstone bearing the following inscription, "In affectionate remembrance of the Rev. Robert Jackson who was born at Sancton July 6th 1799 and died at Hull January 14th 1881."

In this connection I have often wondered why the author of the lengthy and appreciative inscription to his Brother the Rev. Thomas Jackson (twice President) in the City-Road Chapel, London, did not tell us that he was born at *Sancton*, instead of loosely stating that he was born in the "East Riding of Yorkshire."—*Mr. W. Richardson.*

ANNUAL MEETING OF THE W.H.S.

The above meeting was held in No. 24 room of the Albert Hall, Manchester, on Thursday, July 18th 1918, the Rev. Dr. Simon, President of the Society, in the chair. There was a good attendance of members. In the absence of Rev. M. Riggall, the Rev. J. Conder Natrass acted as Minute Secretary. The following are minutes of the business transacted:—

1. The financial statements of the Treasurer and General Secretary, duly audited, were presented and accepted, showing balances in hand of £16 4s. 5d. and £8 14s. 3d., respectively.

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2. The retirement of the General Secretary, Rev. John W. Crake, an account of ill-health was announced. It was unanimously agreed that a letter should be sent to him appreciative of the admirable service he has rendered to the Society over a long series of years, and expressive of sympathy with him in his affliction. It was also resolved that a letter of sympathy be sent to the Treasurer, Mr. George Stampe, in the great loss he has sustained in the death in action of his son, Major G. H. Stampe, M.G.C., and in his own illness, which has prevented him attending the Conference and the W.H.S. Meeting.
3. The following appointments were made:—
Treasurer, Mr. Geo. Stampe.
Editors, Revs. T. E. Brigden and F. F. Bretherton, B.A.
General Secretary, Rev. J. Conder Natrass, B.A., B.D.
M.S. Journals, Rev. F. F. Bretherton.
Index, Rev. R. S. Armsby, B.A.
Minute Secretary and Auditor, Rev. M. Riggall.
The Rev. John W. Crake to be a Member of the Editorial Council.
It was agreed that in future the appointment of Auditor shall be separate from that of Minute Secretary.
4. It was resolved that a photogravure portrait of Susanna Wesley shall form the frontispiece to vol. xii of the *Proceedings*, and that Mr. Brigden be requested to prepare the accompanying article or articles. It was also decided to continue the usual process-block pictures with each issue of the *Proceedings*.
5. With a view to increasing our Members it was decided to print and circulate at an early date a revised circular with regard to the Society and its work.

J.C.N.

