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A table of contents for the *Proceedings of the Wesley Historical Society* can be found here:

https://biblicalstudies.org.uk/articles_whs_01.php



WESLEY PORTRAITS,

J.G.W.

FURTHER NOTES ON SOME PORTRAITS OF JOHN WESLEY.

See *Proceedings*, ii, 49, iii, 185; *N. and Q.*, 182.

In my former paper on this subject (*Proceedings*, Vol. III., pt. 7), I described twelve of the most important portraits of John Wesley. There are several others which, though not of such distinguished origin or repute, are worthy of notice in a record of Wesley's portraits. Of these I propose to describe twelve, eight at least of which were executed during Wesley's life. The other four are added as possessing some special interest or merit.

The first in order of date is a fine mezzotint, engraved and published by John Tinney, of Fleet Street, London. It was probably published between 1750 and 1760. No painter's name appears on the engraving, but it has a family likeness to the Williams type of portrait, and was probably executed after that artist. Tinney was an English engraver, born in the early part of the eighteenth century. He worked in Paris for a time, and afterwards in London, where he also traded as a print-seller. He published a treatise on anatomy for artists. His engraved works are but few, this portrait of Wesley being among his latest ones. He died in 1761. The engraving is very scarce, only four copies of it being known to collectors. One of these, apparently from the same plate, was published by Robert Sayer, the print-seller, of Fleet Street. Photo No. 1 is from Tinney's engraving. Size of engraved part of the plate $11\frac{3}{4}$ ins. x 10 ins.

Photo. No. 2 is from an oil painting in the possession of Mr. R. Thursfield Smith, of Whitchurch. It bears no artist's name, nor any indication of its origin. It represents Wesley in about middle life, but does not closely resemble any other portrait of him. Perhaps the nearest approach to it is the Hamilton variety, No. 3, in the earlier series of these illustrations. The general appearance of the painting itself justifies the opinion that it was

executed during Wesley's life, but its history is unknown. Before it came into Mr. Smith's possession it was the subject of one of the many supposed discoveries of the missing portrait by Sir Joshua Reynolds, and a very large sum was asked for it. But it could not stand the test of critical examination. The size of the canvas is 28 ins. x 23 ins.

Photo. No. 3. In its general appearance and characteristics this engraving is similar to the Hamilton-Fittler portrait, No. 7, in my last paper. The head of Wesley, however, is entirely different. The bands are shorter, and the background also differs. No name of engraver is given. It was published by William Darton, 58, Holborn Hill, London, in August, 1825. Size of plate $13\frac{1}{4}$ ins. x $10\frac{3}{8}$ ins.

Photo. No. 4 is from a line engraving drawn and engraved by Thomas Holloway in April, 1791, immediately after Wesley's death. It represents Wesley in gown and bands preaching from a pulpit, with a half-closed Bible in his left hand, and with his right hand outstretched. It is, no doubt, a faithful likeness. Holloway was a skilful line engraver, born in London in 1748, educated among Dissenters, and in his early career was occupied in engraving seals and medals in steel. Subsequently he was much employed in engraving on copper for the magazines of the day. He executed several portraits of distinguished Dissenting ministers. His reputation rests chiefly on a set of the cartoons of Raphael, remarkable for their elaborate execution. He died in 1827.¹ There is an earlier example of Holloway's work in a small engraving of a profile bust of Wesley, within an ornamental oval frame, drawn from an enamel by Bone now in the possession of the Rev. Dr. Jenkins. The engraving was published in 1776, and a copy of it formed the frontispiece of Hampson's *Life of Wesley*. Another very similar portrait, with circular background, also by Holloway, was published in March, 1792. The size of the oval engraving is $4\frac{1}{4}$ ins. x $3\frac{3}{8}$ ins.

Photo. No. 5 is from a well-executed mezzotint engraving by J. Gainer. It represents Wesley at about 76 years of age, and was published April 20, 1779. The portrait is within a rough, broad, oval frame not shown in the photo. I have seen only two copies of this fine mezzotint, one of which is in the William Salt

[1. The *Index* to Stevenson's *City Road Chapel* gives many references to the long connection of the Holloway family with the oldest London Methodism. T. Holloway's uncle, Samuel H., was a member of the Foundery Select Society in 1744.—Ed.]

PROCEEDINGS.

Library at Stafford, and the other in the Allan Library collection, London. Size of plate 12 ins. by 9 ins.

Photo. No. 6 is from an engraving executed by Ridley from a miniature on ivory of the same size, by Arnold. It represents Wesley in his 87th year preaching, with the Bible held half-open in his left hand, the index-finger of the right hand pointing to the text. The original miniature is, or was lately, in the possession of Mr. J. Lambert Jones, of Dublin. It was originally in the possession of Thomas Marriott, the Methodist antiquary, son of one of Wesley's executors. I have referred to this portrait in my previous paper (*Proceedings*, Vol. III., p. 189), where, in giving an extract from Wesley's *Journal*,¹ I fell into error in referring that quotation to Barry's portrait. No doubt the reference is to Arnold's, and not to Barry's miniature. The engraving was published at the Conference Office, City Road. Its size is $4\frac{1}{4}$ ins. x $3\frac{1}{4}$ ins.

Photos. 7 and 8 are from engravings in the *Arminian Magazine* of 1778 (Vol. I.) and 1783 (Vol. VI.) It may be assumed that as Wesley admitted these into his own magazine, he, at any rate, must have been satisfied that they fairly represented him at those dates. We would rather believe that neither the engraver's skill nor Wesley's judgment in this matter was beyond reproach. No. 7 was engraved by Bodlidge; size of plate, 4 ins. x $3\frac{1}{8}$ ins.; No. 8 size, $4\frac{3}{8}$ ins. x $2\frac{7}{8}$ ins.

Photo. No. 9 is from an engraving published in the same magazine. I cannot determine the date, but it is said, on the authority of Mr. Thomas Hayes, late Curator of the Allan Library, to have been published with an edition of the first volume. It seems to have been drawn in Wesley's later life. In the original engraving the oval frame stands on a low pedestal, with Wesley's name in a panel. This is not shown in the photograph. The size of the full plate is $6\frac{1}{4}$ ins. x $3\frac{5}{8}$ ins.

Photo. No. 10 is from a lithograph published by Tomkinson and Dean, of Stoke-on-Trent, in 1838. The drawing is "from a bust modelled from the life by Enoch Wood, Esq., of Burslem." It represents Wesley in gown and bands preaching from a pulpit, his right hand raised, and the left resting on the corner of a Bible, with the fingers between the leaves. I believe this is the only important portrait purporting to be drawn from Wood's bust. It is accepted as a most life-like presentation of Wesley. The size

1. There is an *erratum* in the quotation on page 189, in the 8th line from the bottom; for "80th" read "87th."

of the engraving is $13\frac{7}{8}$ ins. x $11\frac{5}{8}$ ins.

Photo. No. 11 is from an engraving of a bas-relief bust in profile by E. Porteus, of London. The peculiarity of the engraving was that it was executed by Bates's "Anaglyptograph" process. The features are finely delineated, with very pleasing effect. The size of the drawing is about $8\frac{1}{2}$ ins. x $4\frac{1}{2}$ ins.

Photo. No. 12 is from a modern synthetic portrait, engraved by George Lobel, and published by William Tegg, in 1866. It represents Wesley in gown and bands seated in a chair, having a book in his left hand, a small table on his right, with Bible, other books, and a manuscript upon it; also an ink-pot and pen. The picture cannot be commended as a portrait. The face wears too careworn and weary an aspect for John Wesley. The size of the plate is $15\frac{3}{8}$ ins. x 12 ins.

There is one engraving which bears every appearance of careful execution, and may be regarded as depicting the most accurate outline of Wesley's features. It represents him as he lay in his coffin previous to interment. It was drawn and engraved by William Ridley, who enjoyed a reputation for accurate delineation, and had a considerable practice in portrait illustrations for the *Evangelical Magazine* and other works. The print is very scarce. Its size is $7\frac{3}{4}$ ins. x 6 ins.; oval.

I believe I have now noted all the portraits of John Wesley which are entitled to be recognised as important, or which may be regarded as fairly representing him at the various periods of his life, on more or less satisfactory authority.

On a survey of the whole, the one striking fact is the great variety of facial expression and characteristics. I consider that no one of the portraits of Wesley in later life gives a correct idea of his personal appearance, and certainly none of those published after his death do so. The latest Canadian portrait is no exception, though the painter spent some time in this country, to study the subject, with a view to produce the best results. The facial expression in this portrait is good, being after George Romney's painting, but the *tout ensemble* does not seem to me to be the counterpart of John Wesley.

I know no description of his personality which gives so perfect a picture of the man, by one who saw and knew him intimately, as that by John Hampson, A. B., in his *Memoirs of Wesley*, written during Wesley's life, and published after his death, in 1791. It is worth reproducing. . . (See *Memoirs*, Vol. III., p. 166, *sqq.*)

"The figure of Mr. Wesley was remarkable. His stature was of the lowest: his habit of body in every period of life the reverse

of corpulent, and expressive of strict temperance and continual exercise: and, notwithstanding his small size, his step was firm and his appearance, till within a few years of his death, vigorous and muscular. His face, for an old man, was one of the finest we have seen. A clear, smooth forehead, an aquiline nose, an eye the brightest and the most piercing that can be conceived, and a freshness of complexion scarcely ever to be found at his years, and expressive of the most perfect health, conspired to render him a venerable and interesting figure. Few have seen him without being struck with his appearance; and many who had been greatly prejudiced against him have been known to change their opinion the moment they were introduced into his presence. In his countenance and demeanour there was a cheerfulness mingled with gravity: a sprightliness which was the natural result of an unusual flow of spirits, and was yet accompanied by every mark of the most serene tranquility. His aspect, particularly in profile, had a strong character of acuteness and penetration. In dress he was a pattern of neatness and simplicity. A narrow plaited stock, a coat with a small upright collar, no buckles at his knees, no silk or velvet in any part of his apparel, and a head as white as snow, gave an idea of something primitive and apostolical, while an air of neatness and cleanliness was diffused over his whole person. His rank as a preacher is pretty generally understood. His attitude in the pulpit was graceful and easy, his action calm and natural, yet pleasing and expressive: his voice not loud, but clear and manly; his style neat, simple, perspicuous, and admirably adapted to the capacity of his hearers."

Here is material which, with all we otherwise know of Wesley, should enable a skilful artist to produce a really good portrait of him in his later years. There seems yet to be room for such a portrait of the great Founder of Methodism.

JOSEPH G. WRIGHT.

SCRIPTURE OR DRAW CARDS.

[NOTE BY THE EDITORS.—It is our painful duty to record the death of Mr. C. D. Hardcastle, one of the first members of this Society, a regular contributor to the Society's MS. Journals, and occasionally to its printed proceedings. For many years Mr. Hardcastle was a diligent student of early Methodist history, and a very successful collector of Wesleyana. He was a frequent correspondent with Dr. Osborn and the late Mr. Stelfox on the early hymn-books of the Wesleys, the contents and history of which he had made a special subject of study and research. Modest and retiring, he honoured his Christian profession by the purity of his life and the diligence of his benevolent labours. The following Notes were forwarded by him a short time ago.]

A gentleman has sent me three original Manuscript Cards, selected from a pack of 100, which are enclosed in a leather case. He says :—“They were used at Fulneck in the 18th Century ; they were the property of my father's people ; he was born in 1799. They belonged to my grandfather, who died when my father was very young, and he, I am told, was a Moravian, and had something to do with the erection of certain of the buildings at Fulneck.

. . . My impression is that the cards were used at small devotional meetings, corresponding to Methodist class meetings ; one card was taken out at random and read, which led to *impromptu* utterances upon the text.” He has since sent me copies of about 20 other cards. I subjoin copies of several as specimens. The texts are written in black ink and the verses in red. They are uniformly and beautifully written.

On receipt of the cards I wrote to my octogenarian brother-in-law, a lifelong Moravian, formerly scholar and tutor at Fulneck and other Moravian establishments, and for many years an officer at the Moravian Church, Wellhouse, Mirfield. He calls them “Draw Cards,” and says :—“Cardboard cases, generally covered with leather, containing from 50 to 100 Draw Cards, were in use in several Moravian families known to me in my young days, and were used to convey good wishes to relatives and friends when birthdays or special memorial days came round. We used them in our old home. It is not unlikely that the Draw Cards and

their use originated with the ancient church of the Moravians." He continues: "I wrote our Bishop Edwards on the subject. His wife is a German lady. He says: 'The fact that Draw Cards were used as conversation cards at band or choir meetings was new to me, but I have known them, especially in Germany, to be used on birthdays and other memorial days. My wife says, however, that she remembers a small circle in Herrnhut where such cards were still used as suggesting topics for conversation, and she also says that most Sisters possessed a case with cards. No doubt the custom dates back into the earliest Moravian times, and probably others got it from the Moravians. But as such Draw Cards were only in private use, information regarding them could only be obtained from the study of early biographies and diaries. I know that still on the 1st of January in each year texts are drawn for each Conference, and for every branch of Church work, by the members of the Unity's Elders' Conference in Berthelsdorf, and no doubt this custom is a very old one.'"

As only a portion of the verses on the cards are to be found in the old Moravian hymn-books, and some of them are from different translations, I think they have been copied from old Text Books which have been published annually since 1743. In the preface of *The Text Book of the Protestant Church of the United Brethren or Moravians* is the following paragraph:

"The Daily Words (watchwords for the day) are drawn from a selection of about 2,000 passages from the Old Testament. This takes place in the Unity's Elders' Conference at Berthelsdorf, and is preceded by prayer. The Doctrinal Texts are freely chosen from the New Testament. All possible care is exercised in the selection of suitable verses of hymns. These are intended to be the Church's Amen to the Words of the Lord."

Mr. Wesley says, in his second letter to Mr. Church,¹ that he got the practice of selecting passages of Scripture at random and determining matters by lot from the Moravians, and doubtless the use of the cards came from the same source.

Rev. L. C. Hassé, principal of the English Moravian College, Fairfield, writes me:—"I can remember cards, both printed and written, I think, which were certainly of Moravian origin, when I was a boy at my father's house. I have since had such in my own hand, but I have not possessed them. They were in German; but I fancy I recollect English *written* ones also.

[1. *Principles of a Methodist further explained, Works, viii., 441 ff.*]

They were kept in a case; but I doubt if in later times at least, *i.e.*, within the last two generations.

They were used as 'draw cards,' or for the purpose of obtaining any 'lot' or direction therefrom. I have never heard of their being 'conversation cards' as you describe them. I have always fancied that they were used for selection as 'mottoes', just as one might now write something of the kind for a friend's book of autographs. A great deal of that kind of benedictory writing was done in early days—on occasion of birth-days and other anniversaries, and I have supposed these cards to serve rather for offices of personal friendship in this way than for immediate religious direction. In the 18th Century, in the early days, it may have been otherwise. I do not know of any such cards being in anyone's hands at the present time."

C. D. HARDCASTLE.

SPECIMENS OF THE DRAW CARDS.

All the children of Israel had light
in their dwellings.—*Exod. 10, 23.*

Unto my heart a Ruby shines—
Whose name is Jefus Christ.

My beloved is white and ruddy,
the chiefest among ten thousand.

Cant. 5, 10.

My joy to all the world be known,
—That my beloved is that bright one,
—The Lord of life and glory.—He'll
kindly bring me to that place—where
all the wonders of his grace—shall be
disclosed before me.

I will bless the Lord at all times:
his praise shall continually be in my
mouth.—*Ps. 34, 1.*

O that each pulse thanksgiving
were,—And every breath a hymn did
rear.

Thou hast given us our Heart's
desire.—*Ps. 21, 2.*

The converse with the man of
smart,—Is all that I can have at Heart.

For there are three that bear
witness in heaven, &c.

1 John 5.—7-8.

Church humbly bow down—'Fore
the holy three one,—Which through
Christ alone,—To life everlasting Is to
us made known.

He said: My soul is exceeding
sorrowful, even unto death.

Mark 14, 34.

With painful penance thoughts
distressed,—The Soul of my Beloved I
see!—Out of those lovely eyes is
pressed—A flood of Briny Tears for
me!—Ev'n on account of all my
sadness,—He kept repeated Liturgies;
—To change my sorrow into gladness
—My friend lay weeping on his
knees.

RECOLLECTIONS OF A METHODIST BOOKSELLER.

It has been suggested that a few "Recollections" by a Bookseller who has made old Methodist Literature and Letters a speciality for nearly forty years, might be interesting.

One of the most fortunate purchases I ever made was when attending Everett's sale in London, in 1873, at which I bought the most important lot, consisting of a collection of autograph letters and MSS. in 27 folio vols. I bought above half-a-ton at Rev. Luke Tyerman's sale, including a remarkable collection of tracts relating to Methodism, bound in 106 vols. Large purchases were also made at the sales of Mr. Love and Dr. Punshon, in 1881; and from Mr. Stelfox, &c.

Dr. Punshon's last service was held at Barton-on-Humber. He was looking over my collection of autograph letters, &c., and was so interested that he had to be sent for about half-an-hour after the service had begun.

After sending out the first Catalogue of Methodist Pamphlets I ever published, an order was received from a London bookseller for the *entire collection!*

The late Rev. R. Bond, who travelled in Barton-on-Humber, wrote a book consisting of hundreds of interesting anecdotes chiefly of Wesleyan interest, which he had accumulated and which had not been in print. He intended to issue it for the benefit of his family, and sent the MS. by post to a London publisher. It failed to reach him, and was never afterwards heard of.

For several years I have made diligent enquiry as to what became of Mr. Robert Carr Brackenbury's letters and papers, which must have been very numerous and of great interest. A

WESLEY HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

connection of the family told me that he believed them to have been destroyed, as all Mr. B.'s relatives were greatly opposed to his Methodism.

Charles Delamotte, the Moravian friend of John Wesley, died at Barrow-on-Humber, 3 miles from Barton, and in the *Arminian Magazine* for 1789 (p. 217) is an interesting letter from him to Wesley, dated Barrow, near Barton, Linc., 2 Feb., 1779. [See fully, *Proceedings*, ii., 88.]

The house at Barton in which Richard Watson was born was pulled down more than 40 years ago. It stood on the north side of the Market Place, about a stone's throw from my house. I remember it as a low, old-fashioned, one-storied building, with a small projecting window. At that time it was occupied by a barber named John ["Johnny"] Burnett, who habitually wore a swallow-tailed coat.

Some years ago the proprietor of a bookstall at Hull told me that a woman had offered him a bundle of original letters by John Wesley, but that he did not care for them! Her name was unknown to him; he only knew that she came from Beverley. On going to Beverley to investigate, I found that the woman had left the town, and was actually living at Barton! The letters had all been given away, and could not be obtained. They had been written to a member of her family.

H. W. BALL.

The Autograph Letters and MSS. which Mr. H. W. Ball speaks of buying at a sale in London [?] were the *General Autographs*—or part of them—got together by that born collector, James Everett. The whole, or nearly so, of this large and unique gathering of Methodist MSS. had, years before, been sold to the Rev. Luke Tyerman for £100. At the death of the latter, I purchased them, with many additions—thousands of letters in all—from his eldest son. This was my most important acquisition, many of the MSS. not having been used by their former owners. All the letters written to Tyerman up to the time of his death were included.

I have many times seen the long rows of bound vols. of *Tracts, &c.*, on Mr. Tyerman's shelves, and did my best to secure them by private purchase for the Allan Library, but failed. They included nearly everything that had been printed

PROCEEDINGS.

for and against and about Methodism, from the beginning, notably many locally printed tracts, &c., now impossible to find. In the best interests of Methodism these should not have been scattered.

Charles Delamotte—Wesley's friend and helper—was buried at Aylesby, near Laceby, 5 miles from Grimsby; why I know not. The late Miss Sowerby sent me, years ago, a copy of the inscription on his gravestone.

The Wesley letters named by Mr. Ball were afterwards, I believe, purchased by the late Mr. F. Denton, of Beverley, at whose house I have more than once seen them.

Can anyone send me, or point me to, an autograph letter of Charles Delamotte?

GEO. STAMP.

NEWSPAPER NOTICES OF EARLY METHODISM AND METHODISTS.

(1.) *Aris's Birmingham Gazette*, Monday, 10 May, 1742.—“We have received advice from Whitefield's Tabernacle, near Moorfields, of an incident which is very extraordinary, and may be thought diverting. A poor weaver, who had the misfortune of being married to one of Whitefield's Saints, was the other day rummaging his closet, and found two pieces of gold concealed very artfully. He enclosed two pieces of copper in the same paper he found the guineas, and left them in the same place. Last Sunday the pious dame, after her Saint had expounded, made him her gold offering. He blessed her for not forgetting Sion, and graciously dismissed her. She had not gone far before the inquisitive Saint, as soon as he had taken the cloak off the pieces, found they were of the wrong complexion. He called his votary back, rating her soundly for mocking God. She begged forgiveness, testifying surprise, declaring solemnly she had covered gold with that paper, and how the pieces became copper she could not tell, unless the Devil had done it. ‘The Devil!’ cries the expositor; ‘No, no, you are a false, scandalous, infamous woman. Come no more into the assembly. Profane not the society of the godly. Avaunt. Go and be d——d for a sinner as you are.’

The poor deluded creature, stung with his reproaches, went home and fell into fits, which her husband brought her out of by the strappado, and when he had recovered her, told her that he had taken the Saint's offering and offered it up to his landlord; and the poor fellow is now in hopes, as his wife is no longer a saint he may be able to pay his rent.”

(2.) *Aris's Birmingham Gazette*, 30 January, 1744.—“Extract from a letter from Hardington in Somersetshire, dated January 24th: ‘Rev. Mr. Westley, the famous Methodist, came lately to Taunton, dressed in a master's gown and cassock, and at the Three Cups Inn he began to preach to a very numerous

auditory in the Court, but had scarce named his Text when the Mayor of the Town came in Formality, and ordered the proclamation to be read, which immediately silenced the preacher, and they have not been troubled with any of these impertinents since."

(3.) *Aris's Birmingham Gazette*, 7 May, 1744.—"By a private letter from Bath, we hear that it being given out that Mr. Whitefield in his progress at the beginning of last month, designed to disturb the water drinkers there, it was resolved by Mr. Nash in Council, to order the City musick to keep time with him in his open-air'd conventicle, the Churches being very justly refused him."

(4.) *Aris's Birmingham Gazette*, 13 February, 1744.—"For some months past Mr. Westley, his brother and some other itinerant Preachers have visited Wednesbury, in the County of Stafford, which at different times occasioned disturbances and skirmishes, but no great mischief was done before last Tuesday, when a mob of some hundreds of people, men and women, were, by Blowing of Horns, assembled together about Darlaston, who obliged everybody they met to join them, and all who had been hearers of the above Preacher, to walk at the Head of them. They from there proceeded towards Wednesbury, and went to the houses of every one who had been their Followers, and offered a paper to be signed, by which they were to oblige themselves never to follow the same Preacher again, which being refused by many, the mob immediately broke their windows, went into their houses, took away what goods they could carry, and destroyed most of the rest.

They served some people of West Bromwich and Aldridge in the same manner, but the goods they took from Aldridge were forced from them by the Walsall people, as they were bringing them to that town, and restored to their proper owners.

A great part of the rest of the goods taken from different places, the mob were prevailed on by the most considerable people of Darlaston and Wednesbury, to lodge in a house at Darlaston, that the proprietors might come and lay claim to them; so that it is to be hoped they will make no more attempts of this kind.

The neighbouring gentlemen did all they possibly could to make them desist, by giving them Drink, and offering them money, and using every other means they thought might have

any effect, but all to no purpose. The damage done to the houses and value of the goods destroyed, are very considerable. A large quantity of Malt was preserved, by the Mob's being assured that it was seized for His Majesty's use, to pay the Duty due to him."

(5.) *Aris's Birmingham Gazette*, 5 March, 1744.—“We are assured from Wednesbury, in Staffordshire, that the followers of Mr. Wesley now possessed with such a spirit of enthusiasm that Joseph Stevens, Grinder, of Wiggin's Mill, being very much indisposed, was visited by John Eaton, one of Mr. Wesley's admirers, in order to pray by him, who informed him that he had made a good prayer for him at home, and had begged God Almighty to give him an answer, and that he had with much difficulty received a slight one. He then told Joseph Stevens that if he would confess his sins to him he should be pardoned, and then he would be fit to die. The above was given under the hand of Joseph Stevens the 21st of last March, and attested by two persons of reputation.”

(6.) *Aris's Birmingham Gazette*, 12 March, 1744.—“Whereas it has been reported that John Eaton, of Wednesbury, told Joseph Stevens, Grinder, of Wiggin's Mill, when he was ill, that if he would confess his sins to him he should be forgiven: This is to inform the public that the said report is false, as several persons who have been assured by the said Joseph Stevens are ready to testify.—John Eaton.”

(7.) *Aris's Birmingham Gazette*, 20 May, 1745.—“We hear from Exeter that on Monday evening, May 6, as the Methodists were assembled together in a House which they had taken behind the Guildhall, a large mob was gathered at the door, who pelted them as they went in, and daubed them with Dung, Potatoes, Mud, &c., and before they came out were increased by some Thousands, together with the Spectators, who, as the People came out, threw them in the Dirt, trampled on them, and beat all without Exception, so that many fled from them without their hats and wigs, others without their Coats, or with half of them tore off, and the women they used most inhumanly. Some they lamed, others stripped almost naked and rolled in the most indecent Manner in the Kennel, besmearing all their faces with Lampblack, Flour and Mud. This they continued till twelve at night, when they thought fit to disperse. It is certain the City has been in a strange Foment ever since, and many Informations have been made before the Magistrates against several of the chief Rioters.”

(8.) *Aris's Birmingham Gazette*, 28 September, 1789.—“The

Rev. Mr. Wesley, in the *Bristol Gazette*, has published his thoughts upon a *Vulgar Error* now practised in its utmost latitude ; and as we think it merits the attention of our readers, we shall give the substance of his remarks :—

In the reign of James I. (says Mr. Wesley), an Act of Parliament was passed prohibiting the use of the *poisonous weed* called *hops*. Though this Act has not been repealed, the use of the *poisonous weed* has been again introduced, and is continued on a general supposition that it is very wholesome, and that malt drink will not keep without it. He considers the use of hops for preventing malt liquor turning sour as *palpable a falsehood as ever was palmed upon mankind*. He has *himself* proved that ale brewed without hops has kept for six months as well as that with hops, and insists that neither hops nor any other bitter is necessary to preserve it for any length of time. Forty years ago, Mr. Wesley says, not one-fourth of the hops were used that there are at present, and the ale then had a soft sweetish taste, such as a decoction of barley unadulterated should have, but which is now rendered harsh, bitter, unwholesome. Wort is well known to be an excellent remedy for the scurvy, gout and stone ; with the addition of hops this excellent remedy is turned into poison, and no physician in his senses will ever recommend the common malt liquor in such cases. He considers the Revenue raised as a poor compensation for the loss of thousands of his Majesty's subjects by the grievous and mortal diseases caused by their use. Yet he does not suppose any arguments he can use will avail aught with the planters or sellers of hops, as by these they *get their wealth*. 'All that can be expected is (concludes Mr. Wesley) that a few sensible men, who are neither blinded by interest nor carried away by popular clamour, will attend to the voice of reason and be persuaded to save their money and preserve the health of their families.'

EXTRACTED BY MR. W. C. SHELDON.

UNPUBLISHED LETTERS.—I.

(I.) JOHN WESLEY TO MISS CLARKSON, AT MR. FRANCIS SCOT'S, IN WAKEFIELD, YORKSHIRE.

Near Chester, April 5, 1781.

My dear Miss Clarkson,

Mr. Floyd informs me that you had sent me a letter, and wondered that I did not answer. You might well wonder, for it is a rule with me to answer every letter I receive. It would be particularly strange if I had not answered *you*, because I have so peculiar a regard for you. I love you, because I believe you are upright of heart, and because you are a child of affliction. I felt a near union of heart [? spirit; MS. torn] with you when I saw you last. I love to hear of you and to hear from you. Mr. Floyd tells me you have finished the Six Letters; if you have, I should be glad to see them. He tells me, too (if I understand him right), that you are attempting to turn the Death of Abel into verse. This will be a heavy work, such as will require a deal of time and patience. Yet, if you begin, I trust our Lord will give you resolution to bring it to a conclusion. If I live to return to England, I shall hope for the pleasure of a further acquaintance with you. Wishing you an heart wholly to God,

I remain, my dear Sister,

Yours affectionately,

J. WESLEY.

[In possession (20 Aug., 1901) of Mrs. Noall, of St. Ives, Cornwall, who has also a portrait of Miss Clarkson, her great aunt. Mrs. Noall says that Miss Clarkson married a Mr. Tapp, an Independent minister, but after a few months of married life died 6 Oct., 1781, aged only 26. "She was always delicate." The *Death of Abel* is Solomon Gesner's. Whose are *The Six Letters*? The *Journal*, 9 April, 1781, elucidates other touches in the letter.]

A BIBLIOGRAPHICAL CATALOGUE OF
 BOOKS MENTIONED IN JOHN
 WESLEY'S JOURNALS. (I.)

Aug. 20, 1734. BEVERIDGE, BP. *Codex canonum ecclesie primitivæ vindicatus ac illustratus*. 4to. London. 1678.

Nov. 12, 1734; Mar. 4, 1747; May 21, 1741. EPHRAEM SYRUS. A writer of the fourth century, whose works consist of essays and sermons, chiefly on the monastic and moral virtues, commentaries on nearly the whole Bible, and hymns and prayers. See Mosheim's *Ecclesiastical History* (Murdoch's edition), p. 135; *History of the Christian Church*, (London: Griffin,) Vol. 2., p. 88.

"In 1731 was published, *A serious Exhortation to Repentance and Sorrow for Sin, and a strict and mortified life: Written about the middle of the Fourth Century: Translated into English from the Greek and Latin versions compared*. See Nichols' *Literary Anecdotes*, i. 472. — (Darling).

Nov. 21, 1735; May 14, 1765. LAW, WILLIAM. *A practical treatise upon Christian Perfection*. London. 1726. 8vo., pp. 546. 3rd Ed., 1734. 5th, 1759. *Collected Works*. London. 1762, 9 vol., 8vo., vol. iii. See *Journals*, i. 93; iii. 202. Green's *Bibliography*, No. 45; Moore's *L. of Wesley*, i. 258; Nichols' *Literary Anecdotes*, ix. 514; Byrom's *Poems* (Chetham Society, XXXV., new series, p. 374); Overton's *Life of Law*, 41—9.

"Law feels none of the difficulty which perplexed some contemporary divines in expounding Christ's precept to the young man to sell all he had and give it to the poor. In the treatise on 'Christian Perfection' he energetically assails the various devices by which the duty imposed by Christ's command could be represented as of temporary or partial obligation; though he maintains, of course, that the spirit of the command is more important than the letter."—Leslie Stephen, *English Thought in the 18th Century*, ii., 396.

Aug. 20, 1736. BEVERIDGE, BP. *Synodicon; sive Pandectæ Canonum Apostolorum et Conciliorum ab Ecclesia Græca receptorum; necnon Canonior. SS. Patrum Epistolæ.* 2 vols. fo. Oxon. 1672.

July 9, 1737. WOLLASTON, WILLIAM. *Religion of Nature delineated.* London. 1722. Frequently reprinted. The best edition is 1750 (seventh), with portrait and biography. See Nichols' *Literary History*, i. 169; Allibone; Leslie Stephen: *English Thought in 18th century*, i, 130.

Sep. 30, 1737. ROGERS, DR. JOHN. (1679-1729). Fellow of Corpus Christi, Oxford; afterwards Canon of Wells. *The Necessity of Divine Revelation, and the Truth of the Christian Revelation asserted; in eight Sermons.* First published in 1727; and see *Collected Works*, 4th edition. London. 1749. 4 vols. (vol. i.).

Jan. 6, 1738. DE RENTY. Green's *Bibliography*, No. 22.

Feb. 6, 1738. ARTHUR BEDFORD. (1668-1745.) Chaplain of the Haberdashers' Hospital, Hoxton. *Sermon.* (Rom. 14., i.). *The Doctrine of Assurance; or the Case of a weak and doubting Conscience. With an Appendix, answering the objections from texts of scripture.* 2nd. edition. London. 1739. 8vo.

May 19, 1738; May 15, 1746; Feb. 27, 1752; Jan. 28, 1776. HEYLIN, DR. JOHN.—See *Collected Works*. London. 1749-61. 2 vols. 4to., vol. 1, p. iii. *Theological Lectures at Westminster Abbey: with an interpretation of the New Testament.* London. 1749-61. 2 vols., 4to. See Green's *Bibliography*, No. 172. John Heylin, D.D., of Trinity College, Cambridge, was Rector of St. Mary-le-Strand, Vicar of Sunbury, Co. Middlesex, and Prebendary of St. Paul's.

In Byrom's *Remains* (Chetham Society, vol. XL., p. 542), there is a note from his diary:—"December 31, 1734. At Mr. Rivington's, who said he was going to print a new edition of Thomas A'Kempis, that Mr. Westley and Dr. Heylin were to overlook it, that it seemed to be in little short sentences, and two forms of printing, that Mr. Law was curate to Dr. Heylin and was a gay parson, that Dr. Heylin said his book would have been better if he had travelled that way himself, &c." But see Overton's *Life of Law*, p. 18.

May 24, 1738. LUTHER, MARTIN. *Preface to Epistle to Romans.*

July 31, 1739. STEBBING, DR. HENRY. *A Caution against religious Delusion. A Sermon* (Gal. vi., 15) *on the New-birth; occasioned by the pretensions of the Methodists.* 2nd edition. London. 1739. 8vo.

Oct. 23, 1739. LAW, WILLIAM. *The grounds and reasons of Christian Regeneration or the New Birth; offered to the consideration of Christians and Deists.* 7th edition. London. 1773. (Vol. 5 of *Collected Works*.)

PROCEEDINGS.

Jan. 26, 1740. EDWARDS, DR. JOHN. (1637-1716.) *Some new discoveries of the uncertainty, deficiency, and corruptions of human knowledge and learning.* London. 1714.

July 6, 1740. EPISCOPIUS. *Opera theologica.* London. 1678. 2 vols. fo. (see vol. ii.) A Wesleyan Minister (Rev. Frederick Calder, 1808-1851) published a life of Episcopi. London: 1835. There is an account of the Synod of Dort, in the first vol. of the *Arminian Magazine*.

July 16, 1740. DIONYSIUS, THE AREOPAGITE. *De Mystica Theologia Liber: Gr., Lat.: cum notis et paraphrasi per Card. Hersentium.* Paris. 1626. 8vo. See Everard's *Some Gospel Treasures*, London. 1653; Vaughan's *Hours with the Mystics*, i., 122; Overton's *Life of Law*, 263.

"The fanciful and obscure philosophy of Dionysius, of Behmen, or of Law, had been repugnant to him (Wesley) from the first;" Abbey and Overton's *English Church*. i., 593.

June 15, 1741. LUTHER, MARTIN. *A Commentarie of Luther upon the Epistle of St. Paul to the Galatians, first collected and gathered word for word out of his Preaching, and now out of Latin faithfully translated into English for the unlearned.* London. 1577. 4to. It forms a part of the first volume of his collected works. 4 vols., fo.: Jena. 1612, &c. Other editions are found in other sizes. There was also a Brief Extract of the same published in 1642. Also an edition with a biography, by Dr. Erasmus Middleton. London. 1833. See Jackson's *L. of C. Wesley*, i., 131.

June 24, 1741. BULL, DR. GEORGE. Bp. of St. David's. *Harmonia Apostolica.* London. 1670. 4to. And see his *Collected Works*, revised by Rev. Edward Burton, M.A. 7 vols. in 8. Clarendon Press: 1827 (vol. iii). A translation was published by Rev. Thos. Wilkinson, M.A., London. 1801. 8vo. It forms No. 11 in the *Library of Anglo-Catholic Theology*. Oxford: Parker.

July 9, 1741. SERVETUS, MICHAEL. (1509-1553.) An account of Servetus will be found in *Encyclopædia Britannica*. 9th edition, xxi., 685, with a list of his writings, and literature thereupon.

The curious bibliophil may refer to the Appendix to Dr. Willis' *Servetus and Calvin* (London. 1877), where the author says that "The *Christianismi Restitutio* of Servetus is one of the rarest books in the world."

F. M. JACKSON.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

210. HALL'S CIRCUITS AND MINISTERS.—I often have occasion to consult this very useful "Alphabetical List of the Circuits in Great Britain, with the names of the ministers stationed in each circuit, from 1765 to 1896." There is one peculiarity in it which for a while puzzled me, and gave me much trouble and occupied much time, until I found a solution of my difficulty. As others may have been similarly puzzled, I give the following note for their help. My difficulty will be apparent to anyone who seeks information respecting some of the old circuits, e.g., South Wilts, North Wilts, Bradford-on-Avon, Isle of Wight, North Moels Mission, or the interesting old Yarm Circuit. The information I wanted I naturally sought under the heading of the particular circuits in the alphabetical order; but to my surprise they are not named there, and I had a long search before I found them. At length I discovered that *they are given under the names which the circuits assume at a later period.* Thus South Wilts appears under Salisbury, North Wilts under Trowbridge, Isle of Wight under Newport, Yarm under Stockton, &c.

It would be rendering good service, if any member of our Society—say one of those "*Working (?) Members,*" who have not been faithful in writing to the MS. Journal lately—would draw up a list of the names of the old circuits that are mentioned only in the way I have indicated, appending to each the number of the page on which the entry is made. Or, better still, if he would prepare an Index of all the names of Circuits mentioned by Hall, whether they are given in the heavy type in the alphabetical order, or, as many of them are, in small type under other headings. My meaning will be made plain to anyone who turns to the word *Stockton*, p. 290.

Under that word the following names appear:—Yarm, Thirsk, Whitby, Darlington, Hartlepool and Middlesborough. It would add to the completeness of the work if the Minutes from 1765 were searched, to see if the name of any old circuit is omitted.—*R. Green.*

211. THE GOVERNOR [*Wesley's Journal*, 14 August, 1787].—“It happened, to use the vulgar phrase, that three or four who sailed with us from England, a gentleman with his wife and sister, were near relations of the Governor. He came to us this morning, and when I went into the room behaved with the utmost courtesy.” This is in Alderney. Again in Guernsey: “Friday, 17. I waited upon the Governor and spent half-an-hour very agreeably. Saturday, 18. Dr. Coke and I dined at the Governor's. I was well pleased to find other company. We conversed seriously for upwards of an hour, with a sensible, well-bred, agreeable man.”

Who is this Governor? There were at that time two men to whom the title could be given. Jean Le Messurier, Hereditary Governor of Alderney, by a lease from the crown which terminated about 1836. Practically, he was merely Lord of the Manor in Alderney, with feudal rights of antique character; in Guernsey, he was simply a private gentleman; but after the custom of the time would be constantly given his full title. And the gentlemen of the Channel Islands were quite of the old French school in their education and manners.

The military Lieutenant-Governor of Guernsey and its dependencies was at the time Lieutenant-Colonel William Browne. He may be the gentleman with whom Wesley dined. Would Wesley otherwise have marked with such care that he was well-bred, &c.? The general tone of the paragraph applies better to some Guernseyman. A well-bred Colonel would have been a matter of course. [?]

This little problem cannot be solved by local records. The papers of the De Jersey family have been destroyed, and other sources of information are lacking. Perhaps there may be traces of further intercourse between Lt.-Colonel W. Browne and the Methodists, and some side-light thus thrown upon the subject.

Some time ago I sent to Mr. Watkinson notes on this part of Wesley's *Journals*, and gave Le Messurier as the name of the Governor, without an alternative. But having

no authority for the statement, it is better to submit the problem to the members of the Historical Society. Somebody may be able to throw light on the question.—
M. Gallienne.

212. 'SUPERINTENDENT' AND 'BISHOP'. — Wilberforce in his *History of the American Church*, p. 210, says: "By the latter end of June [1785] Bishop Seabury was again in Connecticut. His 'reception from the inhabitants' was 'friendly' and he 'met with no disrespect'. The Presbyterian ministers appeared to be rather alarmed: and, in consequence of his arrival, assumed and gave to one another the style and title of bishops, which formerly they reprobated as a remnant of popery." Can any member elucidate this statement, in its possible relation to the change by Coke and Asbury of 'Superintendent' into 'Bishop,' which Wesley so strongly criticised in his letter to Asbury, 20 Sep., 1788? Does Wilberforce mean 'Presbyterian' in the precise, customary sense? He writes it with a capital P. Or does he simply use it as embracing all American non-episcopal ministers, Methodists included? The Methodist Church officially called itself 'Episcopal' from the first, even whilst Coke, in the ordination document of Asbury, calls him simply 'superintendent'.—*H. J. F.*
213. REVIVAL AT EVERTON (*Journal*, 30 May, 29 July, 1759).— Who wrote these two reports? In the *Index* to the *Works* they are entered as "from Rev. J. Berridge," which is plainly wrong. (1.) For the first I suggest Mrs. Elizabeth Blackwell, of Lewisham. The abbreviation "B—ll" is plainly satisfied thus. The writer is at Everton with "Mr. B—ll," and is on sufficiently familiar terms with him to drop the "Mr." and write:—"B—ll and I felt . . .," in the perfect freedom of a journal intended only for personal profit and the eye of an intimate friend. So again: "Mr. B—ll and I" go together to hear Mr. Hicks, the awakened clergyman of Wrestlingworth, four miles away. And in the very first sentences of the report is what perhaps may be a touch of identifying self-revelation: "Being with Mr. B—ll at Everton, I was much fatigued, and did not rise." The writer had apparently shared his room, and the little fact fits in well with what we know of Mrs. Blackwell's state of health and her difficulty in rising early. Mr. J. Biddulph Martin, in *The Grasshopper in Lombard Street*—a

history of the banking house in which Mr. Blackwell was so long a partner—at p. 62 has this paragraph: “Some entries [in Blackwell’s private diary] throw a light upon his personal habits. Among the weaknesses of which Wesley was, perhaps, unaware in his disciple was that of sloth,—*either in himself or his wife*. He appears to have struggled against his besetting sin, and to have organized a system of paying Mrs. Blackwell a premium as an inducement to overcome it. On October 11, 1749, is an entry ‘to E. B. for rising [*sic*] early, 7s. 6d.’ But this system does not appear to have worked to his satisfaction, for on the very next day he invested £2 12s. 6d. in an alarm clock, a remedy that did not avail to cope with the malady, for in October he again paid Mrs. Blackwell £1 8s. for rising early, and a month afterwards bought ‘another alarm clock in a wainscott head, £2 5s.’” Before I connected Mrs. Blackwell with the Everton matter, I had decided in my own mind that the above extract belonged to her, and not to her husband. (It will be seen that Mr. Martin wavers, in his not very self-consistent paragraph). I think she is the *lie-abad* whom his premiums and clocks seek to cure. There is plenty of evidence of an invalidish condition in her (*e.g.* p. 65), which may account for her morning *inertia*. This all agrees, with some slight evidential force, with the lines in our Everton writer’s report of herself. On p. 59 Mr. Martin also writes: “There are records of numerous journeys into the country . . . in which the party was made up of Mr. and Mrs. Blackwell, Mrs. Dewell, and others.” In C. Wesley’s *Journal* we find them accompanying him to Oxford, and themselves making a journey into Lancashire. We can only wonder whether the Everton visit was connected with any such excursion into the country. One, undated by the writer, is to Mr. Martin, another partner in the Bank, at Quy, near Cambridge. Everton is in Bedfordshire, just upon the border of Cambridge. I ventured to ask Mr. Martin whether Blackwell’s diary happened to mention any journey to Everton—perhaps *en route* to or from Quy—at our date, May, 1759. But no reply has reached me. Perhaps the original paper was not ready of access.

(2.) The authorship of the July account is pretty certainly ascertainable. The writer incidentally mentions his sex: “Made me another man,” or else we might have suspected Mrs. Blackwell once more, for, very curiously, this second reporter also finds it exceedingly difficult to rise early! He

repeatedly bewails his infirmity. But a few facts piece themselves together very convincingly. The writer is John Walsh, a converted Deist and a correspondent of Wesley. In the *Arminian Magazine* for 1780 is a letter from him to Wesley, dated 21 June, 1758, and giving some interesting particulars of a visit he has paid to Bedford. Incidentally he tells Wesley that on 2nd June he walked over with "Brother Tansley" from Bedford to Everton to see and hear Berridge. Near the end of the account we are examining the writer says: "The first time I saw Mr. B. was June 2, 1758." Near the beginning also it will be noted that on 9 July he reports the remarkable case of Ann Thorn, her visions and trances. Berridge himself writes to Wesley on 16 July 1759, a week later: "I would not have you publish the account of A. T., which Mr. W. has sent you." This is fairly conclusive.

Is John Walsh the unnamed London Deist from whom Wesley received and publishes (*Journal*, 2 Dec., 1755) a remarkable autobiographical letter? I think so. Let the series be read consecutively: (1.) Letter, *Journal*, 2 Dec., 1755; (2.) Letter, 21 Dec., 1755; *Arminian Magazine*, 1779, "From Mr. John Walsh. A Deist emerging into light;" (3.) Letter, 1 Feb., 1756; *Arminian Magazine*, 1779, "From the same. The progress of conviction in one lately a Deist." They will be found, in dates and contents, one consistent revelation of himself by the author of the first. This last letter is written from Kensington Gore. The letter about Bedford and Everton is written from Knightsbridge, as is also one dated 16 July, 1759, in which he happens to mention that his sister has gone to Antigua with the Gilberts. [Who is Lieut. John Walsh, *Arm. Mag.*, 1788, p. 538?]. If John Walsh, the ex-Deist, is the author of our second report from Everton, we appreciate his words: "Mon. [June] 23. Mr. Keeling and I walked back to Bedford. I was relating there how God had plucked such a brand as me out of the burning. . . . I have often found that nothing I can say makes so much impression on myself or others as thus repeating my own conversion."—*H. J. Foster*.