FROM THE ARCHIVES OF FETTER LANE.

UNPUBLISHED LETTERS OF JOHN WESLEY.

In the Moravian Messenger for 1877 were printed, "Extracts from [John Wesley's] Unpublished Letters, in the Provincial Archives." They attracted comparatively little notice in Methodist circles, although Rev. Charles Tucker called attention to one of them in Wes. Meth. Mag., 1880, p. 511, and Rev. Dr. Gregory mentioned the same letter in a footnote to p. 18 of his W.M. Polity and History.

The little periodical magazine in which they appeared would very seldom fall in the way of ordinary Methodist readers, and practically the letters were almost as much buried in the pages of the Messenger as they had long been in the safe at Fetter Lane. Some were purely personal letters to James Hutton, of these dates: 16 June, 1737, from Savannah; 4 Aug., 1738, from Herrnhuth; 16 Nov., 1738, from Oxford, (to Ingham and Hutton); 26 Nov., 1738, 9 April, 1739, 8 May, 1739, 21 March, 1740, 12 April, 1740 (with an enclosure to Molher, and also sending his newly translated hymn, "I thirst, Thou wounded Lamb of God"); and then three of a later date, 26 Dec., 1771, 10 Jan., 1772, 31 Dec., 1773, full of an affection unchanged since the earlier days, and after the long period of church-estrangement.¹

There was also printed a letter to the Synod at Marienborn, dated 8 Dec., 1745, and one to Mrs. Hutton, the mother of James, 22 Aug., 1744. But of supremest interest to Wesleyan Methodists were a series, of the dates 2 April, 1739, 9 April, 1739, 16 April, 1739, 26 April, 1739, 30 April, 1739, 28 May, 1739. These gave,

¹. On 6 July, 1776, Wesley found an "old friend," Mr. Hutton, at Epworth, "in the deepest melancholy." D. Benham in his Life of Hutton, pp. 505-7, doubts whether this is James Hutton, and, I think, rightly, though the writer of the article on Hutton in D.N. Biog. assumes the identity.
in fullest detail, and with all the freshness and actuality of the immediate report of the prime actor in the stirring scenes described, the story of the beginning of the Evangelical Revival in Bristol. Much precious help was drawn from them in my article in our Proceedings, III, ii, 30 sqq.

But these were all printed as "Extracts" only, and several letters more were reported,—4 and 7 June, 2 July, 1739,—but were not printed; because "the main substance of them, as of some of those already given, may be found in John Wesley's Journal." My curiosity was whetted; the light cast upon the origins of our Church in Bristol had been so priceless, and so unexpected, that I greatly desired at the least to see the complete originals of the published ones, and the unpublished remainder; and if possible, also to obtain copies of them for the use of our Society. I found that the little packet was somewhat strictly guarded, but by the good offices of a Moravian friend, and above all by the kind help of Mr. J. F. Pemsel, the steward of the Fetter Lane Congregation, permission was given, and I at last had a morning with the letters on the eve of my leaving London. And I was allowed to copy, for use in our Proceedings; but the time available was all too short, and I found myself obliged to be content in several cases with securing personal "bits," and names, and touches of vivid life in the story which the letters tell, not preserved for us in the printed Journals. Our Society owes very grateful acknowledgment of the generous treatment I received at Fetter Lane on its account.

It was a heart-stirring experience to handle the very letters which had been written Monday by Monday, in order to give the Fetter Lane Society a report of the weekly doings of their absent member, John Wesley, away in the capital city of the West. I cannot also say,—to read them almost on the very spot where they had been first read to the assembled society, for it is not by any means clear where in Fetter Lane the Society which Böhler had founded, and which had outgrown the accommodation of Hutton's house, the Bible and Sun in Little Wild Street, held its meetings previous to the taking of the vacant Great Meeting definitely "for the Germans" (Midsummer-day, 1740, Journal, 16 July). It will be seen that though addressed to Hutton, they are intended for the Society; and, when these weekly reports are compared with that of his printed Journals, both written up from those original and minute memoranda of every few minutes of his waking day, which were the foundation of both, interesting light is thrown upon the literary methods of Wesley. The Beau Nash
PROCEEDINGS.

Letter gives many a touch which the *Journal* omits, but which make some points of the dialogue between the two notable antagonists clearer, and make the report, written whilst all was fresh, to palpitate with life. It is noteworthy that when Wesley came to prepare the briefer account for permanent publication through the press, by which time he had drawn away from his Fetter Lane friends, he omits the references to the use of the lot on all sorts of occasions, which abound in the letters.

The letter dated Bristol, 16 April, 1739, was in great part printed in the *Messenger* of 1877. But the original opens with the following paragraphs. These are very valuable to every student of early Bristol Methodism, because of the significant names preserved to us; but also, to every student of the birth and first stages of the simple organization out of which has grown the Methodist Church of to-day, because of the light shed by them upon the relation between the Band and the Society in those formative weeks, whilst as yet there were no Classes. It is needless to say that at this date there was no Methodist society in Bristol or anywhere else. Nor was the society somewhere in Fetter Lane, of which the Wesleys were members, as yet a definitely Moravian Society. It was simply the “Society” begun by Peter Böhler before he left for America, and crowded out of James Hutton’s private house. The Society in Bristol, begun on Wednesday evening, 4 April, 1739, was not even a Society belonging to the two Wesleys. It was a Society of John Wesley’s own forming, just as that in London was of Böhler’s own forming, and for the same purpose, in so many words. He knows of nothing better to do than, as in many details the letters show, to organize and work it, in closest conformity with the “Orders” of Peter Böhler, to which he had himself submitted, and of whose Society, though independent and supreme whilst in Bristol, he was simply a member,—though a leading member,—when back in London. In one of the letters he speaks of transcribing, on his first Sunday afternoon in Bristol, “some” of the Böhler rules “for the use of our (future) brethren in Bristol.” (*Messenger*, 1877, p. 53. On all this see Rev. T. McCullagh’s clear paper, *Proceedings*, III., vi, 166.) He had not “joined the Moravians” on 21 April, 1741, but only kept up some connection with Böhler’s Society. (See 1 May, 1741.) It may be questioned whether he as yet counted himself a member of the Bristol Society he thus formed, though by the date of Mr. Lightwood’s precious fragment (*Proceedings*, IV, iv) both the Wesleys, as well as Whitefield and Cennick, are members at Bristol also.
The letter begins, then, with these hitherto unprinted paragraphs:

Dear Brethren,

Sun., Ap. 8 about 8 in the evening Mr. Wathen and his brethren met and received several persons into their [N.B.] little Society.

After prayer their leaders were chosen and the bands fixt by lot in the order following.


III Band. Henry Crawley (Barber) Leader, Tho• Harding, John Wiggins, Samuel Wathen, Thomas Westal.

Mon. Ap. 9. At 2 in the afternoon, Mrs Panou, & Mrs Grevil met together with Esther Deschamps, & Mary Ann Page (Mrs Panou's sister), whom they then received as a sister, & Esther Deschamps was by lot chosen Leader of the Band, w eh stood as follows

Esther Deschamps, J. Panou, M. Page, Eliz. Davis (then proposed and admitted) and Eliza. Grevile.

At 5 in ye evening Ann Williams, Mary Reynolds, Eliz. Ryan, Esther Highnam, Frances Wilds & Rachel England, met together & agreed to meet every Sunday. Ann Williams was chosen their leader.

At 8 the Bands of men at the Society-room in Baldwin Street, met and received into fellowship with them William Lewis, James Robins, Kenelm Chandler, Anthony Williams and Thomas Robins."

[The letter then goes on as printed in the Messenger.]

It will be remembered that Samuel Wathen, Charles Bonner, Richard Cross, and Thomas Westal were the first four men to join in Bristol. Mrs. Panou and Mrs. Grevil,—Whitefield's sister, and for a time the hostess of her brother's friend,—were two of the memorable first three women, who preceded even the four just named in proposing the formation of a new Society. Mrs. Norman was the other of the three. It is curious to find no mention of her in these lists. As was shown in my articles in Proceedings, II, i, 50, 99, her house was from the beginning a rendezvous and resting place for the Wesley brothers in their busy days, and she appears from time to time in C. Wesley's letters and journals as a much-prized friend. Long afterwards, in Arminian Magazine, 1789, p. 240, Wesley inserted an Account of Mrs. Norman, sent to him by J. Ireland, of Brislington, Fletcher's Bristol friend and host, who "lived thirty years with her, and never knew but one person who came up to her in a steady and unchangeable walk." The identification is hardly to be questioned. "Your old friend," says Ireland to Wesley; "her

house and heart were open to you and Mr. Whitefield, and you preached in a plot of land belonging to Mr. Norman, immediately after you were refused the churches." The memorable Brickyard in St. Philip's of the early days (See Proceedings, II, i; III, 2) belonged, then, to Mr. Norman, whose home was in The Plain close by. Mr. Ireland's portrait of the later years of this well-born, persecuted, saintly, "reduced" gentlewoman is very affecting. Can any member trace the connection of Mr. Ireland with Mrs. Norman? She is greeted by Fletcher in a letter to his friend, 7 Sep., 1776. (Tyerman's Fletcher, p. 367.) She died 29 Jan., 1779. The identification suggested in W. M. Mag., 1901, Feb., p. 129, cannot stand.

Mrs. Greville's attachment to the nascent Society was capricious, and apparently her zeal was short lived. As the letter of 2 July below tells us, she was caught in the disputes which, during Wesley's absence of only a week in London, had crept in, and had nearly wrecked the Society. She refused to allow the women bands any longer to use her house as their meeting place. Wesley was greatly "enlarged in prayer for Mrs. G. 'O that she may again feel herself a lost sinner.'" Perhaps she did, and recovered herself, for in the September following she accompanied C. Wesley to a service at Mr. Waine's private chapel at Corrham. Yet quickly after, on the 22nd of the same month, C. Wesley's Journal reports: "Mr. Seward told me Mrs. Grevil and others had urged him to claim the Room in the Horsetfair; but he abhorred their baseness." Finally, on 1 Sep., 1740, C. Wesley writes thus to Whitefield: "Your sister (God help her! God convert her!) is far very far, from the kingdom of heaven. She has forsaken the word, and servants, and ministers of Christ, put herself out of the bands, and is the worst enemy they have. Her complaints, that the Methodists were burdensome to her, forced me, after paying for my board, to hasten to my lodging at the New Room;" and more in the same sad strain (Tyerman, Whitefield, i, 412).

To Mr. J. Hutton, Bookseller, Near Temple-bar, London.
May 7, 1739, Bristol.

My dear Brethren,

We understood on Monday yt ye keeper of Newgate was much offended at ye cries of the People on whom ye Power of God came: And so was a Physician, who wishes well to the Cause of God, but feared there might be some Fraud or Delusion in the Case. To-day, one who had been his Patient, & his Acquaintance for many years, was seized in ye same manner. At first he would hardly believe his own Eyes & Ears; but when her pangs redoubled, so yt all her bones shook, he knew not what to think, & when she recovered in a moment & sang Praise, he own'd it was the Finger of God. Another yt sat close to Mr. Dagge, a middle aged woman, was seized
at the same time. Many observed ye Tears trickle down his cheeks; & I trust he will be no more offended.

Tu. May 1, I went to ye Colliers in ye Middle of Kingswood, & prayed with ye (several being in tears) in a place formerly a Cock-pit: near which it was agreed to build ye School-house, being close to ye place where the Stone was laid by our brf Whitefield. Many were offended at Baldwin-Street in the evening: for ye Power of God came mightily upon us. Many who were in heaviness, recd ye comforts of the Holy one & Ten Persons Remission of Sins. A Quaker who stood by me was very angry, and was biting his Lips and knitting his Brows, when the Spirit of God came upon him also, so ye he fell down as one dead. We pray'd over him, & he soon lifted up his head with Joy, & joined with us in Thanksgiving.

Wed. 2nd. Another mourner recd Comfort at Newgate. We afterwards went to a neighbouring House, to read a letter wrote agst me, as a false Teacher, for opposing Predestination. A rigid asserter of it was present, when a young woman came in (w0 had recd Remission of Sins) all in tears, & in deep Anguish of Spirit. She said she had been in torment all night by Reasoning, & verily believ'd, The Devil had possession of her again. In the midst of our prayers, she cried out "He is gone: He is gone. I again rejoice in GOD my Saviour." Just as we rose from giving thanks another young woman reel'd four or 5 steps, and then dropd down. We pray'd with her. She is now in deep Poverty of Spirits, groaning day & night for a new Heart.

I did not mention, That one John Haydon, a Weaver, was quite enraged at what had occur'd in Baldwin Street [Then follows, substantially and very closely, the account in the printed Journals.]

The female Bands met at Seven, & a young woman complaining of blasphemous thoughts, & an inability to pray, we began praying for her. During wch another young woman (Miss Cutler) fell into a strong agony, & recd Power, in a few Minutes to cry out "My Lord & my God." The next day I visited Antony Purver (a Quaker) at French-hay, with whom was a Dutchman, lately arrived from Ireland, who, I verily think, is full of ye Spirit, & breath's nothing, but Jesus Xt. On Friday evening at Glouce Lancaster Society a woman recd remission of Sins. Sat. 5. Six Quakers, 3 from Ireland, one from ye North, and two from French-Hay, met 6 of us by appointment. We prayed together and our Hearts were much enlarg'd tow one another. At 4 (being forbid to preach any more at ye Poorhouse) I preached at ye Bowling [Green] to about 2000, (at ye request of an unknown Friend) "Be still & known y' I am God."

[Sunday follows the Journals closely, and the letter concludes :] O my Dear, Dear Brethren, Pray that when I have preached to others, I may not myself be a Castaway!

J. W."

The glimpses of Wesley's intercourse with the British Friends are of great interest. Frenchay—the home of Anthony Purver (for whom see Dict. N. Biog., and Proceedings, IV, ii, 49, 50)—is still a place of special resort for the community in the city. Behind a quaint, old-world, Meeting-house is a quiet burial ground, full of the simple memorials of generations of distinguished Quaker families. In the letter of 4 June, below, is mentioned Richard Champion, famous in after years as the founder of the pottery works at Bristol which produced the famous "British China Ware." (Latimer, Annals of Bristol, 18th Cent., pp. 381-3). Throughout
the middle years of the century he was a prominent member of the group of Quaker gentlemen who figure in all the public life and enterprise of the old city. The Journals say nothing of this meeting with so notable a man. Is the "Dutchman" from Ireland to be identified with "one of the most lovely old men I ever saw; John Garret, a Dutchman by birth, and a Speaker among the Quakers,"—with whom Wesley breakfasted in Dublin, 13 April, 1756? [See also, Crookshank, Meth. in Ireland, i, 123, and Proc., II, vi, 129.]

The letter just now given locates in Newgate the scenes of 30 May in the printed Journal, and specifies amongst the "many" who were offended, the keeper of Newgate, Mr. Dagge. In the very earliest days of his evangelistic work in Bristol, Whitefield had found the chapel in Newgate prison a field of great usefulness, and one of the first fruits of his ministry was Abel Dagge, the keeper, himself. "He long adorned the doctrine of God our Saviour by a conversation such as becometh godliness." (See C. of Hunt., Life, II, pp. 357, 367-9.) Dagge has attained a wider fame than Methodism could have given him. He is, as all readers of Johnson's Lives of the Poets know, the "tender gaoler" who earned Johnson's gratitude by his sedulous and generous kindness to the unhappy friend of the Doctor, Richard Savage, the poet. Savage died in Newgate, a prisoner for debt, in 1743, and was buried at the expense of Lady Huntingdon and some other friends. The "Physician, who wishes well to the cause of God," may, with much probability, be identified as Dr. Middleton. (See Proceedings, III, i, 14.) Who was "his patient?"

Miss Cutler's case, though without her name, is recorded in the printed Journals. In our letter of 4 June, we shall meet her again. The admission of "children" into the bands will arrest the attention of every student of Methodist origins. "Jonathan Reeves" too, is the first mention of a notable early itinerant. The "famous infidel" of the following letter, and of the Journals, is perhaps Dr. Oliver of Bath. (See Proceedings, III, vi, 180).

These Fetter Lane letters, both the printed and the unprinted, give many small topographical details, like that above concerning the site of the (still existing) colliers' school-chapel at Kingswood, which add substantially to our knowledge of the scenes of these earliest days of the movement in Kingswood and Bath,—the

history of which latter place needs more systematic working upon than it has yet received.

To Mr. James Hutton, Bookseller near Temple Barr, London.  
Bristol June 4, 1739.

My dear Brethren;

Tuesday, 22d, about a thousand were present at Bath, & several fine, gay things among them. [His text given in full.] The next morning I was sent for to the young Woman, whose Relations had confind her as mad. They now agreed, she shd go where she wou’d, & seem themselves “not far from ye kingdom of God.”

I preached to about 2000 on Wedn: at Baptist Mills, on “Hear what ye unjust Judge saith.” In ye evening ye Female Bands admitted seven women on trial, & Ten Children. And Eliz. Cutler, & six other women, having been on trial their month, were by lot fixed in their several Bands.

At 8, we rec’d into our Society (after ye month’s trial) Jonathan Reeves, & six others, who at ye Lovefeast on ye 27th instant were by lot fixt in their Bands. We then rec’d upon trial John Haydon, & eight other men, & Thomas Hamilton (aged 14) with 4 other children.

Thursd. 24. We breakfasted at Richd Champion’s, where were eight or nine other Quakers. We had a mild Conference on Justification by Faith alone, concluded with Prayer, and both met and parted in Love. At 3 I preached again on Priest-down, near Pehlow [sic] to a larger congregation than before on [Is. liii, “the chastisement of our peace, etc.”]

On Friday I preach’d (ye first time) at ye Fishponds on ye edge of Kingswood, about 2 miles from Bristol [to 2000 persons, . . . . At the Brickyard on Monday afternoon. At Baldwin Street in the evening, where 2 children “received remission of sins.” Letter continues:]

On Tuesd. in ye afternoon I preached at 2 mile Hill, to about a thousand of ye Colliers: and at 5 expounded to about ye same number in ye Back Lane, at John Haydon’s door [Next morning a young Quaker was “baptised and filled with the Holy Ghost.” In the afternoon “unknowingly” he] fell in with a famous infidel, a champion of ye unfaithfull in these Parts. He was shocked, desired I wd pray for him. . . . . We went from him to Baptist Mills.

On Holy Thursday, many of us went to Kings-weston Hill, 4 or 5 miles from Bristol. As we were sitting on ye grass, two gentlemen went by, and by way of Jest, sent up many persons to us from ye neighbouring villages: To whom therefore I took occasion to speak on these words, “Thou has ascended up on high . . . .” In the evening our Landlord, in Baldwin Street, not permitting us to meet there any more, we had our 2d society at Weavers Hall, where I preached ye next morning also. In the afternoon I was at a new Brickyard, where were 12 or 1500 . . . .

[Sunday] We cd not meet in ye evening at Nicholas Street. But we made shift to do so in ye shell of our School-room [i.e. the Room in the Horsefair]: without & within wch (I suppose) about 2000 or 2500 were present. We had a glorious beginning. The scripture which came in turn to be read was “Marvel not if the world hate you.” We sang “Arm of ye Lord, awake, awake!” And God, even our own God, gave us His blessing!

Farewell in the Lord, my dear Brethren; and love one another.

The next, the Beau Nash, letter makes it clear that the memorable encounter between him and Wesley was not in the
Pump-room, nor in the Assembly-rooms, but in the open-air. The "larger audience" of the printed Journals becomes "a thousand new hearers," which is conclusive as against an indoor service. We can see Nash forcing his way through the crowd of somewhat sobered hearers standing to listen to Wesley. Also the Journals and MS. letters concur that as late as 17 July Wesley was preaching in the field of Richard Marchant, to whose house our letter shows that Wesley returned, followed by "ten or twelve fine ladies," after the preaching. The letters already published in the Messenger seem to show that two other "meadows" had been previously occupied by Wesley as preaching places in his earliest visits to Bath, one of which must have been upon the rising ground shown as open fields in the earlier maps of the city, and later on covered with the buildings of the Circus and the Park. "It is a meadow on the side of a hill close to the town, so that they could see us from Lady Cox's in the [then newly-begun Queen] Square plainly." (Messenger letter of 16 April, 1739.)

The interview of John Wesley with the prophetess, Mrs. Cooper, is new to our knowledge, though the presence of some "so-called French prophets" in Bristol is suggested in Journal, 22 June, 1739. (See C. Wesley's graphic account of his meeting with "the famous prophetess Lavington" in London; his old host Bray, the brazier of Little Britain, had become her warm supporter; Journal, June 7-13, 1739.) Can any of our workers add anything to the bare mention of (another prophetess?) Mary Plewit? The postscript shows us "the living Wesley."

To Mr. Hutton, Bookseller, near Temple Bar, London.

Bristol, June 7, 1739.

My dear Brethren,

After I came from preaching at Weavers' Hall on Monday, many came to advise me "not to go to ye Brickyard in ye afternoon, because of some terrible things ye were to be done there if I did." This Report brought many thither of what they call ye better sort, so ye it added a thousand, at least, to ye usual audience. . . . . . My nose began bleeding in ye midst of ye Sermon, but presently stopd, so ye I went on without interruption & ye power of God fell on all, so ye the scoffers stood looking one on another, but none open'd his mouth.

All Bath on Tuesday was big with expectation, of what a great Man was to do to me there; And I was much intreated not to preach, "Because no one knew what might happen." By this Report also I gained (I believe) a thousand new Hearers, of the Rich and Great of this world. I told ye plainly "The Scripture hath concluded all under sin," High & Low, Rich & Poor, one with another. They appeared not a little surprized, & sinking apace into Seriousness, when their Champion appeared, & having forced his way thro' ye People ask'd, "By what authority I did these things?" I answered, By ye Authority of Jesus my Master, conveyed to me by ye (now)
Archbp of Canterbury." He said it was contrary to ye Act of Parl. t : there was an Act of Parl. t ags t Conventicles." I replied, "The Conventicles there mentioned were seditious Meetings. But there were no such here." He said, "Yes, it was—for I frighted People out of their wits." I ask'd "If he had ever heard me preach? If not how he cd judge of what he never heard?" He said, "By common Report, for he knew my Character." I then asked, "Pray, S r, are you a Justice of Peace, or the Mayor of this City?" Ans' No, I am not. Q? Why, then, S r, Pray, by what authority do you ask me these things? (Here he paused a little, & I went on.) Give me leave, S r to ask, Is not your name Nash? Ans' S r, my name is Nash. W. Why then, S r, I trust Common Report is no Good Evidence of Truth. (Here the Laugh turned full against him, so y' he looked about & cd scarce recover. Then a Bystander said) "S r, let an old woman answer him." Then turning to Mr. Nash, she said, "S r, if we ask what we come here for; we come for ye Food of our Souls. You care for your Body. We care for our Souls." He replied not one word, but turn'd & walk'd away.

We immediately began praying for him, & then for all ye Despisers. As we returned, they hollowed & hisd us along the Streets: But when any of ym asked, "Which is He? And I answered "I am He," they were immediately silent. Ten or 12 fine ladies followed me into the Passage of Richard Marchant's Houfe. I turned back to ym, & told them, I supposed what they wanted was, To look at me; such they were very welcome to do: Perceiving y'm to be more Serious, I added, "I do not expect ye Rich of ye world to hear me. For I speak plain Truth: a thing you know little of, & do not desire to know." A few words more passed between us, & I hope, not in vain.

Wedn. 6. Two men and one woman were baptiz'd. About 2500 were at Baptist Mills, to whom I explained ye ninth of St. John. In the evening after our Meeting in Baldwin-Street, I went (in obedience to God's command by Lot) to ye house of Mrs. Cooper, ye supposed Prophetess. Her agitations were nothing near so violent, as those of Mary Plewit are. She prayed awhile (as under ye Hand of GOD) & then spoke to me for above half an hour. What Spirit she spoke by I know not. The words were good. Some of y'm were these. "Thou art yet in darkness. But yet a little while & I will rend the veil, and Thou shalt see ye King in his Beauty." I felt no power while she spoke. Appearances are agst her, but I judge nothing before the time.

On Thursday, after exhorting ye little Society at Pensford (who stand as a rock, continually batter'd but not shaken) I went to Priestdown, where we had a larger Company than before. I preached on "What must I do to be saved?" It rain'd hard, but none went away, except one young woman, who came again in a few minutes. In ye midst of ye Prayer, Two men (who came for that purpose) began singing a Ballad. After a few mild words (for I saw none yl were angry) we began singing a Psalm, which utterly put y'm to Silence. We then prayed for y'm, & they were quite confounded. I offered y'm Books, but they cd not read. I trust, this will be a day, much to be remembered by them, for the loving-kindness of the Lord.

My brethren, Be Meek & Lowly; Be Wise, but not Prudent. Stir up the gift that is in you, by keeping close together. Love one another, & be ye Thankful. You are much in the Heart, as well as in the Prayers of Ye affectionate Brother in Christ. John Wesley.

[Postscript.] Jemmy Hutton, If I have not 50 more Hymns next Friday, I will not thank you. When are ye 12 Haliburton's, & ye Nelson's [Watson's?] Sermons, wch Mr. Seward writes me word, He order'd you to send me, with 20
Hymns on his acct?  
June 10, 1739  O Jemmy, Jemmy!

One other Bristol letter remains. It may be taken, though without adding much to our knowledge, that “Ann Allen” is “Ann A—,” mentioned in unhappy associations, in *Journal*, 22 and 28 Feb., 1741; C. Wesley too says (30 Nov., 1740) “Ann Ayling and Ann Davis could not keep from railing. John Cennick never offered to stop them.” Mrs. Thornhill’s name, so gratefully recorded, leads into a very interesting and pathetic byway of our story. Wesley abridged Sarah Young’s wordy *Life of Rebecca Scudamore* (See *Proceedings*, IV, viii, 238.) Rebecca Scudamore was the daughter of Mr. William Thornhill, one of the earliest members of the staff of the Bristol Infirmary, from 1735 to 1755, when he resigned. Mrs. Thornhill died when Rebecca was “nine” years old. She was born 25 Jan., 1729, and would be ten at the date of our letter. But there is no such exactitude in Sarah Young’s *Life* anywhere as would forbid our supposing a vagueness, or a slip, of memory here, especially when all other indications combine into a harmonious whole. Indeed S. Y. expressly says that Mrs. Thornhill “went amongst the Methodists; who came out about this time” (i.e. upwards of fifty-years since [1790].”) Dr. Thornhill on that account “confined his wife to the house, and treated her with great severity.” Her case, for it is surely hers, moved Wesley deeply, as his very unusual outburst of feeling in his printed *Journal* shows (“Mrs. T—,” 1 July, 1739) “Endure hardship still, thou good soldier of Christ! Persecuted, but not forsaken: Torn with inward, and encompassed with outward, temptations, but yielding to none. O may patience have its perfect work!” May we connect the child Sarah Murray with “Sister Murray,” who appears ten years later, in happy association with Mary Davey, the housekeeper at Kingswood (C.W. *Journal*, 31 March, 1739; and for Mary Davey’s marriage at Hayes Church to Thomas Richards, *Proceedings*, IV, ii, 34)? The case of Mary Conway is so remarkably close a parallel to that of “J—e C—r” in the printed *Journal* of the same date, that their identity can hardly be doubted. These initials certainly stand for Jane Connor, (C. W., *Journal*, 30 Oct., 1739), in close connection with whom is mentioned a Mary Connor, who “on Thursday night recovered that unspeakable peace which she first received some weeks ago, but lost by keeping it to herself.” Conjectural reconstruction of history is always precarious work, but it would not be surprising to find that “Mary Conway” is “Mary Connor,” and that “J[ane]” is a slip of memory for “Mary.”
This letter is apparently very hastily written. The writing is poor and characterless; indeed sometimes it becomes strangely unlike Wesley's hand. Does the handwriting reflect his mental condition: "I had no Life or Spirit in me"?

To Mr. James Hutton, Book-seller, near Temple-Barr, London.

Bristol, July 2, 1739.

Dear Brethren,

[Return to Bristol: Preaching: Meeting with Howell Harris. The letter proceeds:] It is incredible what advantage Satan hath gain'd here, by my absence of only 8 days. Disputes had crept in, & ye Love of many was waxt cold: so ye all our Society was falling in pieces. I preach'd on Wedn. at Newgate at 11; and at 4 at Baptist Mills on, Simon, Satan hath desired to have thee . . . . [Text given in full, as always.] At 7 I met ye Women Bands at Eliz. Davis' house (Mrs. Greville having forbidden ym hers) I found disputes had rent them also, so ye many were resolv'd to quit ye Society. Finding it necessary to speak to ym apart, I fix'd times to meet each band singly; wch I did on ye days of the following week, and all of ye were (I hope) established in ye Faith. At 8 I met our brethren in Baldwin-Street, where instead of Disputing we pray'd together; ye Spirit of the Holy One was with us. All Divisions were healed; all misunderstanding vanished away; & we all felt our hearts drawn together, & sweetly united in the bowels of Jesus Christ.

Thursd. 21. I talk'd an hour or 2 with a young man of Gloucester who was deeply prejudiced agst my Dear Bro: Whitefield and me. He went away of another mind. In ye afternoon I Pr'd at Publow, as usual, without any disturbance on Isa. 45, 22. In ye evening I was at ye Schoolroom, & had a large and attentive Audience, tho' ye was uncover'd & it rain'd hard. Afterward I met with Molly Deacon's Band, whose openness & childlike simplicity pleased me much: where also I spoke with a young man who was fully determin'd "Naked to follow a Naked Master," 1 having been turned out of doors by his Friends ye night before, for coming to the Societies.

Friday 22. I wrote to a society just begun at Wells, wch I hope to visit when God permits. At 9 I called on Mr. Whitehead, whom G. Wd baptiz'd at Gloc: "Ye did run well, who hath bewitch'd you? Wo unto ye Prophets saith ye Lord, wch prophesy in my name, & I have not sent them." At Weavers Hall I endeavoured to point ym out and exhorted all to cleave to ye Law & ye Testimony.

In the afternoon I preached at fishponds [sic] on ye same words as at Publow, but had no Life or Spirit in me. I came back to ye Band on trial whose behav' (especially Mrs. Thornhill's) a little reviv'd and comforted me; but when I left them to go to Glo Lane society, I was more dead & cold than ever; and much in doubt, whether God w'd not now lay me aside, and send more faithful labourers into his Harvest. When I came thither, my soul being grieved for my bro: Whitehead, I began in much weakness to exhort ym ["to try the spirits . . . . ."] In the evening I explained ye 12th of Acts to 12 or 1500 at ye new Room. On Saturday evening Ann Allen (a young woman) was seized with strong pangs at Weavers Hall . . . . . . Sarah Murray (aged 13) and 4 or 5 other persons . . . . . were as deeply convinced on Sunday evening . . . . . .

On Monday 25 a young woman named Mary Pritchard was cut to ye heart

as was Mary Greenwood at 4 in ye afternoon. At Glenc Lane in ye evening one Mary Conway, who as she was sitting at work at 10 in the morning . . . .

On Tues. 26 I preached ye first time under ye Sycamore tree near ye school at Kinswood [sic]. . . . . After preaching to some hundreds in ye Back Lane, I went as usual to the School-room. . . . . At Baldwin-Street Wm. Farnell and Richard Hereford were excluded the Society, as being not only unwilling to attend it, but utterly incapable (as yet) of profiting by it. I was afterward much enlarged in prayer for Mrs. G. O that she may again feel herself a lost sinner. I went on Thursday in ye afternoon, to preach in ye south edge at Kingswood near a sort of a village called ye Cupolas, but ye people not having notice, but few came, so y' having used some prayer with y'm I promised to come again ye next day, & then Preach'd on 'Believe and thou shalt be saved.'

Sat. 30. Ann Williams (Ant : Williams wife) was ye 13 time tap'd for ye dropsy. She desired to be dissolv'd and to be with Christ, but gave herself up to him for Life or for Death. [C. W. gave her the Lord’s Supper on 3 Nov., 1739.]

To about 1200 in ye Bowling Green I showed, Many lawful things edify not; at Weaver Hall Kitty Deschamps about 14 Prudence Woodward & 5 more roared for ye south edge of their heart, and all, upon Prayer, were delivered & sang praises unto our God and unto ye Lamb that liveth for ever and ever.

Yours in Xt. JOHN WESLEY.

A few sentences of the remaining letters of the packet may be worth preserving, though the letters as a whole are of small interest from a historical point of view.

To Mr. James Hutton at Mr. Inny's's [sic] Bookseller in St. Pauls Church Yard, London.

Cows Road, Nov. 28, 1735 The Simonds.

. . . . I must add more tho' I find no words to express my self. There is no writing down my sensations. —— I feel ye weight & misery of my nature & long to be freed from this Body of Corruption. My Brother's words upon ye Loss of such a Friend as you & ye S. [ister?] express in part what I feel . . .

[To James Hutton.] March 27, 1738.

. . . . Your Scrip. Jemmy, comes next. As to the point of the woman, we are agreed. As to the Members, I have one more doubt. I believe Bishops, Priests & Deacons to be of Divine appointment (though I think our brethren in Georgia do not). Therefore I am tender of the first approach to "Pastors appointed by the Congregation." And if we should begin with an appointed fixt Person to execute Pro Officio one part of the Pastoral office, I doubt it would not end there. My Dear Brother, This may seem of little weight to some of our Brethren, especially when urged by one so loveable as you.

[To James Hutton.] Oxon. Apr. 28, 1738

. . . . I left two little books (which I want as well as my Shoes) at your house, A. M^s Schurman & Corbet. [See Proceedings, IV, vii, 206.]

H. J. FOSTER.
[The Rev. J. E. Winter has extracted from the Castle Cary Visitor for our Proceedings the following useful material, illustrating several pages of the Journal.]

I. MRS. CLARKE (30 Aug., 1790).


SUSANNAH HAWLEY CLARKE.—There is an altar tomb in Ansford Churchyard that marks the last resting place of Susannah Hawley Clarke, a lady of whom John Wesley spoke very highly in his Journal. Mrs. Clarke was the daughter of William Dawe, of Ditcheat, and at an early age was married to Dr. James Clarke, of Ansford House. She soon learned what trouble meant, for her infant son, Richard Augustus Selwin, died when only three weeks old. Two other children were given to her—Martha Hawley, baptized in 1786, and James, baptized in 1788; but alas! her infant children were soon deprived of their excellent mother, who died October 28th, 1789, at the age of 26. Though so young a lady, her memory will live in the annals of local Methodism, for tradition tells how she found bed and board for the founder of Methodism. Wesley himself says of her:

[Quotation follows: Journal, 30 Aug., 1790.]

By the courtesy of the Rev. A. J. Woodforde, we are able to give the following extract from the diary of the Rev. James Woodforde:—“Nov. 11th, 1789. Briton returned from Norwich about 4 o’clock this afternoon. Brought me a letter from my brother John, informing me of the death of Mrs. Clarke on Friday se’nnight last. Pray God she may have a happy change. I sincerely pity the two infant children she has left, and likewise her disconsolate husband. Poor Dr. Clarke, I heartily pity him.”

The late Elias Barber maintained that it was Mrs. Clarke at the “Villa” who is referred to in Wesley’s Journal, but enquiry shows that Mr. and Mrs. Richard Clarke lived at the “Villa” at the time. Of course Wesley may have received hospitality at both houses, as he paid several visits to Cary. At the time the two houses belonged to the same owner, and they were connected by a stone path across the fields.
[If this latter lady were Wesley's hostess, then the following material is germane to our purpose.]


RICHARD CLARKE.—This gentleman appears to have originally come from Epsom to Ansford, where he practised as a Surgeon. He was twice married. His first wife was Margaret, daughter of James Collins, of Ansford, by whom he had two sons. Richard Clarke's second wife was Sobieski Clementina, eldest daughter of the Rev. Samuel Woodforde, Rector of Ansford and Vicar of Castle Cary, by whom he had several children.

Castle Cary Visitor, Vol. III., p. 87, 1900-1.

1821, On Monday Se'nnight, died at Ansford, Somerset, at the advanced age of 96, Mrs. Clarke, relict of the late Richard Clarke, Esq., of the same place. (This would be the second wife of Richard Clarke).

II. Horner's Yard, Castle Cary.

[In reference to the several visits of Wesley to Castle Cary the Castle Cary Visitor, Vol. II., 1808-9, p. 139, says:]

On another page we give an illustration of John Wesley preaching in "Horner's Yard." The original sketch was taken by Heighes Woodforde, about 1785, and is now in the possession of the Rev. A. J. Woodforde, of Locking. In our first volume we gave full particulars of Wesley's several visits to Cary, and most of our readers are aware that the original Methodist Chapel was erected in the yard known of late years as "Baker's Yard." In the time of Wesley, a Mr. Horner owned this property, and the old chapel is spoken of still as "Horner's Chapel." This Horner was probably a chief supporter of Wesley in the town, and the artist has figured him with a large head on the right of the preacher. In the bottom corner, on the opposite side, we have a portrait of William Woodforde, of Galhampton House. Wesley himself says in his Journal that both high and low came to his services at Cary; and from all accounts he was well received and hospitably entertained whenever he came to the town.

III. DR. ROBERTSON, PITCOMBE (Journal, 10 Sep., 1754).


DR. ROBERTSON.—About 1701 the lands of Pitcombe were sold in parcels by the then owner, Sir Henry Winchcombe. John Hall was the principal purchaser. He lived at Pitcombe, dying in 1729. His two daughters (Jane and Mary) shared his property. Jane became the wife of Nathaniel Webb, of Roundhill, who died
before her. She afterwards married John Robertson, of Wells, M.D. The Pitcombe portion of her father's property fell to Mrs. Webb, and it is certain that when she changed her name to Robertson, she and Dr. Robertson continued to live at Pitcombe. It was this gentleman whom John Wesley visited in 1754.

In the Journal, Vol. II., pp. 301-2, edit. 1864, we have:

"Mon. 9th [Sept.], 1754. I preached at Charlton, a village six miles from Taunton.

"Tues. 10.—I rode to Dr. Robertson's at Pitcombe; and after spending a few agreeable and useful hours in that delightful recess, went forward about four miles to Westcombe. I preached on a green place in the town about eight in the morning."

Wesley does not say where he slept on the night of 9 Sept., or how he got to Pitcombe on the morning of the 10th. The distance is about 25 miles from Charlton, near Taunton, to Pitcombe.

It is not clear whether Wesley speaks of Pitcombe or of Dr. Robertson's house as a "delightful recess." Collinson's Somerset speaks of the houses in his day as "romantically situated in a low, narrow dingle between fine hills, interspersed with rocks and woods."

IV. Westcombe (Journal, 10 Sep., 1754).

[Mr. Winter adds the following reminiscences of a visit to Westcombe :]

This is a delightful spot, on what may be considered one of the eminences of Creech Hill, one of the highest hills in Somerset, near Evercreech, and only one mile from Batcombe. On Wednesday evening last, June 22, I was preaching at the latter and passed "the green place in the town" where Wesley preached. A little clump of trees now marks the spot, which is on a steep hill where four roads meet. At the service at Batcombe were the three oldest members of the congregation. One, Rhoda Clifford, is in her eighty-fifth year. She is a remarkable person and deserves a name in our Methodist annals. Wesley would certainly have mentioned her. She is deeply pious, has been a member of Society about seventy years, and a collector for Foreign Missions nearly the whole of that time. She is now, and has been for several years, the only Class Leader at Batcombe. Though infirm and sometimes losing her speech, she insists upon being taken to chapel at every service; occasionally she has to be almost carried. She is about 4ft. 5in. in height, wears a coal-scuttle bonnet entirely covered with black velvet, a black cape or jacket reaching down to the feet, and, what is most important of all, carries on her arm a sacred black bag in which
PROCEEDINGS.

will be invariably found Bible, Hymn Book, spectacles, class book, pocket handkerchief, and key of her door. She will always sit where she has sat ever since the chapel was built, on the left side seats half way up the chapel, close to the stove. She has never been married, but says she has "scores of spiritual children." Around the walls of her cottage, which is only three or four doors from the chapel, she has pasted up the engravings of the Presidents of the Conference, all of whom she venerates, but especially the Rev. Hugh Price Hughes. Little children frequently are found in her house, to whom occasionally she gives a treat. Rhoda (she will not be called by any other name) was for many years in the service of Mr. Harding, of Batcombe, uncle of the late Rev. Richard Harding, by whom she has been comfortably provided for. She is beloved by everybody.

On Wednesday night last, Rhoda told me in the presence of the other two aged persons, that when she was a little girl she went with the Batcombe Sunday School, on its anniversary, to Westcombe, and that the children and teachers joined hands in a ring around the trees where Wesley preached. The spot then is unmistakably known.

V. THE FRIENDLY FAMILY AT DITCHEAT. (Journal, 16 Sep., 1784.) [Mr. Winter continues:]

I have made enquiry of several persons, including Mr. C. Martin, Mr. Macmillan, and a young Mr. Clarke, who is a member of a very old Ditcheat Methodist family; but I can obtain no information. My opinion is, and Mr. Martin also thinks it probable, that they were Mr. and Mrs. William Dawe, the parents of Mrs. Susannah Hawley Clarke.

I was recently at Ditcheat, and had an interview with Mr. John Jeanes. The conversation supports my view.

Mr. John Jeanes, who is 75 years old, says:—"Old Mr. Dawe, Manor House, Ditcheat, told my father that Wesley was preaching on the green, when a shower of rain came on, and Mr. Dawe's father invited Mr. Wesley into his barn or some out-building, to finish the service." The Journal, 30 Sep., 1785, seems to agree, at least so far as the rain is concerned, with Mr. Jeanes' account.

On further examining the Journal, however, I find that Wesley says: "We found such another (congregation) Friday, 4 Sep., [1789] at Ditcheat; but the rain drove us into the house, where as many as could squeeze in seemed much affected." This is in still closer agreement with the above account of Mr. Jeanes.

[Mr. Winter adds to his collections of illustrative material a MS sketch map, in which he indicates the sites of Methodist interest in the town of Castle
Cary with its adjunct Ansford [Almsford]. Coming into the town by the road from Yeovil, on the right hand, soon after a Methodist visitor has passed the church, is the horse-pond in which Samuel Wells was plunged when he was seeking to introduce Methodist preaching into Castle Cary. (E.M.P., vi, 270. 1) A little further on, proceeding towards the High Street, and again on the right hand, is Horner’s Yard, with a wall, the sole relic of the first Methodist chapel in the S. E. corner. Proceeding by way of the High Street, the present chapel is reached, but on his way the visitor will have passed on his left, “Castle Cary Villa,” Dr. Richard Clarke’s house. A few moments earlier too he will have passed the junction of Ansford Lane with the High Street. At the end of this furthest from the High Street, and near its junction with Ansford Road, is Ansford House, the house of Dr. James Clarke, the “afflicted husband,” and the place of Wesley’s entertainment. In Ansford Lane on the left is Wesley Villa, the residence of the Castle Cary superintendent. From the rear of this a path leads to Ansford Church, in the graveyard of which Mrs. James Clarke lies buried.

Memorials of Sammy Hick in Aberford Parish Church.

The ready and versatile pen of James Everett has made us familiar with the name and fame of “Sammy Hick, the Village Blacksmith,” who died at Micklefield in 1829, and was buried at Aberford Parish Church, some two miles away.

But it is not generally known that when in 1861 the above church was enlarged to meet the requirements of the growing population, the noble generosity and true simplicity of Hick’s life, together with his implicit confidence in God’s providence, were not forgotten by numerous loving friends who cherished his memory.


1. John Pritchard writes: [1783] “In Allington [Alhampton] we joined about forty members this year; and our good friend Mr. John Horner built us a comfortable preaching house in Castle Cary, where but a few years ago they threw Mr. Samuel Wells into a pond for preaching.”
Page 73. "The windows (of the church) are all decorated with corbels of an ecclesiastical character, and in one instance an attempt has been made to reproduce the features of the late Samuel Hick, the village blacksmith of Micklefield, whose bones (as the inhabitants of Aberford are proud to boast) lie beneath the window on the south side, which has been erected to his memory by admirers of his benevolent character."

Page 75. "The window next to the door in the south aisle, also by Wailes, of Samuel Hick, who died Nov. 9th, 1829, aged 71 years. . . . . . As symbols of his life and character the artist has produced in this window two vivid and brilliant views of the acts of 'The Good Samaritan' of Scripture."

I also send the following stray notes picked up from a native of Micklefield, believing that they will be of interest to all who honour Sammy's memory.

1. Samuel Watson, great-grandson of Samuel Hick, yet lives in his great-grandfather's house at Micklefield, and has many relics of his ancestor, including the great-grandfather's clock.

2. I am told by a Micklefield person that a fresh wreath of flowers is placed on Hick's grave in Aberford Church yard every Sunday, but by whom it is so placed no one seems to know.

3. Sammy Hick's anvil is now said to be in the possession of Mr. George Milner, Sanitary Inspector of the Markets, Batley, who prizes it much, and has had a suitable box made for it, and shows it at Bazaars.

4. I have been told that a Mr. Spink took the smithy after Sammy Hick's death. The old building was too small and rickety for Spink's increasing business, and was pulled down, a new and larger one being erected. Many of Hick's belongings, including the anvil in question, were thrown aside in the smithy yard, and by and by got nearly over-grown with grass. One day a Mr. Thomas Milner went to the smithy and asked Mr. Spink for the loan of something to hammer iron on. Looking around for awhile Mr. Spink pointing to the anvil said, "Why, there is old Sammy's anvil laying there, will that do?" "Yes," said Mr. Milner, "I cannot have anything better," and took it.

5. It would appear that Mr. Spink never asked for it back again, and thus it passed from Mr. Thomas Milner to his nephew Mr. George Milner.

(The late) J. B. LESLIE.
This INDENTURE made the eleventh day of November in the year of our Lord one thousand six hundred fiftie and Nyne Betweene Barthelomew Westley of Bridporte in the Countie of Dorset Clarke of the one parte and Roberto Bowdedge and Gabriell West of Lyme Regis in the Counte aforesaid Merchant of the other parte WITNESSETH that the said Barthelomew Westley as well for and in consideration of the faithfull Love and affection which hee beareth unto Mary his now Wife and for her better advancement in livinge if she happen to overlive the said Barthelomew as alsoe for the naturall love and affection which the said Barthelomew beareth unto Mary the now Wife of Robert Pitfield and Martha the Daughter of the said Barthelomew and Mary his Wife hath given granted and enfeoffed and by these presents Doth give grant and enfeoffe unto the said Robert Bowdedge and Gabriell West their heires and assignes all that Close of Pasture or Meadow commonly called Copeshire otherwise Stortonley otherwise Maggotte Meade containing by estimation three acres bee it more or lesse with the appurtenances lyinge within the parish of Coldway in Lyme Regis aforesaid now in the tenure of Mary Davie widdow and which said premises the said Barthelomew Westley of late had and possessed of and from Richard Rose Esquire now deceased TO HAVE AND TO HOLD all the said Close of Pasture or Meadow grounde with the appurtenances unto the said Roberto Bowdedge and Gabriell West their heires and assignes To the Uses Intent and purposes hereafter mentioned (that is to Say) TO the use of the said Barthelomew and Mary his Wife for and during the terme of their naturall lives and the longest liver of them And after the Decease of the [said] Barthelomew and Mary his Wife as for and touchinge the moettie or halfendale of the said Close with the appurtenances thereunto belonginge TO the use and and behoofe of the afores"d. Mary Eldest Daughter of the said Barthelomew and Mary his Wife and of the heires of the body of her the said Mary (the Daughter) lawfully begotten or to bee begotten And for deaaulte of such Issue Then to the use
and behoofe of the aforesaid Martha the other Daughter of the said Barthelomew and Mary his Wife her heirs and assigns for ever. And as for and concerning the other moities or halfendale of the said Close with the appurtenances to the use and behoofe of the said Martha and of the Heires of the body of the said Martha lawfully begotten or to bee begotten and for defaulte of such issue then to the use and behoofe of the said Mary the eldest Daughter her Heires and assignes for ever PROVIDED always that it bee not meante or intended or is it meante or intended by the parties to these presents That the aforesaid Robert Pitfield the Husband of the said Mary the Daughter or any other with whom the said Mary shall intermarrie shall have or clayne any Estate right title or Interest in or too any moietie or moities of the premises to the said Mary the Daughter Lymitted as aforesaid or shall have take or receive any of the Rent issues or profits of the same for any longer tyme or terme than for and during the naturall life of her the said Mary the Daughter anything in these presents contayned or any custome usage laws or curtosie of England to the contrary notwithstanding. PROVIDED allsoe in like manner that it bee not meante or intended nor is is meante or intended by the parties to these presents that any husband with whom the aforesaid Martha is or shall bee intermarried with shall have or clayne any estate right title or Interest in or too any moietie or the moeties of the premises to the said Martha limited as aforesaid or shall have take or receive any of the rents issues or profits of the same for any longer tyme or terme than for and during the naturall life of the said Martha anythinge in these presents contayned or any customs usages law or curtosie of England to the contrary notwithstanding. AND the said Barthelomew Westley for himself his Heires and assignes doth covenant promise and agree with the said Roberte Bowdedge and Gabriell West their heires and assignes by these presents that hee the said Barthelomew Westley his Heires and assignes shall and will permit and suffer the said the said close with the appurts and the said Mary the Daughter and the said Martha (according to the lymitationes and in manner and form before expressed) and all and every the person and persons to whomsoever or both the said moeties or halfendeales of the said close or any part or parcel thereof shall happen to come or of right ought to come by reason of these presents Quietly and peaceably to have holde occupie and enjoye the same close moetie moeties part or parcel without any manner or lett trouble eviction expulsion suite vexation or disturbance of the said Barthelomew Westley or his heires or assignes or any person or persons whatso-
ever lawfully haveing or clayminge or pretending to have any estate or title from by or under the said Barthelomew Westley his heires or assignes.

In Witnesse whereof the parties above named to these present Indentures interchangeably have sett to their Hands and Seales the day and yeare first above written.

Robert L. S. Bowdedge

Gabriell L. S. West.

Sd. sealed and Delivered by the within named Gabriell West in the presence of us viz

Daniel Horlett
John Westley
Ch Pitfield.

Sealed & Delivered by the within named Robert Burridge in the presence of us viz

John Westley
Wm Courtenay.

Endorsed:

Counterpart of the Settlement made by Barthw. Westley 11 Novemb'. 1659.

[Mr. A. M. Broadley writes: “The document was discovered by me at Bideford, having come many years ago into the possession of Mr. Wainwright, of Bridport. It contains two of the very rare signatures of John Wesley, Minister of Winterbourne Whitchurch, and he attested his father’s deed
of settlement in the same year as he recorded his son Samuel's birth in the Whitchurch registers. The family of Pitfield is still well represented in West Dorset, and until quite lately they held property at Symondsbury, between Bridport and Charmouth. The deed forms part of my collection of relics connected with the adventures of Charles II. at Charmouth and elsewhere on the 22, 23 and 29 September, 1651. The deed shows Bartholomew Wesley's connection with Lyme Regis, where he was buried.” We print the above in faith that our fellow-member is right in taking Bartholomew Wesley, of Bridport, as the Bartholomew Wesley who at the date of the deed was still rector of Charmouth, where also “after his ejectment he was permitted to reside” (Stevenson, Wesley Family, p. 13). There may be some explanation upon this point, and perhaps the name “John Westley” gives some support to Mr. Broadley's identification. Stevenson, however, claims the authority of family documents for “Ann Carbery” as the name of B.W.'s wife; the deed says “Mary his now wife.” The parallel in the case of the daughter Mary perhaps shows that no emphasis lies upon “now,” or a second wife might be suggested. If Mr. Broadley's deed really was executed by the afterwards ejected B.W., then the names of two daughters, unknown to Beal and Stevenson, are recovered for us.—F.]
AN EXAMINATION OF QUOTATIONS, LATIN, GREEK, AND ENGLISH, IN THE JOURNAL OF JOHN WESLEY.

[The Edition used is that published at the Wesleyan Conference Office, 8vo., 1872.]

(1.) GREEK AND LATIN.

VOLUME I.

P. 28, Nudi nudum Christum sequi.

English as in foot-note. The reference is to what may be called the motto of St. Francis of Assisi. "He (the Duke of Gandia) took for his ideal that of St. Francesco d'Assisi: "Nudus nudum Christum sequens"." (Chronicles of the House of Borgia, p. 312. See also, ante, p. 12)

Aγρὸς Αχαιμενίδου γενόμην ποτέ· νῦν δὲ Μενίππου.—Lucian, Epigr., 13.—[F.R.]

In full:

Aγρὸς Αχαιμενίδου γενόμην ποτέ· νῦν δὲ Μενίππου,
Καὶ τάλιν ἐξ ἐτέρου βῆσομαι εἰς ἐτέρον.
Καὶ γὰρ ἐκεῖνο ἔχειν μὲ ποτ' ὕπερ, καὶ τάλιν ὀθος
Οἶτει, εἰμι δὲ ὅλως οὐδένος, ἀλλὰ Τύχης.

"I was once the estate of Achaemenides, but now am the property of Menippus; and again from the one I shall go to the other. For he once thought he had me, and again this one thinks so, but in fact I belong to nobody at all, but only to Fortune." Cf. "Nunc mihi, nunc ali benigna."

—Hor., Od., iii., 29, 52.

Quae cura nitentis (-es)

P. 70, Pascere equos, eaedem sequitur tellure repastos.

Dec. 14, 1737.

—Virgil, Aen., vi, 654-5.

"Nitentis" is a variant form of the plural. The foot-note rendering is too loose for a translation. J. W. doubtless had in his mind the whole passage, describing the occupation of the shades of the Heroes in Elysium:—
"Arma procul currusque virūm miratur inanes.
Stant terra defixae hastae passimque soluti
Per campum pascentur equi. Quae gratia currūm
Armorumque fuit vivis, quae cura nitentes
Pascere equos, eadem sequitur tellure repostos."

He views with wonder in the distance the heroes' arms and shadowy battle-cars. Their spears stand fixed in the soil, and here and there their steeds, unharnessed, roam grazing over the plain. The same delight they took in chariots and armour when alive, and the same care they took to feed their sleek steeds, attends them still, buried though they be.

P. 72, Jan. 8, 1738.
Nihil est quod hactenus feci.
English as in foot-note; or perhaps better, "What I have hitherto done is nothing." Is this a quotation?

Ibid.
Mihi non sit suave vivere.
English as in foot-note; or, more literally, "Let it be no pleasure to me to live." A reminiscence of Terence, Heaut., III, i, 73: "Tibi autem porro ut non sit suave vivere."

P. 94, May 13, 1738.
Latin letter of Peter Böhler to John Wesley.

(1) J. W.'s version of the larger part is rather free.
He omits "et in carne tua," "and in your flesh," (from 2 Cor., iv, 11) perhaps as redundant. Also "et manes," "and remain," for the same reason. "Proximo die," "the very next day," he changes to "this very day," in accordance with the phrase so common in the W. hymns, "This instant now," in which phrase, undivided by a comma, "instant" is an adjective, and the adverb "now" becomes a noun. See after, Pt. III, Quotations from Hymns, under 27 July, 1746.

(2) The foot-note rendering of the omitted part rectifies, at the expense of literalness, a certain looseness in the Latin, where "nostris" and "nobis" seem incorrectly put for "vestris" and "vobis," the Editor translating "your" and "you" as if the latter forms had been used.

(3) Note emphasis on "tuum," "your J. C.," so characteristic of the earliest Methodism, with perhaps a slight Calvinistic tinge. See p. 130.

P. 131, Aug. 12, 1738.
Credendo credere et in credendo perseverare.
General sense, as in parenthesis: literally "[By] believing to believe, and in believing to persist." Perhaps from some theological work.

Ibid. Requies in sanguine Christi, &c.
J.W.'s version gives sense well, but is rather free. Is this an extract from some theological treatise?

P. 179, March 28, 1739.
Agitur de vita et sanguine Turni.
Apparently altered from Virgil; Aen., xii, 765: "Turni de vita et sanguine certant": "They are contending about the life and blood of Turnus." The foot-note rendering omits the particular reference as unessential. The context in the Latin gives the contrast, as here; and this Virgilian passage is utilized, for the contrast, by Liddon in his Bampton Lectures, V., p. 210 (17th ed.)
Proverbial sense as in foot-note. The source is the well-known fable of Aesop, "The Fox and the Sick Lion." A lion, too old to hunt, feigned sickness, and retired to a cave. The other animals who came to visit him, entering the cave, were devoured. The Fox, seeing this, kept outside; and when asked why he did not enter replied that he was afraid, because he saw all the footsteps turned forwards, and none backwards.

The whole passage in Horace reads:

"Olim quod vulpes aegroto cauta leoni
Respondit referam: Quia me vestigia terrent.
Omnia te adversum spectantia, nulla retrorsum."

King, referring to the fable, renders: "No stepping back again, retreat is impossible. Motto of Hampden and others." (*Dictionary of Classical and Foreign Quotations.*)


"Ter sunt conati imponere, &c." "Thrice forsooth they strove to heap Ossa upon Pelion, and to roll leafy Olympus up the sides of Ossa." See Conington's note. The foot-note does not translate, but it gives the right reference to the attempted scaling of heaven by the Giants, which suggested the last line of the short Hymn 265 (Old Book) now omitted; and the last line of Hymn 333, 2 (Old Book), "And scale the mount of God," still kept as 471, 2.

The quasi-technical name in the Stoic philosophy for the active, animating and formative principle of the Universe.

Tò Πίαν.—Plato, *Tim.* 28 C, *Crat.* 436 E, etc.

P. 197, Jan. 28, 1741. Sirenum voces, et Circes pocula nosti?
"Dost thou know the songs of the Sirens, and the cups of Circe?" a question apparently addressed, individually, to both Hall and Gambold. From Horace, *Epist.*, I, 2, 23, where the line is affirmative, not interrogative. The foot-note rendering might seem to be from some poetic version but for this fact.


"Ibi omnis Effusus labor, atque immitis rupta tyranni Foedera." "Therupon all the labour was lost, and the compact with the pitiless King broken."

Said of Orpheus, who lost Eurydice by looking back, which he had been forbidden to do, if he would lead her back to the upper world.

"So" in the foot-note is ambiguous; "thus," though still not quite correct, would have been better.

A translation is given by Moore (*Life of Wesley*, i, 481). Southey in his *Life of John Wesley*, (p. 189, Cavendish Ed., 1889)
says, "It is not to the credit of Wesley that these circumstances are not stated in his Journal, and not otherwise recorded than in the conversation with Count Zinzendorf, which, he says, he dared not conceal. But as he printed it in the original Latin, and did not think proper to annex a translation, it was effectually concealed from the great majority of his followers. Neither are they noticed by any of the biographers of Wesley." Moore's insertion was virtually a reply to this. Why does Wesley say "to spare the dead, I do not translate"?

The conversation is highly important, as showing the different views of Sanctification held by the Count and J. W. One remark of Count Z. is very striking, and has, I venture to think, been misunderstood. He says "Abnegationem omnem respuimus, conculcamus. "We renounce, we trample under foot, all self-denial." The language is liable to perversion, but may it not simply mean that the love of Christ rendered it no self-denial at all to do or suffer anything for his sake? See, however, II, p. 79.

On p. 323 (Q. 4) "tuæ tum" is misprinted as one word.

P. 327, Sept. 3, 1741.
Nulli laedere os,
"To insult no one to his face."
Sinere mundum vadere ut vult: Nam vult vadere.

English as in foot-note.

P. 351, Sept. 4, 1741.
Cui pudor, &c.—Horace, Od., I, 24.

Addressed to Virgil.

"Ergo Quintilium perpetuus sopor
"Urget ! Cui Pudor et Justitiae soror,
Incorrupta Fides, nudaque Veritas,
Quando ullum inventem parem?"

"So then everlasting sleep weighs down Quintilius! Ah, when shall Modesty, and the sister of Justice, incorruptible Fidelity, and naked Truth, ever find any one for his equal?"

Foot-note rendering, apparently from some metrical version, incomplete.

P. 371, May 17, 1742.

Improvismus aspris, &c.

The appositeness of this truncated quotation may be missed without a reference to the whole passage. It is from Virgil, Aeneid, II, 379-382. In the conflict attending the capture of Troy, Androgens, a Greek, has mistaken a troop of Trojans, disguised in Greek armour, for his countrymen, but suddenly discovers his fatal mistake.

Extemplo... sentit¹ medios delapsus in hostes.
Obstupuit, retroque pedem cum voce repressit.
Improvismus aspris veluti qui sentibus anguem
Pressit humi nitens... visu tremefactus abibat.

"Immediately... he saw he had slipped into the midst of foes. He was astounded, and checked both voice and foot, drawing back. As one who, unawares, walking with effort amid rough briars, has trod upon a snake... off he was going in alarm at the sight." Foot-note rendering incomplete.

1. See Note, II, 513.
WESLEY HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

P. 460, Fortunati ambo! si quid mea pagina possit
April 6, 1744. Nulla dies unquam memori vos eximet aevō.

This is, of course, from the context, ironical. Virgil,
Aen., ix, 446-7, says it seriously and feelingly of Nisus and Euryalus, two
bosom friends whom he represents as perishing together in battle.

"Fortunate both if aught my verses can avail, no length of time shall
ever wrap you in oblivion." Virgil wrote "carmina," which J.W. has altered
to "pagina" to suit his purpose: "mea pagina," "this page of my Journal."
The foot-note rendering is too curt.

P. 502, Si forte edormisset hoc villi.
July 3, 1745.

"If possibly he might have slept off this drop of wine."

Terence, Adelphi, V, ii, 11, where see Parry’s note. Terence writes,

Nisi... in angulum aliquo abeam, atque edormiscam hoc villi? "What
am I now to do, but go off into a corner somewhere, and sleep off, &c." The
quotation is perhaps used by J. W. figuratively, and not in the literal sense.

VOLUME II.

P. 6, Gratis dictum,
Dec. 27, 1745.

"Gratuitously said," an irrelevant remark; or mere
assertion, not proof. Not a quotation. Perhaps a term of legal phraseology?

P. 46, Ἐπεα πτερόεντα, a common phrase in Homer:
Feb. 24, 1747. e.g., Iliad, I, 201:
καὶ μὲν ψωνήσας ἐπεα πτερόεντα προσηγόδα;

"And in loud speech he addressed to him winged words."

Πτερόεις is literally "feathered." The precise metaphor is
probably that of "feathered arrows," going straight to the mark.

P. 48, under Ex allegatis et probatis.
March 8, 1747; English as in foot-note. Apparently a technical term
but of later date.

P. 75, Ego in portu navigo.
Aug. 28, 1747.

Here the "ego," expressed, is emphatic by contrast.
In Terence, Andria, III, i, 22, seeing, as he fancies, through a trick of his sons,
Simo says:

"Nunc hujus periclo fit; ego in portu navigo." "Now the matter is
at his own risk; I am quite safe," literally "I ride [safe] in harbour."
Neither here, nor at II, 437, where this quotation recurs, does the foot-note
rendering give any hint of the contrast. In both cases J. W. is contrasting the
security of his simple directness of motive and of action with that of another
person—in both instances, as it happens, with a wavering Moravian,—of
whose sincerity he seems not quite sure. And he appears to say: "The
risk because of insincerity, or double-dealing, if there be any, is his; I am
quite clear."

28
PROCEEDINGS.

Cum frigida parvas
Praeberet spelunca domos; ignemque laremque
May 4, 1748. Et pecus et dominos, communi clauderet
umbra.

"When a cold cave furnished scanty houses, and enclosed in one
common shade both fire and hearth, both cattle and owners."

Who is the author?

P. 99, under Diruit, edi~cat, ~utat quadrata rotundis.—
May 11, 1748. Horace, Epist., I, i, 100.

"Pulls down, builds up, changes square for round and round for square."

This is imitated by Pope in his Epistle to Bolingbroke :—

"I plant, root up; I build, and then confound,
Turn round to square, and square again to round."

P. 132,
May 5, 1749.

Noli duriter agere cum tentato.—A'Kempis.

P. 166,
Nov. 10, 1749.
The Latin letter to J. W. from Johannes de Koker.
The editor’s translation in the foot-note, modestly
called “an attempt,” gives the sense both faithfully and easily. In the last
paragraph, by a slight inadvertence, “sociosque tuos,” “and your comrades,”
has been omitted.

P. 177,
Mar. 25, 1750.
Maxime animo exoptatum meo !

English as in foot-note, except that “retreat” is not in
the Latin. The phrase is adapted from Terence, Heaut., II, iv, 28, where
the original is “exoptata” (v. i.—am.) Clinia, unexpectedly meeting
Antiphila, his sweetheart, says to her: “And do I embrace you, Antiphila,
so passionately longed for by my soul!” (Riley.)

P. 279,
Feb. 8, 1753.

In me mora non erit ulla.—Virgil, Ecl., III, 52.

Quin age, si quid habes : in me mora non erit ulla.—[F.R.]

P. 328,
April 25, 1755.

Te, Domine, intonsi montes, te saxa loquentur
Cf. iv, 329.
March 19, 1786. Saxorumque colit latebrosa cuniculus antra.

"Thee, 0 Lord, the woody [shaggy] mountains, Thee
the topmost rocks shall proclaim as God, long as the light-poised he-goat
loves the mountain ridges, and the coney haunts the rock-caverns, full of
lurking-places.” The phrase “intonsi montes” is from Virg., Ecl., v, 63.

This is not part of Buchanan’s famous paraphrase of Psalm civ., but is,
as we find from IV, 329, where the quotation recurs, from one by Dr. Burton.
In the D.N.B. there are several Dr. Burtons, but the only one that seems to
suit is John Burton, D.D. (1696—1771). He was a Devonshire man, and
educated partly at Tiverton, a fact of significance in connection with the
Wesleys. The D.N.B. speaks of a set of college exercises set by him, and
printed under the title: “Sacrae Scripturae locorum quorundam Versio

29
WESLEY HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

Metrical" (1736), a copy of which is in the British Museum. [Jackson, Proceedings, II, iii, 236, says "John Burton, D.D. 'Opuscula Miscellanea Metrical-prosaica.' Ox., 1771, 8vo."] Gorton describes him as a writer of Greek, Latin, and English poetry. Rose quotes a satiric couplet upon him by Churchill. This Dr. Burton (of Corpus Christi College, Oxford; see Rose) is no doubt the Dr. Burton who took great interest in the colonization of Georgia, and introduced J. W. to Gen. Oglethorpe.


P. 352,
Mentiris juvenem tinctis, Lentine, capillis,
Tam subito corvus, qui modo cygnus eras.
Non omnes falles: scit te Proserpina canum,
Personam capiti detrahet illa tuo.

"You are shamming the young man, Lentinus, with your dyed hair, so suddenly black as a crow, who just now were as white as a swan. You won't deceive everybody; Proserpine knows you to be white-haired; she will strip off the mask from your head."

(The foot-note rendering is too curt, and hardly correct.) "According to Roman superstition, Proserpine, Queen of Hades, cut off a lock from a person's head at death." — Martial for English readers, Webb (p. 27).

P. 375,
July 4, 1756. Linqienda tellus, et domus, et placens
Uxor, neque harum quas colis arborum
Te praeter invisam cupressum
Ulla brevem dominum sequetur.


Is the interpolated "cum numerosa et speciosa prole, Charâ charae matris sobole," a quotation from some Latin author, or Wesley's own?

The foot-note renders the whole fairly well. The true reading in Horace's third line is the plural, "invisas cupressos," which J. W. has given both in IV, 169, and Sermon XXVII (8th Sermon on the Mount), Works, V, 371.

P. 381,

English as in foot-note. "Obstupui, steteruntque comae, et vox faucibus haesit." Said by Aeneas, of his amazement on seeing the ghost of his lost Creusa. "I was bewildered, my hair stood on end, and my voice stuck fast in my throat." See also Aen., III, 48; IV, 280; XII, 868.

P. 383,
Aug. 8, 1756. Hominis magnificentiam!

English as in foot-note. Is this a quotation?

P. 388,
Oct. 26, 1756. Ipse dixit.

When asked the reason of their doctrines, the disciples of Pythagoras used to reply Αὐτὸς εἶχα, "He said so."—King, Dictionary Classical Quotations.

Prior has: "The Cambridge wits, you know, deny With ipse dixit to comply."
PROCEEDINGS.

P. 422, Qualia nunc hominum producit corpora tellus. Aug. 8, 1757. English as in foot-note Virgil, Aen., xii, 900; where Turnus hurks a stone of such size as twelve modern men could scarcely lift. Oloi vuv βυνοτ εισιν.

English as in foot-note. Homer, II., V, 304, the original of Virgil’s expression, used in a similar connexion. Both the Latin and the Greek are quoted by J. W. in Sermon CII., On Former Times. Works, VII, 158.

P. 434, Quanta de ope decidi!—Terence, Heaut., II, Feb. 15, 1758. iii, 9. Literally, “From how high an expectation have I fallen down!” The foot-note expresses the sense. Clinia says, “Vae misero mihi! quanta de spe decidi.”

P. 437, Ego in portu navigo.—See note, II, 75.

C. LAWRENCE FORD.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

291. EARLY SUPPLEMENT TO THE 1780 HYMN BOOK.—Mr. R. Thursfield Smith writes:—I have a copy of Wesley’s Hymn Book, 1st Ed., 1780. Bound up at the end is a small Work described below. It seems to have been printed with the definite purpose that it should be so bound.

A COLLECTION OF HYMNS
Designed as a Supplement to the large Hymn Book. Manchester, printed by T. Harper, Smithy-door, 1792. There are 82 Hymns (60 pages), mostly by Wesley and Watts; nearly all have since appeared in various editions of the Methodist Hymn Book. The hymns were chosen with great care by some one, who really added to the value of the book. “O God of good the unfathom’d sea;” “The Lord of Sabbath let us praise;” “The Lord Jehovah reigns;” “Lord of the worlds above;” “My Soul, inspired with sacred love;” “Vital spark of heavenly flame;” “Our Lord is risen from the dead;” “He dies, the friend of sinners dies;” “Before
Jehovah's awful throne;" "Lo, he comes with clouds descending;" "My God, the spring of all my joys;" "Father, how wide thy glory shines?" "There is a land of pure delight;" "Salvation, O the joyful sound;" "Jesu, lover of my soul;" "Come let us join our cheerful songs." These are a specimen of the contents. Do any of our members know anything of this small collection? I have often been much surprised that Wesley should have omitted the above hymns from the 1780 book,—although he inserted some of them afterwards in his Pocket Hymn Book. [Cf. Green, Bibliog., No. 385; cf. No. 396].

**292. Presumed Roman Villa near Pocklington.** Proceedings, IV, Desid. et Quer. No. 17. An enquiry relative to this entry in the Journals appeared in Notes and Queries, (1883, pt. ii, pp. 386, 477), but no satisfactory reply was forthcoming. In the neighbourhood of Pocklington, Wesley would be very near to, if not actually on the line of, the ancient Roman road from the Humber to York. His "two or three miles from" Pocklington, would be about the vicinity of Londesborough (variously spelt) where Roman remains have been found. "There have been found at Londesborough several Roman coins, of the middle and lesser brass. A great many repositories for the dead have been discovered in digging about the town, park, gardens, and even under the Hall. (Drake's Eboracum, London. 1736. p. 32.)

In Gough's edition of Camden's Britannia (2nd Edition, London. 1806. fo.) there is a map (vol. iii, 247) which shows the ancient roads. See also Bishop Gibson's edition of Camden (2nd Edition. 1772. p. 890) where there is also a map, but no roads are shown. Also Drake's Eboracum (London. 1736. p. 30. et seq.); Britton's Beauties of England and Wales. Yorkshire, p. 551, and Murray's Guide Book to Yorkshire. p. 130.—Mr. F. M. Jackson.

---

**Corrigendum.**

1. By an unfortunate mistake the view of the house in which Wesley preached his first sermon in Shrewsbury is said to be "in Butchers' Row;" it should have been "in Fish Street;" and the portion of the wall seen is not that of St. Julian's, but of St. Alkmond's churchyard.—R.G.