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BRISTOL METHODIST NOTES.

(Continued from Vol. ii. p. 109).

IV. JOHN WESLEY AT THE BRICKYARD.

Since my earlier communication above referred to, some valuable additional facts have come under my notice, which decisively confirm the accuracy of Webb's statement as to the place where Wesley "submitted to become more vile," by preaching in the open-air for the first time in England, and thus beginning that wonderful career of out-of-doors evangelism which only came to an end under the great ash-tree at Winchelsea on October 6th, 1790. To every Methodist the spot is classic ground. To myself the matter has the personal interest that almost every week, in the course of my circuit work, I pass, if not over, certainly close by "the brickyard at the farther end of St. Philip's Plain" [*W. M. Mag.*, 1862, p. 111] which I seek to localise. And it is also worth while for the sake of Bristol Methodists to strengthen the evidence which may identify a place of such interest in the history of the city; concerning which, strangely enough, local tradition has preserved no reliable memorial, and the rarely occurring printed statements are varying or conflicting.

Since my former paper was written, the "good old Mr. Webb" of the report, on which I showed cause for relying very strongly, has unexpectedly become a real living personality. By a happy chance I lighted in the *Meth. Magazine* for 1807, p. 416, upon an earlier version of Webb's story, the insertion of which was, I should suppose, unknown to the editor of 1862. It forms the larger portion of a "Memoir of Mr. Wm. Webb, of Bristol," sent to the *Magazine* by J. Highfield [? Rev. G. Highfield] from Bristol, May 17th, 1806. Webb had died on the 29th of January preceding, aged 97 years, "having been a member of the Methodist Society upwards of sixty years." This is obviously well within the mark, for Mr. Highfield says: "I believe he was one

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of the persons who were united to Mr. Wesley's Society at the time when it was first formed in the city of Bristol." He adds : "Whenever I had the opportunity of seeing him, his conversation was truly refreshing. He lived in blessed communion with the Father and the Son, and was indeed a father in Israel." Webb's account, as sent by Mr. Highfield in 1807, was "written by himself some time since," and runs in very close verbal parallelism with the version published in 1862. The close agreement throughout in phraseology, side by side with many small variations, affords an interesting study. He keeps in both, for example, one remarkable expression, whilst changing the form of his sentence : "At the door Mr. Wesley took me by the hand, and *very respectfully* took his leave of me" (1862); "took me by the hand and in a very kind and *respectful* manner took his leave of me." Evidently the saintly old man has not only told his story often, but has got into one way of telling it ; as did many such saints of the old time in the lovefeasts. In fact we are dealing with two written reports of an oral narrative, which had become fairly fixed in form. The written report published in 1807 is Webb's own ; I do not yet know the reporter of 1862. But such a witness, with such good reason for remembering the place where he first heard Wesley, is obviously of the highest value. In our Bristol MS. Society roll (*penes me*) for 1796 to 1806, amongst many Webbs there is only one William Webb. He meets in the class of William Cross at Jacob's Wells. In the MS. Bristol roll of 1783, in Wesley's own hand, I found the entry :

| | | | | | |
|---------|---|------|----|-------|----------|
| William | } | Webb | m. | clerk | Clifton. |
| Mary | } | | m. | | |

William Webb appears again in 1784-5-6, but without his wife. Jacob's Wells is near the foot of the old road coming down the hill from Clifton to the river and the city, just where we should expect a resident in the Clifton of that day to meet in class. These are but one and the same William Webb, and he is our William Webb. He is amongst "the first fruits of Bristol unto Christ," by the ministry of John Wesley.

An entry of Wesley's in the *Journal*, under Sunday, April 1st, seems to conflict with Webb's story in one crucial particular. Webb says that on the evening of that day he heard Whitefield at the Baldwin Street society-room announce Wesley for the Brick-yard on the following afternoon. Wesley says that on the same evening, in the Nicholas Street society, he began to expound the palmary precedent of field preaching, the Sermon on the Mount, "*Mr. Whitefield being gone.*" Probably most readers would take

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this to mean that Whitefield had left Bristol after the service earlier in the day, which was Wesley's first occasion of hearing his friend preach "in the fields," and which so sorely tried all his prejudices and his ideas of propriety. It would not be without parallel to find Wesley inaccurate in his report of details connected with the beginnings of Methodism. But we shall find that he means no more than that Whitefield had gone from Nicholas Street to Baldwin Street, leaving the former meeting in Wesley's charge. Whitefield's *Journal* sustains Webb's accuracy. It shows that Whitefield did conclude this, his first Bristol ministry, with a crowded service at Baldwin Street on the Sunday evening. Not until the Monday did he actually leave the city for London; then finding himself unexpectedly constrained to pause at Kingswood, that he might lay, in a somewhat hasty and informal fashion, the first stone for the school in the King's Wood. The combination of events is noteworthy: Whitefield laid the stone at 2 o'clock; Wesley broke through, and preached, at 4 o'clock. One and the same afternoon saw Wesley's field-preaching begun at the Brickyard, and the school initiated at Kingswood.

One other statement, which more directly conflicts with Webb's account, needs examination. According to Buckley's *Life and Remains of Rev. Thomas Roberts* (1838) Roberts, preaching in 1826, under the historic sycamore in the Patch, at old Kingswood School, on the anniversary of Wesley's birth, said of Wesley: "It was not far distant from the place where we are now standing that, on Rose Mount, he first preached abroad." Roberts was Coke's friend and executor. He had known Wesley. He resided for many years at Bath and Bristol. He might therefore have received, one would have thought, the best and most authentic tradition on such a point. But, so far as I know, he is entirely alone and unsupported in his statement. William Myles also knew Wesley, and whilst stationed in Bristol was, presumably, in as good a position as Roberts to know the best tradition. Yet he is quite as definite that the spot was near Baptist Mills Chapel [cf. *Proceedings*, vol. ii. p. 4]. Wesley's *Journal* makes it quite clear that Myles is wrong. Nor is Rose Mount "near the city" of those days, as the *Journal* of April 2nd requires. It is further out than Baptist Mills, and is in fact part of the King's Wood. Even at that date Methodist tradition had become variant and unreliable. It misled Myles; it misled, as we shall see, Roberts also. I believe, however, that in his very error, Roberts has preserved a reminiscence confirmatory of what is fact in the case,—not of Wesley, but of Whitefield. [See Supplementary Note I.]

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Under date May 13th, 1739, John Wesley's *Journal*¹ has this well-known entry: "My ordinary employment, in public, was now as follows:—Every morning I read prayers and preached at Newgate. Every evening I expounded a portion of Scripture at one or more of the societies. On Monday, in the afternoon, I preached abroad, near Bristol; on Tuesday, at Bath and Two Mile Hill [the road leading through Kingswood] alternately; on Wednesday [Tyerman miswrites "Friday"] at Baptist Mills; every other Thursday near Pensford; every other Friday, in another part of Kingswood; on Saturday, in the afternoon, and Sunday morning, in the Bowling Green (which lies near the middle of the city) [clearly shown in Roque's maps of Bristol, but now covered by All Saints and Wellington streets, between Fry's cocoa works and the fast-vanishing Pithay]; on Sunday, at eleven, near Hannam Mount; at two, at Clifton; and at five, on Rose Green. And hitherto, as my days, so my strength hath been." The Oxford High-churchman had become the burning popular Evangelist, but the methodical habit was in the man still; he was methodist in his evangelism. His work had settled down into an orderly "plan of appointments," in what had grown to be for him a real Bristol "circuit." Whitefield's work for these spring months in Bristol and its neighbourhood, in 1739, is—characteristically—by no means so regularly ordered.

Several points are readily observable. So far as the entries in the *Journal* show, Baptist Mills was, as he says, visited on Wednesdays, and on Wednesdays only, with undeviating regularity, [April 4th, 25th, May 2nd (cf. May 6th), 16th, August 15th]. Bath is always a Tuesday appointment whenever it is mentioned. Back Lane is also Tuesday, [April 17th, May 15th].² And it is curious, in contrast with this accurate explicitness, how indefinitely Wesley always indicates his Monday's work; no name of a place is, I think, ever mentioned. Does he intentionally avoid a name?

1. When examining the three *Journals*, John Wesley's, C. Wesley's, and Whitefield's, I soon found a number of small details converging with a force of evidence strong, if not demonstrative, upon a brickyard in St. Philips. (The old custom of printing all names with a capital initial letter often renders it impossible to say whether we should read, "the brickyard," or "The Brickyard"). And though the need of such evidence is now altogether superseded, these facts are perhaps still of sufficient interest and value in themselves to deserve being briefly set forth.

2. There are several Back Lanes near Two Mile Hill and Hanham. But the entry in the *Journal* under Tuesday, April 17th, seems to make the Back Lane one so called just within Lawford's Gate, and in Bristol.

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He only says "abroad," in the entry just quoted; "a convenient place near Bristol," on June 4th; on August 4th he had evidently preached not far from Gloucester Lane; but now we are left to gather as much, we are not expressly told this. "A ground adjoining the city" is all he cares, or happens, to say about the scene of the memorable beginning on April 2nd.¹ It will be remembered that Gloucester Lane was easily reached from the Brickyard, as, for example, by Charles Wesley on several occasions; and the other descriptive phrases suit well enough the locality to which Webb guides us. Then, too, as was just now said, Whitefield took the Brickyard on Monday, July 9th; and when I notice that on the Tuesday he was at Two Mile Hill, and Bath also, as Wesley might have been, and on the Wednesday at Baptist Mills, as Wesley would have been, it is difficult not to think that on the Monday he was also "supplying" for Wesley at the place due on the latter's "plan," and that a Brickyard service would, in fact, have been Wesley's Monday afternoon work.

John Wesley left Bristol on August 31st, and Charles at once began to preach out of doors. When I find him on Tuesday, Sept. 4th, taking "Kingswood over against the school," which might very well be Two Mile Hill; and on Wednesday, Baptist Mills; both of which would have been his brother's appointed work; it looks as if, in taking the Brickyard on the Monday, Sep. 3rd, he was in that case also doing what his brother would have done had he remained. In fact Charles followed out his brother's "plan of appointments" with much of John's regularity. For example: Brickyard, Mondays, Sep. 3rd, 10th, 17th ("near the Brickyard"), 24th ("on my way to the brickyard").² Tuesday, Sep. 4th, in Kingswood, as John would have been; and compare under Wed., Oct. 3rd. Wednesdays, Baptist Mills, and Sep. 12th, 19th, 26th. On at least one Thursday, Sep. 6th, he went to Publow, which is "near Pensford." The missing dates

1. As will be seen below, he could, even as to this locality, be definite enough on occasion, but it is interesting to compare the (studied?) vagueness with which, in his printed *Journal*, he indicates a spot in London equally memorable; the room where his heart was "strangely warmed," whilst "one" was reading from Luther. The Life of James Hutton makes it probable that the meeting was in Nettleton Court, Aldersgate Street. Rev. J. S. Simon suggests to me, with high probability, that James Hutton himself was the reader.

2. Oct. 1; "in the streets and lanes of the city." The expression is of course borrowed from *Luke* xiv. 21, and by its suggestion of the parable rather characterizes the work he was doing, than gives any indication of the place of his preaching.

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are only cases of non-entry ; there are no entries which contradict and, whilst these casual and incomplete indications are not to be overpressed, it seems increasingly reasonable to think that the actual work of Wesley's first week in Bristol,—on Monday, April 2nd, and onwards,—had fixed for him the weekly routine which he records under May 13th ; and thus helps to fix the order of Charles Wesley's labours 'also. If Wesley really did open his campaign on April 2nd at a brickyard at the further end of St. Philip's Plain, as his convert Webb says he did, we could understand and could verify all the rest of the Monday facts and entries.

Further than this, John Wesley had begun by taking up in several particulars the work Whitefield had been doing in Bristol. "Every morning I read prayers and preached at Newgate ;" Whitefield had done so. "Every evening I expounded at one or more of the Societies ;" this had been Whitefield's custom. It was Whitefield who had begun the so closely followed rule of visiting Baptist Mills on a Wednesday : "On Wednesday, March 14th, excluded from the prison, being resolved not to give place to my adversaries, no, not for an hour, I preached at Baptist Mills, a place not far from the city." Wesley, preaching his second open-air sermon there, on Wednesday, April 4th, was therefore only occupying his friend's place, and carrying on his friend's work on his friend's day. Was not then Whitefield at the Brickfield on Monday, July 9th, when on a short visit to Bristol, also taking his friend's work on his friend's day ?¹ The internal consistency of these many minute facts serves strongly to argue the correctness of Webb's statement : "the brickyard at the further end of St. Philip's Plain."

At this point there came to hand evidence of the highest character ; nothing less than the express statement of Wesley himself. The Moravian Provincial Archives at Fetter Lane have preserved many letters of Wesley, written during the memorable month of April 1739, reporting in the fullest and most vivid detail his proceedings in Bristol from day to day, and addressed to "My Dear Brethren (and Sisters, too)" in the Fetter Lane society. These precious letters were reprinted in several monthly numbers of the little Moravian periodical, *The Messenger*, for 1877, where they have lain almost as much buried, as far as Methodist readers were concerned, as they had been in the Archives themselves,

1. By an obvious slip, Tyerman (i.194) calls this "a day's visit." He himself shows that it was a week's visit.

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though Dr. Gregory made reference to them in a foot-note, on p. 18, of his *Polity and History*.

Wesley generally writes his weekly report on a Monday.¹ In that of April 9th, one week after his memorable out-door venture, he writes of the previous Monday's proceedings: "On Monday I talked in private with several to try what manner of spirit they were of; and at four in the afternoon went to a brickyard adjoining the city, where I had an opportunity of preaching the Gospel of the Kingdom from a little eminence to three or four thousand. The Scripture on which I spoke was this, 'The Spirit of the Lord is upon me'" This is definite and decisive. The account in the letter runs closely parallel even in unimportant words and phrases with the shorter one in the *Journal*. Of course the published *Journal* and the semi-official report to Fetter Lane are alike written up from the minutely detailed diary referred to in *Proceedings*, vol. i., p. 80. Speaking of his second open-air sermon on the Wednesday, the letter gives us one or two new touches of great interest: "The next day at four in the afternoon I offered the free grace of God from these words, 'I will heal their backsliding, I will love them freely,' to about fifteen hundred in a plain near Baptist Mills, a sort of suburb or village not far from Bristol, where, many, if not most, of the inhabitants are Papists. O may they effectually lay hold on the one Mediator between God and men, Christ Jesus." It is somewhat away from my business in this paper, but I cannot refrain from adding the supremely interesting sentences which follow. "About seven in the evening, three women who only desire to know Jesus Christ, and Him crucified,—Mrs. Norman, Mrs. Greville, and Mrs. Panon—agreed to meet together once a week to confess their faults one to another that they may be healed. And Mrs. Panon desired she might propose their design to her two sisters, and offer them the liberty of joining with them. At eight, Samuel Wathen, surgeon; Richard Cross, upholsterer; Charles Bonner, distiller; and Thomas Westal, carpenter; met and agreed to do the same; who also desired that they might make the offer of joining with them to three or four of

1. He talks the Moravian dialect "like a native," signing himself: "your poor, weak brother, John Wesley;" "your affectionate but weak brother;" and concluding his letter of April 19th, with the remarkable words, "I am still dead and cold, unless when I am speaking. Write often to, and pray much for, my dear Brethren, your poor Brother, John Wesley." It is amusing to find him on his arrival in Bristol greatly perturbed because "none of my things have come," and urging Hutton to expedite them. "I want my gown and cassock every day."

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their acquaintance." And then we may compare the form of the exultant inquiry with the parallel one in the *Journal*: "If this work be not of God, let it come to nought. If it be, who shall overthrow it?" Mrs. Norman and Mrs. Greville we know; we met them in Webb's account of his conversion [see *Proceedings*, vol. ii. p. 5]; I can make nothing of the name "Panon"; it looks unlikely, but Wesley makes some strange "shots" at the Bristol names in these early letters. Facts seem against our identifying Thomas Westal with the veteran itinerant who came to Bristol to end his days, and lies buried in the graveyard of Portland Chapel. The present Dr. Wathen, of Clifton, can trace no connection with "Samuel Wathen, surgeon," but there is good reason to believe that this is the "Mr. Wathen," of London, who later on performed upon Wesley an operation for hydrocele (*Journal*, Jan. 4th, 1774)—see Supplementary Note II. These are not yet Methodist class-meetings, but two Moravian bands, of the strictest Moravian pattern (cf. *Life of James Hutton*, p. 88, where the use of the phrase from St. James by Wesley is at once accounted for). But these seven are the first of John Wesley's own people in Bristol. We must, however, return to our quest for the spot of Wesley's first field-preaching.

It is clear that it was a brickyard, and beyond all reasonable doubt the brickyard Webb intended. Certainly, too, everything falls in with the acceptance of Webb's locality, the farther end of St. Philip's Plain. But the letters at this point impart a new element of difficulty in being much more precise than this. Reporting his work of Monday, the 9th, Wesley says: "On Monday at four I preached to three or four thousand people at the Brick yard" [so printed in the *Messenger*]. On the Monday following: "about 3000 were at the Brickyard" [so in *Messenger*]. And then comes the noteworthy piece of information: "In the evening the brother of the person who owns it told me his brother did not care I should be there any more, and desired me to look out for some other place." Accordingly in the weekly letter next following, he says: "At four in the afternoon we met about 4000 people in another brickyard a little nearer the city. To these I declared: 'The hour is coming . . . they that hear shall live.'"

Two brickyards therefore were occupied by him, and the induction from the facts summarized and studied earlier in this paper, only brings us,—for Whitefield in July, and C. Wesley in September—to this second yard of April 23rd. Yet even so, our search still clearly lies within a very narrow area, nor do we remove from our locality, near St. Philip's Plain. The contemporary

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maps set out the facts very clearly.

In my former communication I said that R. Benning's map of 1780 showed "The Brick Fields,"—in which is "The Brick Yard Pool,"—and "The Brickyard," both on the outskirts of the Plain, and divided from each other only by Cheese Lane. This map is really printed from the plate of the smaller map of John Roque, dated 1758, with some recent or impending changes inserted. Both maps reproduce on a reduced scale Roque's magnificent larger map of 1742; which, allowing time for the engraving and publishing, exhibits to all intents and purposes the Bristol of 1739, the year of Wesley's first arrival in the city. In all three the Brickfields and The Brickyard, specially so called, are set out with great accuracy and clearness, and without any change as between the earlier and the later dates. If any curious inquirer is interested enough to penetrate into the unattractive region of St. Philip's Marsh, and, standing at the point where Old Bread Street comes into Cheese Lane, will turn his face to the S. W., he will have on his right hand, at some eighty or eighty-five yards along the former thoroughfare, the centre of The Brickyard,—now entirely built over; and on his left a large, roughly triangular area, now mainly occupied by the goods yards of the Midland Railway, but which is "The Brickfields" of the maps of Wesley's day. Of the two the Brickyard is actually "a little nearer to the city." And our search ends indecisively in so far as we can only ask: Did Wesley migrate from the Brick Fields to the Brickyard? Or did he simply migrate from one part of the Brick Fields to another, nearer to its city-ward boundary? But the open question only concerns his second brickyard. The first, the all-memorable spot, was certainly somewhere within the Brick Fields of our maps. In St. Philips there are no other brickyards; our choice lies within these narrow limits. It may be added that the conjectural touch in my earlier communication, that the "little eminence" was "a terrace of clay not yet worked down to the level upon which his congregation stood," may remain, whilst one or two other similar touches must be modified or withdrawn. Conjecturing still, I incline to think that the Brickyard is the preaching place on and after April 23rd. Moreover I am also inclined to think that it has in any case an interest of its own, not remotely connected with the answer to the question: Why did Wesley decide upon the brickyard of St. Philips as the spot where his first open-air venture should be made? I submit this small contribution to an answer.

The site of "The Brickyard," as distinguished from "The

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Brick Fields," is only separated by the narrow Avon Street from a group of three large brick-built glass-house cupolas which stand conspicuously along the river bank, in full view of every traveller by the Great Western Railway as he passes out for Clifton or London. The upper portion of one of them has plainly been rebuilt,—within comparatively recent times, as I learn. But Roque's map shows them, as do all the maps. They occupy today the spot where he indicates three of the largest of the many glass-houses which sprang up in Bristol in the beginning of the eighteenth century. In Buck's view of the S. W. Prospect of Bristol in 1734, these three cupolas stand out as prominently as they do now. Whitefield and Wesley would know them very well.

In Philip's *Life and Times of George Whitefield*, p. 105, he summarises the early Bristol work of Whitefield, and amongst other preaching-places specifies "Bristol glass-houses." In a similar summary Tyerman also mentions "glass-house yards." Philip and Tyerman write without any special local interest or minute local knowledge. For their purpose, in a summary statement it was sufficient to use general language. So far, however, as I have discovered in a close examination of Whitefield's printed *Journal*, I only once find him expressly mentioning glass-house premises as a scene of his preaching. "Tuesday, March 27th,"—the Tuesday, be it remembered, immediately before the Saturday of Wesley's arrival in Bristol, and before the "submitting to be more vile" on the Monday following,—"at four this afternoon,"—Wesley's hour on the Monday,—"being invited several times, I preached in a yard belonging to the glass-houses, where many dwell; who (as I was informed) neither feared God nor regarded man." The "congregation consisted of many thousands"; and he proceeds to tell an amusing story of what befel a gentleman who tried to interfere with the preaching. I suggest that this "yard belonging to the glass-houses" may be none other than our second Brickyard. I know nothing, indeed, of any ownership of the Brickyard by the proprietors of the glass-works, but there are some noteworthy, if small, facts. Our choice is at once limited by the plural "glass-houses." The maps show not a few single cupolas here and there over the city. There are a few instances of two close together, as parts of the same works. At Avon Street alone there are three in a group. Cupolas and yards are everywhere planned by Roque with great clearness, and no one of the cases where there are "glass-houses" seems to show a yard capable of holding a congregation of "many thousands"; and of none at all,—not even of the business yard of our three,—could it

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be said that "many dwell" there. The yards all appear to be appropriated to business purposes; certainly not allowing of dwelling-houses in any number. Our "Brickyard" is in part enclosed by houses, and, with several humble streets immediately around it, "many" could dwell in and about it; and it is large enough to admit of a great congregation. So then, within a very narrow radius we have Wesley's first brickyard; our Brickyard, which may have been his second, "a little nearer the city"; near a most remarkable group of glass-houses whose yard in some sense it may perhaps have been; a yard at all events capacious enough to hold Whitefield's congregation, and surrounded by a neighbourhood which could have furnished the people. Is there anything in this close allocation of sites? Is there this much?

It had been a full Sunday for Whitefield on April 1st, 1739. John Wesley had arrived in Bristol, in response to his urgent summons, the evening before, and we may be sure had heard of his friend's doings in the earlier hours of the Saturday. On that day Whitefield had paid a visit to the poor man who was misused on the Tuesday at the glass-houses; he had looked in once more, before leaving the city, upon the prisoners in Newgate; he had preached a parting sermon to the crowd at the poor-house "beyond Lawford's Gate." On this Sunday morning he had begun his labours at the Bowling-green near the Pithay. Thence to Hanham Mount. From Hanham to Rose Green, as usual; and then, setting his friend Wesley to work in the Nicholas Street society, he had brought his first and so memorable campaign in Bristol to a close in a crowded company at Baldwin Street. Webb was there, we remember. Wesley had accompanied Whitefield, watching, studying, perplexed by this "strange way of preaching in the fields," and full of debate what his own course should be, when on the next day he should be left to continue alone the work in the city. The prejudices of early education struggle within him; but the sight of the thousands who hang hungrily upon his friend's words draws hard at his heart. After all, what had his friend done on the mount at Hanham and on the mount at Rose Green, but what their Master had done in Galilee? Had He not gone upon a Mount too, and spoken in the hearing of gathered thousands? The very question determined his choice of a subject that evening at Nicholas Street. "In the evening I expounded the Sermon on the Mount." Had Whitefield, one wonders, been pressing the precedent upon the logical Wesley? The force of it had already appealed to himself.

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At the Baldwin Street gathering that night Webb heard Whitefield announce Wesley for the brickyard on the following day. Was this a *tour de force* on Whitefield's part, to compel a decision from his reluctant friend, and to commit him, whether he would or not, to a course against which his prejudices rebelled, but towards which, as Whitefield knew, his sympathies and his pity for outcast men, heathens in England, were strongly drawing him? More likely, perhaps, that before the evening meetings Wesley had agreed to take up this, as well as the rest of his friend's work. The decision once taken, where should he begin? On the previous Tuesday Whitefield had paid a first visit to a long-neglected neighbourhood, to whose urgent need his attention had several times been called. He could do no more for it himself at present, but where better, where with greater need calling him, should his friend take up his cross and submit, as he had done, to be more vile in the eyes of the mockers of the Establishment? So then, if not yet in the Brickyard, specifically so called, hard by the glass-houses, at any rate let it be in the Brick Fields close by, and in a Brickyard it was at the further end of St. Philips Plain.

"I submitted to be more vile." When Whitefield's *Journals* are read side by side with those of the Wesleys, the reader comes across many coincidences of phrase in which he feels that he hears fragments and snatches of the religious dialect which was just then being talked in the circle in which he is mentally moving. Thus under the date of April 14th, 1739, after receiving letters from some of his Bristol converts, Whitefield exclaims: "O that I had a thousand tongues with which to praise my God!" Böhler in the May of that year set C. Wesley upon the opening line of our first hymn. Said he: "Had I a thousand tongues, I would praise Him [Christ] with them all." Böhler's Moravian friends had just brought with them from Germany a new hymn by Johannes Mentzer, the friend of Zinzendorf; whose first line was "O dass Ich tausend Zungen hätte," though the hymn develops on entirely different lines from that of C. Wesley. Such phrases would pass from mouth to mouth in these companies of new-born friends. Writing to a dissenting minister (see G. R. Andrews, *Life*, circa 1739), Whitefield says: "The whole world is now my parish; wherever my Master calls me I am ready to go and preach an everlasting Gospel." Wesley's first known use of the famous phrase occurs on May 11th, 1739. Which of them had learned it from the other, in their inevitable discussions upon the relation of their work to the order and the ministry of the Church of England? It is in this connection also that Whitefield writes, on

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May 13th, imagining "the scorn of the self-righteous bigots to see a clergyman venting his enthusiastic ravings in a gown and cassock upon a common, and collecting mites from the poor people; . . . but if this is to be vile, Lord grant that I may be more vile. . . . Ye Pharisees, mock on."

SUPPLEMENTARY NOTES.

I. Before I saw Buckley's *Life of Roberts*, my reading of Whitefield's *Journal* itself had made me less satisfied than I was in my earlier communication to accept Hanham Mount as the place of Whitefield's first open-air sermon. Wesley rather than Whitefield was just then my particular study, and I was content to take the more usual, and superficially likely, identification. But the facts are these. Whitefield "broke the ice" on February 17th. The earliest mention, however, of the full name, Hanham Mount, occurs only on March 4th: "Hanham Mount, three miles from the city, where the colliers live together. The ground not being high enough, I stood upon a table, and the sight of the people covering the ground &c. . . ." The *Gentleman's Magazine* notice of his Hanham Mount services is not earlier than March 18th. His friend Seward certainly says in a letter of March 6th: "He has preached seven or eight times on a mount about two miles from Bristol," and Whitefield himself mentions "the mount" on both February 21st and 23rd. Should we read, "the mount," or "The Mount," or "the Mount"?—the old difficulty again. He adds: "I spoke with much freedom, but thought all the while, as I do continually when I ascend the Mount, that hereafter I shall suffer as well as speak for my Master's sake." But on March 4th he went from Hanham Mount to "the mount on Rose Green"; and on the following Sunday, the 11th, after Newgate, he went to Hanham Mount, and at four in the afternoon "preached as usual at the mount on Rose Green." Neither Whitefield nor Seward profess great exactitude, but Seward makes his "mount" to be "two miles," and Whitefield makes Hanham Mount "three miles," from the city of those days; which so far tells for the claim of Rose Green. It is in point of fact a mile nearer to Bristol than Hanham is. Also, when I was reading Whitefield's *Journal* in the continuous order of its almost daily records, and came upon the few words of localising description above quoted, they struck me with great force as introducing to the reader a place not mentioned before, and perhaps not even visited by Whitefield before. In exactly the same fashion do both Wesley and Whitefield, when they for the first time mention Baptist

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Mills, add a few words of identifying and localising description. When, too, Hanham Mount is thus descriptively introduced, it will be noticed that in the same entry "the mount on Rose Green" is apparently a familiarly known place of preaching. It would not be right to press the phrase: "I thought all the while [at Rose Green] as I do continually when I ascend the Mount." The words may be quasi-generic, "the mount"; such thoughts would not be the peculiarity of any one preaching station. But they read simply enough, if, up to that day, the Mount at Rose Green had been his only "mount." At all events, when I read Roberts, I could not help thinking that he was relying on a tradition which had gone astray as between Wesley and Whitefield, though correct enough as to the fact that one of them did begin his open-air work there.

[I leave this as I wrote it, but I find that A. Braine's *History of Kingswood Forest*, p. 224, does fix Rose Green as Whitefield's place of beginning out-of-door preaching. But the book is a poor piece of literary work, and sadly blundering upon the Methodist history of the neighbourhood. A much better and perhaps a decisive authority is the *Life of the Countess of Huntingdon*, ii. 359: "On the afternoon of Saturday, Feb. 17, 1739, he stood upon a mount, in a place called Rose Green, his first field pulpit."]

The exact spot at Rose Green will be found upon the 25-inch Ordnance map, Gloucestershire, sheet lxxii. 10, marked as plot 227. Tradition has been unvarying upon the ground. When I visited the place with the Rev. H. Arnaud Scott, we found that the access to it was through Thurston's Barton, an open space surrounded on two sides by very old houses, some of the oldest in the neighbourhood. An elderly inhabitant of one of these guided us unhesitatingly to the field, and informed us that in her father's time there were upon it "hurdle-heaps,"—I spell phonetically. I do not understand the word. She meant the heaps of spoil from the coal-pits; and upon one of these she said Whitefield and Wesley stood. It was convincing when, a few months later, in the Moravian letter of April 9th, I found Wesley saying: "On Rose Green, which is a plain upon the top of a high hill, are several small hills where the old coal-pits were. On the edge of one of these I stood in the afternoon and cried in the name of my Master, 'If any man thirst, let him come unto me and drink.'" On Thursday, April 12th, he adds: "We went to pitch upon a proper place on Rose Green, to raise a little place for me to stand on in preaching."

In sheet No. lxxvi. 3, the house shown in 834 had until

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recently in its garden the tree, or its descendant, which marked Wesley's Hanham Mount. The Moravian letter is again very precisely descriptive. "Hannam Mount, which is at least four miles distant from the town. Between ten and eleven I began preaching the Gospel here in a meadow on the top of the hill." But here again he moved his "pitch" toward the end of the month: "to a little plain near Hannam Mount, being desired by some of the neighbours to remove thither." It was not the great height of Hanham Mount which recommended it. Whitefield on one occasion there mounted a table, no natural elevation of the ground enabling him to command his immense congregation. The tree in the garden is on the brow of a somewhat rapidly falling slope, though this is now cut across by a deep road leading to a quarry near at hand, so that house and garden are on the edge of a low scarp of local stone.

Two other nuggets of interesting fact may be disinterred from the letters. Writing April 24th, Wesley says: "After preaching to two or three thousand we went to the stone our Bro. Whitefield laid. I think it cannot be better placed; 'tis just in the middle of the wood, two miles every way from either church or school. I wish he would write to me positively and decisively, that 'for this reason he would have the first school there, or as near it as possible.'" Did Whitefield write? On May 14th, Wesley says, "Afterwards we went to look out a proper place for the school; and at last pitched on one, between the London and Bath road."

A few words may be added as to another Bristol locality intimately connected with the work of these fellow-labourers in the spring of 1739. Wesley's letters to Fetter Lane show more clearly than his *Journal* does that he preached at "the Poor-house without Lawford's Gate," following up in this his friend's work. Whitefield regularly preached there (February 24th, March 3rd, 10th, 17th, 24th, 31st). This last occasion was on the morning of the day of Wesley's arrival in Bristol. Always on a Saturday. Was he sure of a good congregation on that day, because the people would be there to receive their out-door poor relief? The Poor-house is clearly shown upon the old maps, and has only within recent years been pulled down. The Vestry Hall in Pennywell Road now occupies the site. My friend, Mr. G. F. Tuckey, describes it from his remembrance, in clear and complete correspondence with the maps and with the many entries in Whitefield's *Journal*. The main building lay back from the road, and parallel to it, and had short wings which projected at right angles and came up to the roadway. The courtyard thus formed

was separated from the road by a low wall surmounted with railings, and this was pierced for three gateways, of which the middle one, surmounted with a pent-house roof, stood opposite to the flight of steps leading up to the main central entrance of the House itself. There Whitefield could, as he often says he did, stand within this main entrance, at the top of the steps, and address hearers in the hall within and through the opened windows, as well as those filling the courtyard; and even, as he tells us, horsemen passing along outside could stop and see, and listen, from without the railings of the enclosing wall.

II. THOMAS WESTAL AND SAMUEL WATHEN.—It is very natural to identify this “Thomas Westal, carpenter,” with the veteran itinerant, whose name appears as Westal, Westall, and Westell. Rev. C. Tucker (*W. M. Mag.*, 1880, p. 511) does so, without hesitation; nor did I feel any in doing so, until I found, in the Bristol poll-book for 1754, “Thomas Westell, cabinet maker, [St.] James [parish],” amongst the freeholders. And again in the poll-book of 1781: “Thomas Westell, joiner, James.” Wesley’s MS. roll for Bristol gives us, in 1783-4-5:

| | | |
|---|---|------------------------------------|
| Thomas Westell, m | } | [no description] Montagna St [sic] |
| Ma ^a | | |
| and finally, in 1786: Thomas Westell, m | } | gent. Stokes Croft. |
| Ma ^a | | |

He had evidently prospered, and retired from business. I cannot but think that to this Thomas Westell belongs the honour of being one of Wesley’s first four members in Bristol. Still, there may have been some family connection,—the two Thomas Westells may possibly have been cousins and namesakes,—which brought the old itinerant to end his days in Bristol; and the itinerant *may* have been a carpenter too, and indeed the very man we seek to identify.

The poll-book of 1734 gives a Richard Cross, upholsterer, [Ss.] Philip and Jacob [parish]. Perhaps another of the four.

The identification of Samuel Wathen above suggested may be taken as practically certain. I know nothing which accounts for his being in Bristol in 1739. There are two *foci* of origin for the Bristol Wathens of our time,—Stroad [cf. *Journal*, March 20th, 1787] and Haverford West. But the registrar of King’s College, Aberdeen, kindly sent me the entry of the admission of *Samuel* Wathen to his M.D. degree, on the recommendation of Dr. Nicholas Monkley, Physician at London. The first issue of the *Medical Register*, 1779, gives amongst the L.R.C.P.’s “Samuel Wathen, M.D., Dorking.” And the published Roll of the Royal

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College of Physicians, vol. ii., combines all these facts: "Samuel Wathen, M.D.; A Doctor of Medicine of Aberdeen, of 18th September, 1752. Was admitted Licentiate of the College of Physicians, 30th September, 1756. He died at Dorking, in 1787." Does all this account for Wesley's frequent visits to Dorking after January 1764?

Wathen is mentioned by Charles Wesley, *Journal*, Oct. 7, 1750, Feb. 14, 1751; letter, April 14, 1752, May 30 [? 1752]: and by John W., Moravian letter (as above); *Journal*, Jan. 4, 1774; and [misprinted "Walthen," in text and Index] letter, June 2, 1775.

The only name I can see which could be supposed to be misread from Wesley's MS. as "Panon" is that of Edward Parum, hooper, St. Leonard's parish, in the poll-book of 1734. The name is unsolved as yet.

H. J. FOSTER.

A PORTION OF WESLEY'S JOURNAL,
HITHERTO UNPUBLISHED IN
THIS FORM.

FROM AN OLD MS. KINDLY LENT BY MR. R. THURSFIELD SMITH.

Journal, from Monday, April 4th, to Tuesday, 12th, 1748.—
We took horse at 10. About 12 I preached at Moat to a little larger congregation than before. I could not but smile at the zeal of these young Disciples. They were so above measure offended at a man's throwing a cabbage-stalk over the house which fell at some distance from me. Let them keep their courage till they see such a sight as that at Walsal, or Shepton Mallard [Mallet]. In the afternoon after dining at Temple Macqueteer we rode on to Terryll's pass [Tyrrell's pass]. In preaching here on Jeremiah 8, 22, I found much enlargement of heart. But when the Society met my strength was exhausted; so that after a short exhortation and prayer we parted.—*Tuesday, 5th.* Our room was filled at 5. After preaching I visited the Classes. I found a great openness among them. When I asked one in particular, How he had lived in times past? he spread abroad his hands, and said, with many tears, "Here I stand a grey-headed monster of all manner of wickedness"; which I believe, had it been desired, he would have explained before them all. Much in the same manner spake a woman from Connaught, but with huge affliction and dismay: so that we determined to wrestle with God in her behalf, which we did for above an hour. And our labour was not in vain: her soul was filled with joy unspeakable. Mr. Jonathan Handy, before sorrowing almost without hope, was also enabled mightily to praise God; and four young women were cut to the heart, so that I trust they will not sleep any more. I preached in ye evening on "He healeth those that are broken in heart." Most of the neighbouring gentry were present, and desired to stay at the Society, where we rejoiced

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together in the God of our salvation.—*Wednesday, 6th.* We had more at ye preaching this morning than yesterday, among whom was Mrs. Wade, above ninety-two years of age, but of as perfect understanding as when she was but fifty. The Society now consists of about an hundred members; nine or ten of whom were Papists, and several Quakers : seven of them at their earnest desire, I baptized this day ; and not without a blessing from God, who greatly comforted our hearts, so that we hardly knew how to part. In the afternoon we rode to Philip's Town, ye most stupid senseless place I have seen in all Ireland. The people here have neither religion nor curiosity. They care for none of these things. The congregations, evening, as well as in the morn and at noon ye next day, consisted almost entirely of soldiers and country people. I know not whether there were ten of the townsmen present. They neither meddle nor make. I do not wonder that Satan was sorely unwilling I should go out of this place. The moment I mounted my horse, without any visible cause, he began to boggle and snort and drew backward, and from one side to the other, as if there were a stone wall just before him. Brother Williams whipt him behind and I before, but it was lost labour. He leaped from side to side, till he came to a gateway, into which he then ran backwards and tumbled head over heels. My foot was under him ; but I arose unhurt. He then went on as quiet as any horse in the world. Thus far only could Satan go.

At Tullamoor in ye evening all ye town, rich and poor, were gathered together. I used great plainness of speech in applying those words, "There is no difference ; for all have sinned and come short of the glory of God." Yet I did not find that any were offended ; no, not even the minister of the parish. *April 8th* being Good Friday, I preached at 5 to a large and serious congregation, on "Jesus Christ the same yesterday, to-day, and for ever." I afterwards spoke to those who desired to be united together in a Society. Between 40 and 50 gave in their names this morning. But unto none of them yet is the arm of the Lord revealed. Between one and two I preached at Clara [? Clare], and then rode to Athlone. But before we could reach the town, a whole troop both of horse and foot came to meet us. We slipt into a little house at the town end, and let the bulk of the company pass by ; after which we walked pretty quiet to Mr. Alder's. I preached at 6, on "Ought not Christ to have suffered these things and after that to enter into his glory?" So general a love I never found in any people ; so that as yet none dare even

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to seem to oppose. A gentleman of 700 or 800 a year only kept his hat on during the preaching; and our Dragoons were so affronted, that they could not be pacified till one of them got to him, and took it off. And not long after upon his breaking an innocent jest, the whole congregation was up in arms, so that they talked of nothing less (till I calm'd them with much ado) than throwing him over the bridge into the Shannon. We had an hour's conversation in the evening with a clergyman, living in the town, a sensible and candid man. He seemed exceeding willing to know the whole truth of God, and not to be far from ye kingdom of Heaven.

Saturday, 9th. We rode a few miles into Connaught, a large party from Athlone accompanying us. About one I preached at a lone house (one Mr. Wright's) where were several gentlemen who lived in the neighbourhood. They all heard with calm, stupid attention; but did not appear to feel anything: so that I question whether ye time is come for preaching in this place. The Shannon comes up within a mile of the house, and I believe there is not such another river in Europe. It is here 10 or 12 miles over, tho' without any tide, and 30 miles from ye fountain head. There are many islands in it; which were once inhabited, though now they are mostly desolate. In almost every one there is the ruins of a Church. In one the remains of no less than seven. I never saw so many ruinous buildings in any country, as in all parts of Ireland where we have been. I fear the curse of God still lies upon this land, for the blood shed by its inhabitants. In the evening while I was preaching on Ezekiel's vision of the resurrection of the dead bones, there was a little shaking among them. But still they are very dry and there is no breath in them.

April 10th—Easterday. We had a solemn meeting at 5, and my heart was enlarged amongst them. Never was there such a congregation seen before at the Sacrament in Athlone; the service held till half-past 2 o'clock; so that I did not preach till 3. Abundance of Papists flocked to hear; so that ye poor priest, seeing he profited nothing, came at 6 himself, and drove them away before him like a flock of sheep. The Captain of ye Dragoons was so enraged at this, that on a word speaking [spoken] he would have laid him in irons. And his soldiers were full as warm as himself, when about the middle of the sermon, an egg was thrown, as it was supposed, out of a window. It was some time before I could quiet them; the whole congregation being just on ye point of pulling down the house. In conversing afterwards with 10 or 12 people of fashion who were full of zeal

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and goodwill, I was amazed to find them just as dead and un-awakened, as if they had never heard me open my mouth. How shall I find a way into the heart of the people? Hitherto they like all, and feel nothing.

Monday, 11th. I preached at 5 as terribly as I could on, "If the righteous scarcely be saved, where shall ye ungodly appear?" But still the people, who were ready to eat up every word, neither taste nor digest any part of what is spoken. The Society now consists of about 110 members. We spent an hour with them after sermon; and God began to break ye rocks in pieces. A voice was heard; lamentation and weeping and mourning. Many were cut to the heart, and roared aloud; particularly one grey-headed sinner, between 70 and 80 years of age, who seems just entering into the kingdom. In the evening there appeared more emotion in the congregation than ever I had seen before, while I enforced, "God is a spirit, and they that worship must worship Him in spirit and in truth." But still it appeared in a manner I never saw; not in one, here and there, but in all. Perhaps God is working here in a way we have not known, going on with a slow and even motion through the whole body of the people, that they may all remember themselves and be turned unto the Lord.—There are 4 clergymen in Athlone. With one of them we conversed largely and closed [closely] on Good Friday, and with his wife on Sunday. The wife of another invited me to her house this evening, where we met ye two others, with their wives, and spent two hours in friendly conversation. Who would not follow that direction of the apostle, even upon principles of reason, "If it be possible, as much as lieth in you, live peaceably with all men"?

Tuesday, 12th. I preached on Hebrew xiii. 20, and took my leave of ye loving people, the like to whom I have never seen either in Europe or America. I believe more than an hundred followed me on foot above a mile, to the top of the hill, and horsemen in abundance. We stopped here and sang the parting hymn; men, women and children being in tears. Fourteen of the horsemen would needs go on to Clara [? Clare], nine Irish miles farther. If the people of Athlone did but love God as they do me, they would be the praise of the whole earth."

(Then follows the following letter in Wesley's handwriting):

"Dublin, Saturday, April 16th, 1748.

Dear brother,—We returned hither last night. But I must (as you observe) make another journey into the country. Our Societies there already consist of 350 members. But they are

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most of them Raw, Undisciplined Soldiers ; and, without great care, will desert to their old Master.

The Conference must be in London this year, in order to the meeting of the Stewards from all the Societies. I hope to be there about Wednesday in Whitsen week.

Skinner's Alley House is now, as it ever was, a milstone [millstone] about my neck. I shall shake it off as soon as possible, and do as I would be done to. I can never get over, 'We laid out so much money and have not had a penny returned.'

T. Alsop is not equal to Reading, nor can John Jones ride long journeys. I am glad you are returned" [letter imperfect].

The MS. from which the above is copied is written on two quarto sheets of writing paper pasted together at the long edges and so forming a folio sheet. The writing is not Wesley's: it fills nearly three-fourths of the paper, Wesley's letter occupying the rest of the third side. The sheet was folded up as a letter and addressed on the plain side, in Wesley's handwriting, "To The Rev. Mr. Wesley;" and, on what would be the inner part of the plain side when folded, are the words, also in Wesley's writing,—“Mr. Meriton will transcribe and send the letters next week.” The sheet has subsequently been folded into an octavo and labelled in Charles Wesley's writing in shorthand—"Journal, April 10th, 1748." Mr. Meriton was one of Wesley's travelling companions at the time—see *Journal*, March 8th, 1748,—and probably transcribed this portion of the Journal for John to send to his brother Charles.

The special interest of this fragment arises from its being probably a portion of Wesley's *larger Journal*, from which the published *Extracts* were made. On comparing the two—this and the printed *Journal*—it will be easily seen in what way Wesley made his *Extracts*. Looking over a portion of his larger *Journal*, now in Mr. Kelly's hands, extending over six months of 1736, it seemed to me to bear about the same relation to the printed *Extracts*, as this does.

R. GREEN.

THE OXFORD METHODISTS,

WILLIAM AND RICHARD MORGAN.

There are a number of particulars concerning the above that are not generally known, but which, after considerable search, I have obtained. They may probably interest the members of the Wesley Historical Society.

Wesley writes, in *A Short History of Methodism* (*Works*, viii. 348), "In November, 1729, four young gentlemen of Oxford,—Mr. John Wesley, Fellow of Lincoln College; Mr. Charles Wesley, Student of Christ Church; Mr. Morgan, Commoner of Christ Church; and Mr. Kirkham, of Merton College,—began to spend some evenings in a week together, in reading, chiefly, the Greek Testament." The Mr. Morgan was William Morgan, elder son of Mr. Richard Morgan, Second Remembrancer to the Court of Exchequer, Dublin, who was married to Elizabeth, daughter of Anthony Raymond, Collector, Drogheda. Mr. and Mrs. Morgan had three children,—William, referred to in the above extract by Wesley, Richard, to whom we shall shortly refer, and Mary, who was married to the Rev. William Godley, Rector of Mullaghbrack, Armagh, and whose lineal descendants still survive in the County of Leitrim, (*vide* Burke's *Landed Gentry*). Mr. Richard Morgan, senior, died in 1752, and his will, dated May 13th, 1749, may be seen in the Public Record Office, Dublin.

For particulars concerning William Morgan's connection with Wesley at Oxford, the reader is referred to Moore's *Life of Wesley*, i. 167,8. It should be noted that Moore omits from the letter of Samuel Wesley, senr., to his son John, the following paragraph:—"You do not know of how much good that poor wretch who killed his wife has been the providential occasion. I think I must adopt Mr. M[organ] to be my son, together with you and your brother Charles; and when I have such a ternion to prosecute that war, wherein I am now *miles emeritus*, I shall not be afraid

when they speak with their enemies in the gate."—Tyerman's *Life of S. Wesley*, p. 407.

In 1730 Mr. Gambold says of William Morgan, "He was a young man of an excellent disposition. He took all opportunities to make his companions in love with a good life; to create in them a reverence for the public worship; to tell them of their faults with a sweetness and simplicity that disarmed the worst tempers. He delighted much in works of charity; he kept several children at school; and, when he found beggars in the street, would bring them into his chamber, and talk to them."

Further reference is made to William Morgan and the Oxford Methodists in Moore's *Life of Wesley*, i. 175-8, from which it appears that in June, 1731, Morgan was "sick at Holt"; and in 1732 he was affected in his mind, as well as worse in body.

In April, 1732, Mr. Samuel Wesley, junior, visited Oxford and spent a few days there; no doubt with a view chiefly, as Moore says, to satisfy himself on the spot of the truth or falsehood of the various accounts that were given of his two brothers. When he returned to London he wrote a hasty poetical epistle to his brother Charles, in which he expressed his opinion of their conduct, and the views he had formed of their opponents. The latter part of this refers to the unhappy situation of Mr. Morgan: The poem is given in full by Moore (*Life of Wesley*, i. 188-190).

Mr. Morgan took his final departure from Oxford on June 5, 1732, and proceeded to his father's house in Dublin. Here he spent six weeks, and again set out for Oxford, but in a few days his mind gave way, and he died on August 26th. Details as to his death are given in a letter from his father to Charles Wesley, dated September 5th, 1732.¹

As soon as it was known in Oxford that Mr. Morgan was dead, a report was circulated that the rigorous fasting he had imposed upon himself by the advice of the Wesleys had hastened his end. As this report was highly prejudicial to their character, and might hinder their usefulness; and as it was probable it would reach the father, and might pain him, and prejudice him more deeply against his son's conduct and the persons with whom he had been connected, John Wesley thought it best to write to him and state the matter as it really was. This letter is dated October 18, 1732, and appears in Moore's *Life of Wesley*, i. 192-4. This well-timed letter, containing a simple narrative of facts, fully satisfied Mr. Morgan, senior. His answer, dated November 25,

1. See Moore's *Life of Wesley*, i. 190-191.

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shows him to have been a man of moderation and a friend to piety ; it also is given by Moore (i. 194-5). Elegiac verses on the death of Mr. Morgan were written by Samuel Wesley, junior ; —see Moore, i. 195-7, and also Wesley's *Works*, i. 15, 16.

The correspondence continued for some time between Wesley and Mr. Morgan, senior, and in the year following Mr. Morgan sent his only surviving son, Richard, and placed him under Wesley's care, which was, as Moore says, the strongest proof he could possibly give that he approved of his conduct. For particulars as to this young man, his age, character, education, conduct at Oxford, and kind and faithful treatment by Wesley until January, 1734, we must refer once more to Moore's *Life of Wesley*, i. 197-202.

In time, however, through the Divine blessing on the influence of James Hervey, Richard Morgan, junior, was led to religious decision, and joined the Methodists. On June 17th, 1735, Mr. Ingram writes to Wesley, "Mr. Morgan is forbid all conversation with you or your friends. I hope he will make a good Christian." In the following October, when the Wesleys left for America, Mr. Morgan and Mr. Broughton appear to have become the leaders of the little society. Hence the former wrote a long letter to Wesley, dated "Oxon., Nov. 27, 1735," giving an account of himself and his work (*vide Tyerman's Life of Wesley*, i. 131-2). Tyerman says of him that he then "drifted away, and left no track behind." But this is not correct.

Nearly ten months later, that is on September 3rd, 1736, James Hutton, another of the Oxford Methodists, wrote to Wesley as follows :—"Mr. Whitefield has taken orders, and is in town to supply Mr. Broughton's places at the Tower and Ludgate Prison. Mr. Broughton reads prayers every night to a religious Society that meets in Wapping Chapel. Mr. Morgan is obliged by his father's orders to study physic at Leyden, where the name of Wesley stinks as well as at Oxford." But Morgan did not remain there long, or pursue his medical course ; for, as appears from Watson's *Dublin Directory*, in the following year, having returned to the Irish metropolis, he was associated with his father in the Office of Second Remembrancer of the Court of Exchequer. In 1740 he was called to the bar. In 1752, on the death of his father, the office of Second Remembrancer became his exclusively, and he retained it until the end of his life.

He was married to a Miss Dorothy Mellor, of Parkgate, Cheshire, and had only one child, a daughter, Sophia, who died in 1775. How far he retained his piety or his interest in Wesley

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and Methodism, it is now difficult to say. We know, however, that at least on one of Wesley's numerous visits to Ireland he called to see his early friend, for in his *Journal* he writes, "Saturday, July 15, 1769, I crossed the country to my old friend Mr. Morgan, and in the afternoon returned to Dublin." Mr. Morgan died at Newcastle, Dublin, early in 1785.

C. H. CROOKSHANK.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

147. QUERIES 112 AND 122.—ROCHESTER CIRCUIT.—Mr. Martin asks “Has anything appeared in the *Mag.* on Rochester Circuit?” Yes, in 1880, in the series of articles by J. M. H. on *Methodism in Kent*. The third art. quotes Abraham Brames’ MS. very fully, and gives an account of the writer.—*Rev. T. E. Bridgen.*
148. REPLY TO Q. 127.—“What became of Wesley’s unpublished Journal?”—In the W.H.S. *Proceedings*, vol. 1, p. 80, the Rev. R. Green says, “a large proportion . . . in Wesley’s handwriting are in safe keeping.” Dr. Hoole, in *W.M.M.*, 1855, said that a MS. volume of Wesley’s Journal had been received by the Committee of the Connexional Depository. In regard to Wesley’s MS. Pocket Diary, from which the extended Journal was written, the following reference to *one* of the sections appears in the *New York Christian Advocate*, June 3rd, 1880, in an account of Dr. Osborn’s collection of Wesley MSS. and books bought for the Drew Seminary, Madison, New Jersey. “Beside the mask taken after his death, there is also a *Volume of Wesley’s private Diary*, and his grandfather’s Bible, together with MSS. of Wm. Thompson and John Haime, and letters of John Nelson and Sam. Taylor.” It is fortunate that Mr. Green was able to give so full an account of another of these valuable pocket diaries (*Proceedings*, vol. 1. p. 78) before it also went to America. But these diaries are not inaccessible, and should be used in any revision of the *Journals*. I have the first, and most of the other early editions of the XXI printed parts, in which I find variations.—*Rev. T. E. Bridgen.*
149. REPLY TO Q. 129. THOMAS RANKIN: “Why has his name never appeared among those who died in the work?”—G. J. Stevenson says that Mr. Rankin, “having the means entered into business during his late years, in consequence of which

his name was taken off the *Minutes*." (*His. City Road Chapel*, p. 177). His name is on the *Minutes* from 1783 to 1795, as a London supernumerary. Then it vanishes without any printed record. At Wesley's last Conference, 1790, Rankin was placed on the Committee for the Management of our affairs in the West Indies and also on the Building Committee for Great Britain (*Minutes*). He was one of the 'London Ministers,' who signed the appeal for a District Meeting to consider Kilham's pamphlet, *The Progress of Liberty*, Dec. 5th, 1795. (See Kilham's *Candid Consideration of the London Methodistical Bull*, 1796, p. 12). Rankin's name is in Pawson's *Chronological Catalogue of all the travelling preachers now in the Methodist Connexion*, 1795. In the Steward's Accounts of City Road Chapel there is the following entry: "1789. Dec. 1st. Paid Mr. Rankin's bill for coals, £18 11s." This could hardly have been an 'allowance.' Does it indicate Mr. Rankin's business? If so, Myles' statement, that he departed from our work in 1787, may mean that he commenced business in that year. The continuance of his name on the *Minutes* until 1795 may have been an irregular token of regard for a man who had been ordained by Wesley. We find him preaching at City Road and entertaining Jabez Bunting in 1803.—*Life of Bunting*, pp. 161-175. When he died at North Green, Shoreditch, in 1810, Walter Griffith and Henry Moore gave addresses, and Benson preached a funeral sermon in City Road Chapel. At the Conference (City Road), Walter Griffith said, "Mr. Rankin died well." The inscription on his memorial stone describes him as "a preacher in the Rev. John Wesley's Connexion for near fifty years." But no obituary appeared, because his name was not then on the *Minutes*. The following Minute, of 1796, accounts for the omission of Thomas Rankin's name from the *Minutes* after that year, "We all agree to confirm our old rule in the *Large Minutes* (Q. 30, 1780), namely: After long consideration it was agreed by all our brethren, That no preacher who will not relinquish his trade of buying and selling, (though it were only pills, drops, or balsams), shall be considered as a Travelling preacher any longer."—*Rev. T. E. Brigden*.

150. REPLY TO Q. 137. THE NOTORIOUS GEORGE WHITE, A.M., INCUMBENT OF COLNE, 1741-1751.—Dr. J. D. Whitaker was vicar of Whalley Parish from 1776 to 1809.

The Chapelries of Colne and Marsden were in that parish. When Dr. Whitaker became vicar many must have been living who remembered White, for Colne was famous for the longevity of its inhabitants. An 'ancient woman,' reputed to be 103, was living there in 1832, who remembered the alarming visit of the Scotch rebels to Colne in 1745, six years before White's death (*Baines' Hist. of Lancashire*). Soon after coming to the parish Dr. Whitaker began his *History of the Parish of Whalley*, which he completed in 1800 (Fourth edn., 1874, 2 vols. 4to). He had access to the registers. He states that White died at Langroyd and was interred in his own Church at Colne, April 29th, 1751. Newton makes a similar statement. Baines describes Langroyd Hall, near Colne, as 'an ancient house modernised.' In the *Life of the Countess of Huntingdon* we are told that White drank himself first into a jail, and then into his grave. Wesley confirms this (*Journal*, June 8, 1752). Shirley adds "It is believed and reported in the neighbourhood that Mr. White, when on his dying bed, sent for Mr. Grimshaw" and, confessing his errors, begged for Grimshaw's counsel and prayers. See also Hardy's *Life of Grimshaw*, and the late Bishop Ryle's sketch in his *Christian Leaders*. Mr. Bretherton's MS. appears to be correct in its statement that White was incarcerated for debt in Chester Castle, but what authority is there for saying that he died there "on the occasion of Wesley's visit, April 4th, 1751"? In the burial register of Colne church is the following entry,—“April 29th, 1751. George White, who came to be minister here, Oct. 5th, 1741.—*Rev. T. E. Brigden*.”

151. MOORE AND COKE'S LIFE OF REV. JOHN WESLEY.—The following MS. note, in the writing of G. J. Stevenson (with his signature), is stated to have been copied from Henry Moore's MS. *History of the Work*. It is written on the fly leaf of a copy in my possession:—"It was written by the Rev. Henry Moore in about four weeks, and revised by the Rev. Dr. Coke, both whose names are on the title-page, as Mr. Wesley's executors belonging the Conference on behalf of which the book was written. It was issued in April 1792, and ten thousand copies of it were sold in about four weeks, so great was the desire to learn about the founder of Methodism. A second 10,000 was printed, ready for the Conference, and nearly all sold by the end of 1792. This is a copy of the first edition and has the family arms gilt on

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the back, of which only a few copies were done for special friends."—*Mr. W. H. Ball.*

152. The following notes are from the *Everett MSS.*, in his own hand, which I bought at the sale in London many years ago:—

1. *An Alphabetical Arrangement of Preachers.* By *W. Hill.*—The plan of this work was drawn up by a friend of mine, Mr. John North, a Local Preacher, in Hull. It was shown to Mr. Hill, in MS., in the frankness of friendship, when I travelled with him, in connexion with Messrs. Myles and J. James, in the Hull circuit; and he [Mr. Hill] had the disingenuousness to adopt the plan, without asking permission, and the dishonesty to pocket the profits and fruits of another man's labours, when published. The work properly belongs to Mr. North, whom I urged to claim it, and ought to bear his name.

2. *The Book of Kane and the Book of Richard.* ("This I returned to Mr. Everett.—¹ *L. Tyerman.*")—No man knows so much of the history and composition of the *Book of Kane*, as the Rev. Richard Watson, author of *Theological Institutes*, and no one knows so much of the history and composition of the *Book of Richard* as James Everett: the one was written in a fit of spleen against Methodism, and the other in a fit of spleen against Watson. The latter was printed in Manchester by W. A. Storr, for private circulation. Only 100 copies were thrown off, and up to 1832, only 6 copies had got abroad; the remainder were under lock and key: and on January 11th, 1833, three days after his (Watson's) death, they were burnt in Market Street, Manchester, by the author.

3. *Henshaw's Letter to Bramwell.*—It was through the instrumentality of Mr. Bramwell, that I was called into the regular work of the ministry. I travelled with him the first year of my itinerancy, in the circuit—Sunderland—in which I had laboured as a local preacher, and lived 9 months under his roof. I never met with his equal for prayer.—*Mr. H. W. Ball.*

153. WRAP ME IN THY CRIMSON VEST: Hymn 128.—In the late Dr. Moulton's article on this Hymn (*Proceedings*, i. 26) is a remark on the words, "Wrap me in thy crimson vest," and the Reverend Doctor writes, "To this figure I do

1. This evidently refers to a copy of the book lent to Tyerman.

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not remember any exact parallel. . . . I shall be glad to know if any parallel has been found by others." May I suggest an approximate parallel in Dr. Watts' hymn, "Crucifixion to the world by the Death of Christ." In its original form there is a stanza which does not appear in Hymn 700 of our present version, viz. :—

v. 4 " His dying Crimson, like a Robe,
Spreads o'er His Body on the Tree ;
Then am I dead to all the Globe,
And all the Globe is dead to me."

In addition to the colour of the shed blood, there appears to be a reference in the minds of both poets, to the symbolism employed in the early church. The Good Friday colours have varied from red through purple or violet to black, but a majority of old inventories give red or purple. The term red, however, is rather vague, and includes two colours so far distinct as scarlet and crimson. It is often difficult to determine what the ancient colours were, partly from our inability to decide such terms as *purpureus*, *hyacinthus*, and *coccineus*. It has been suggested that the ancients had either a very limited colour vocabulary, or were little gifted with a sense of colour, or we should scarcely find one word, *purpureus*, used as describing the colour of the sea, the sunrise, the poppy flower, the fruit of the fig, the human hair, the blood, and other things. It is shown by Dr. Legg (*History of Liturgical Colours*) that the same ignorance prevails as to the value of the mediæval words, *rubeus* and *blodius*. It will be noted that St. Matthew says that Christ's robe was scarlet, and St. John calls it purple (see Smith's *Dictionary of the Bible*, sub voce, "Colours"; and Ruskin's *Modern Painters*, iii. 225). Hence I conclude that Watts had the old symbolism in his mind when he wrote, and that Charles Wesley had the like, with a remembrance of Watts' earlier written line.—*Mr. Francis M. Jackson.*

154. FRANCIS HARRIS (*Proceedings*, ii. 89).—In the note by the Rev. George Lester, on Charles Delamotte, mention is made of Francis Harris of Manchester. Is this quite correct? Is it not *Marris*?—*Mr. Francis Marris Jackson.*
155. HYMN 226 (*Proceedings*, ii. 175).—What proof is there that John Wesley ever published this hymn with the reading, "With thy loved name"? Watts wrote "loud," that is, loud sounding name, and a similar use of the word is found

in Shakespeare's *Winter's Tale*, act iii. sc. 3, "Tis like to be loud weather": and Milton has the same idea in his *Ode to the Passion* (line 55),

. "And I

Might think the infection of my sorrows loud

Had got a race of mourners on some pregnant cloud."

My impression is that the error crept in from a mistake of some printer, who mistook *loud* for *lov'd*, and in course of time *lov'd* became *loved*.—*Mr. Francis M. Jackson.*

[John Wesley never departed from Watts's wording in the verse referred to by Mr. Jackson. The hymn first appears in a Wesley collection in the first edition of *A Collection of Psalms and Hymns* published in 1741. There the reading is, "With thy *loud* name": it is the same in the large Hymn Book published 1780, and likewise in the first, second and third editions.—*R. G.*]

156. THOUGHTS ON GOD AND NATURE.—Wesley, in his *Journal*, November 12, 1767, refers to a work having the above title; he says the book "contains a treasure of ancient learning, delivered in clear and strong language; and is, indeed, a master-piece in its kind, a thunder-bolt to Lord Bolingbroke, and all his admirers." Can the work be identified from Wesley's description? In Watts' *Bibliotheca Britannica* there is a work entitled *Thoughts on the Being of God, the nature of Man, and the relation of Man to his Maker, &c., addressed to Mankind in General*. Lond.: 8vo., 1756. Is this the "thunder-bolt to Bolingbroke," and who is the author?—*Mr. Francis M. Jackson.*

157. Amongst Whitefield's bequests is the following:—"I leave a mourning ring to my honoured and dear friends and disinterested fellow-labourers, the Rev. Messrs. John and Charles Wesley, in token of my indissoluble union with them, in heart and Christian affection, notwithstanding our difference in judgment about some particular points of doctrine. Grace be with all them, of whatever denomination, that love our Lord Jesus, our common Lord, in sincerity."

Were these rings made and presented? Were they worn? Have they been preserved? Where are they? Can anyone answer these queries?—*Rev. R. Green.*