

Theology on the Web.org.uk

Making Biblical Scholarship Accessible

This document was supplied for free educational purposes. Unless it is in the public domain, it may not be sold for profit or hosted on a webserver without the permission of the copyright holder.

If you find it of help to you and would like to support the ministry of Theology on the Web, please consider using the links below:



Buy me a coffee

<https://www.buymeacoffee.com/theology>



PATREON

<https://patreon.com/theologyontheweb>

PayPal

<https://paypal.me/robbradshaw>

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

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



NOTES ON SOME PORTRAITS OF JOHN WESLEY.

Probably no person, unless possibly the late Queen Victoria ever lived of whom there are so many representations in the various forms of busts, portraits, medallions, likenesses on pottery, medals, book-markers, and other materials, as of John Wesley. In the writer's collection are over four hundred examples, each one differing from the rest in some particular, though there are many of the same type. In this paper it is proposed to give a brief notice of twelve of the most important ones.

There are not fewer than six portraits of Wesley painted in oils by members of the Royal Academy. Yet it is surprising to note the remarkable differences in the representations. So varied are they that in some cases it is scarcely credible that they represent the same man. Compare for example, numbers 3, 4, 7, 10 and 12, in the accompanying illustrations.

Of engraved portraits there are at least ten well-executed mezzotints, chiefly of folio size, engraved during Wesley's life, or immediately after his death; and a large number of line or stipple engravings of very varying merit.

The oil paintings are by the following artists, viz., John Michael Williams, R.A., John Zoffany, R.A., Robert Hunter, Nathaniel Hone, R.A., John Russell, R.A., William Hamilton, R.A., George Romney, John Jackson, R.A.

The mezzotints are by the following artists: Faber, after Williams; Haid and Son, after Williams; Bland, after Hone; Greenwood, after Hone; Bowles, after Hone; Watson, after Hunter; Bland, after Russell; Spilsbury, after Romney; Ward, after Romney; Jones, after Vaslet.

The earliest known portrait of John Wesley is a line engraving representing him as a half length figure in gown and bands, with half face to the left. It was published October 7th,

WESLEY HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

1741; size of plate $5\frac{1}{4}$ ins. by $3\frac{5}{8}$ ins. As a likeness of Wesley it is ridiculous. Indeed it is rather a caricature than a likeness, and is only of interest as the first one known.

The next in order of date was drawn from life by George Vertue, and engraved by him in 1742 (No. 1). His fame rests upon his great historical prints. He spent a long life in the practice of his art, and died in the 90th year of his age. Vertue executed another portrait in 1744 or 1745, in which the features of Wesley were somewhat altered; and in the latter year a third was produced, in which the face was copied from Williams's portrait, and is marked "I. Williams pinx, G. Vertue, del et sculp."

In 1743, John Michael Williams, R.A., painted his well-known and excellent portrait of Wesley in the 40th year of his age. The painting hangs in a lecture-room of Didsbury College. It represents Wesley in gown and bands, full face, standing, with both hands on a book. It has been engraved in mezzotint by Faber at various dates from 1743 to 1748, and afterwards by Houston Watson, Cochrane, and others. Photo. No. 2 is from Faber's 1743 engraving; size of plate, $12\frac{1}{2}$ ins. \times 10 ins. Williams painted a second portrait of Wesley, in which the face is very similar to the one above described, but the bust only is shewn, in an oval frame. This original painting has not been located, but a copy of it in oils, made in 1745, hangs in the Book-steward's room in City Road. A fine mezzotint from this picture was executed by Haid & Son; size of plate, $7\frac{5}{8}$ ins. \times $5\frac{1}{2}$ ins. There are three other copies of Williams's first painting in existence. One was at the late Mission house, one at Lincoln College, Oxford, and one in the collection of Mr. George Stampe, of Grimsby. The one at the Mission house is not the original. It is a copy by "John Harley," probably a pupil of Williams. The one at Oxford is inferior in execution, and is probably the production of a student or amateur. It has a curious history. It was found by the Rev. L. H. Wellesley Wesley at a dealer's in Greek Street, London, who had purchased it for 5/- "with other rubbish." Not knowing whose portrait it was, but assuming it might be valuable, he asked £10 for it. Mr. Wesley did not purchase, but on a second visit found it had been sold to the Principal of Lincoln College, who had paid for it a much larger sum.

The next portrait was executed in oils by Johann Zauffely, or John Zoffany, R.A. (or Zoffani) as the name was more usually written (1735-1810). He was one of the original members of the Royal Academy, a painter of much experience, of whose work there are five specimens in the National Portrait Gallery.

PROCEEDINGS.

His portrait of Wesley was painted probably about 1760, when Wesley was 57 years of age. It is signed, "Zoffani pinx.," and is in the possession of Rev. Marmaduke Riggall. It does not appear that this portrait was engraved at the time of its execution by Zoffany, nor until some 28 years later, when Sylvester Harding, a miniature painter of some note, who exhibited at the Royal Academy for about 25 years, made a drawing from the painting, which was engraved by William Nelson Gardiner, an Irish engraver who frequently engraved for Harding's works, and practised copying portraits. Photo. No. 3 is from this engraving, on which Wesley's age is stated as 85. That would be his age when the engraving was published in 1788. But the features have a much younger appearance, and apparently more nearly correspond to Wesley's age when Zoffany executed his painting, in which the face is of still younger appearance than in the engraving. There are some later copies from the same engraved plate, which is in the possession of Mr. F. M. Jackson, of Altrincham, but on which the name of F. Bartolozzi appears as the engraver. The character and style of engraving seems to be inferior to that celebrated engraver's work, and it is difficult to understand how his name appears there. Perhaps an explanation may be suggested by the fact that Gardiner worked with, and perhaps for, Bartolozzi in the production of the plates for Harding's *Shakespeare*, and other works.

Under date July 31st, 1765, Wesley records in his Journal that he suffered Mr. Hunter to take his "picture," for which he sat for three and a half hours, with the result that the artist produced "a most striking likeness." Robert Hunter was an Irish portrait painter, with a large practice in Dublin. His portrait of the Earl of Buckingham hangs in the Mansion House there. If Hunter's reputation rested upon this likeness of Wesley, it would not have much claim to excellence. Wesley's judgment of it only shews how bad a judge of his own likeness a man sometimes is. It is interesting to note the difference between the portraits by Hunter and by Hone, both painted about the same year. Hunter's portrait was well engraved in mezzotint by J. Watson; size of plate 14 ins. × 11 ins. Photo No. 4 is from this engraving. The original painting is, or was, in the possession of Mr. J. J. Buttress, of Crouch Hill, London.

About 1765 a portrait of Wesley was painted by Nathaniel Hone, R.A., who was a miniaturist (1734—1784). It is a large canvas and hangs in the National Portrait Gallery. It was sold among the effects of Miss Wesley, and purchased by the Trustees,

November, 1861. It has been many times engraved. Perhaps the finest example is a mezzotint by John Greenwood, published Dec., 1770. Size of plate, 13 ins. by 10 ins. Photo No. 5 represents it. Hone may have painted two portraits, as there is another similar mezzotint after the same artist, but reversed.¹ The face looks the opposite way and the left hand is held up. The subscription on this engraving states that it was from an original picture in the possession of Thos. Wooldridge, Esq., of East Florida. The size of this latter plate is $13\frac{3}{8}$ ins. \times 11 ins. The painting in the National Portrait Gallery was also engraved by Bland in 1765, and formed the frontispiece to Wesley's *Notes on the Old Testament*.

The next portrait was painted in 1773 by John Russell, R.A. (1744—1806), who was an English portrait painter, chiefly in crayons. He was a skilful artist, and there is no reason to question the likeness. It represents Wesley at 70 years of age. The original painting hangs in the dining-hall at Kingswood School, and a somewhat rough copy of it is in the Wesley house at City Road. A very good mezzotint engraving from the Kingswood painting was executed by Bland. No. 6 is a photo from it. Size of plate, $12\frac{7}{8}$ ins. \times $9\frac{7}{8}$ ins. There is in the Allan Library collection a unique mezzotint engraving from this painting, by Jeffries and Faden, showing Wesley's figure in a wide oval frame. No other copy of this is known and the one by Bland is very scarce.

In 1788 William Hamilton, R.A. (1751—1801) painted a portrait of Wesley. He was an artist of versatile talents, employed much on public works and excelling in ornament. His painting represents Wesley in his 86th year, and hangs in the National Portrait Gallery, London. It is a large canvas, measuring 49 ins. \times 39 ins., and was presented to the Gallery by Mr. James Milbourne in February, 1871. The portrait was engraved by James Fittler, who has added below the arms of the Wesley family.² It was published November, 1788, by James Milbourne. Photo. No. 7 is taken from it. Size of plate $12\frac{3}{4}$ ins. \times $10\frac{3}{8}$ ins. Wesley's *Journal* has the following entry under date of December 22nd, 1787, which probably refers to Hamilton's painting: "I yielded to

[1. In reply to an enquiry, Mr. Wright tells me that these are not *simply* reversed, as might have been the case if in one of the two the engraver had not drawn in reverse upon his plate; the two engravings differ in several small details. Mr. Wright adds: "I have never been able fully to satisfy myself that Hone actually painted two pictures."—H. J. F.]

[2. See *Proceedings*, I, pt. 4, p. 97.—H. J. F.]

PROCEEDINGS.

the importunity of a painter and sat an hour and a half in all for my picture. I think it was the best that ever was taken."

In 1789, under date of January 5th, 1789, is the well-known reference in Wesley's *Journal* to the painting by George Romney, which is generally regarded as the best portrait of him in his later years. Of this portrait the present writer once heard the late Rev. John Hickling say, when looking at a Romney-Ward engraving: "That is John Wesley as I knew him 60 years ago." The portrait bears all the semblance of reality, Wesley's fine features being carefully depicted. Romney was an artist of first rank, whose pictures are now eagerly sought, and large prices are paid for them. Wesley seems to have sat to Romney only a very short time, yet the painter has secured a most life-like and telling portrait. There is, however, one fault. Wesley is painted of much more bulky bodily form than he really was. This may be due, in part, to the amplitude of the gown, or it may be that the short time Wesley sat for the painting was devoted to securing an exact representation of the features, while the body was afterwards developed at leisure, without its proportions having been so carefully noted. Be this as it may, Wesley is certainly represented too portly in form. It is well known that he was of small stature, being only five feet three in height, and spare in build. His weight was only nine stone. This portrait was engraved in 1789 by Jonathan Spilsbury and by William Ward, A.R.A. Each of these artists produced a fine mezzotint. That by Spilsbury is rare. Photo. No. 9 represents it; size of plate, $11\frac{1}{4}$ ins. \times $8\frac{7}{8}$ ins. The engraving by Ward shows beneath the portrait a vignette of Epworth Church, drawn by John Jackson, R.A., and was published by Rev. T. Roberts, A.M., of Bristol [*M. Mag.*, 1825, p. 704].

In 1790, John Barry, a miniaturist, who began to exhibit at the Royal Academy in 1794, executed a miniature of Wesley the year before his death. This portrait is notable as being the one first issued with the Wesleyan Hymn-book and published in 1825. Under date February 22nd, 1790, Wesley records in his *Journal*, "I submitted to importunity and once more sat for my picture. I could scarcely believe myself. The picture of one in his 80th year!" This in all probability refers to Barry's miniature. The original was in the hands of the late Dr. Riggall, of London. After his death it was sold by auction for 25 guineas. Photo. No. 8 represents it, taken from an engraving by Fittler.

A somewhat similar miniature was painted about the same time by an artist named Arnold. The features so nearly correspond to Barry's as to suggest a copy from it. But the surroundings

differ. In Arnold's picture Wesley has a half-open Bible before him on a table. The fore-finger of the right hand points to a passage in the open page, while the fingers of the left hand appear over the leaves of the other side of the book. A library is shewn in the back-ground and ornamental curtains over-head. Some five or six years ago, an article entitled "Portraits of our Founder" appeared in the *Wesleyan Methodist Magazine*, in which, among many other errors, this portrait was attributed, with much circumstantial detail, to Henry Edridge, R.A. It is difficult to understand how the writer fell into such a singular error. Edridge's was, by an equally astonishing mistake, attributed to John Russell, R.A.

A very fine mezzotint engraving of Wesley was executed by John Jones, from a drawing by Lewis Vaslet, and published in 1791, three months after Wesley's death. Vaslet was a miniature painter at York and Bath, who occasionally exhibited at the Royal Academy. Jones was a very skilful engraver in mezzotint, and established a good reputation in that art. As a likeness of Wesley this portrait cannot be commended. The original drawing was, until recently, at the Mission House in London. The mezzotint is very scarce. Photo. No. 10 represents it. Size of plate, $12\frac{3}{4}$ ins. \times 10 ins.

Photo. No. 11 represents the portrait by Henry Edridge, R.A., a miniature painter (1769—1821). His original portrait was a drawing only, purporting to represent Wesley in his 88th year. The features however seem to belong to a much younger age. The artist was himself but a very young man at that time. The portrait was engraved by Ridley and others, Ridley's copy being published in 1792, as the frontispiece of Coke and Moore's *Life*.

Photo. No. 12, taken from an engraving by Thomson, represents the portrait best known to the present generation of Methodists, inasmuch as for many years it formed the frontispiece to the Wesleyan Hymn-book. It was painted by the late John Jackson, R.A., to the order of the Book-room, with the object, it is said, of securing a copyright to the hymn-book. Although it is altogether a synthetic portrait, it might reasonably have been expected that so skilful an artist as Jackson undoubtedly was, would have produced a portrait that not only enhanced his own reputation, but also secured the favourable criticisms of Methodist experts. But there surely never was a more unfortunate attempt to pourtray Wesley's features, though by an R.A. favoured, as he was, by the aid of all the examples of previous artists. It is safe to say that it does not represent Wesley at any period of his life.

PROCEEDINGS.

It depicts him as a man of big, burly bulk, with a face of the full moon type, and features entirely devoid of all that shrewd and tactful intelligence which was among his distinguishing characteristics. The portrait is a failure, notwithstanding the trumpet blast of laudation which accompanied its introduction to the Methodist public in 1827. The original painting was in the Mission House, London, but is now at the Book Room. It has been often engraved, by Thompson, Cochrane, and others. The size of the engraved plate is $9\frac{1}{4}$ ins. \times $7\frac{1}{4}$ ins.

These notes refer to the twelve most important and best authenticated portraits of Wesley. They are the originals of most of the smaller examples usually met with. There are a few others, mostly published after Wesley's death, which are worth notice, but could not be included in the accompanying page of illustrations without making the plate too small for the convenient and distinct recognition of the several portraits.

These notes may be appropriately concluded with a reference to the one portrait of Wesley which was probably the best of them all, being painted by the greatest master of the English school, Sir Joshua Reynolds, R.A. The reference to Sir Joshua in Wesley's Journal (5th Jan., 1789), appears conclusive of the fact that the great artist did paint Wesley's portrait. As, however, the painting cannot be discovered, and so far as is known, has not been seen at any time in the last century, it has been supposed by some experts that Wesley's reference is to the portrait of some other person than himself. This view has been held by some persons whose judgment is entitled to respect. But the reference is so direct and plain that this explanation can scarcely be accepted as conclusive. A careful investigation has revealed the fact that Reynolds's diary contains an entry that in March, 1755, "Mr. Westley" sat to him for his portrait.¹ This record seems to leave no doubt that Reynolds did paint Wesley's portrait. The spelling of the name with a "t" is only in accord with a practice of certain of the Wesley ancestors, and of other people. The question is—where is this picture? It has disappeared. So has Sir Joshua's painting of Lady Mornington. Probably no eye will ever see either of them again. It is believed that both these paintings were hanging at Dangan Castle in Ireland, when that estate was in the

1. [Given in Leslie and Taylor's *Reynolds*, i, 144, 157. I was inclined to take Wesley's remark to mean no more than: "[R.] did more in one hour than Sir Joshua did [i.e., was accustomed to do for his sitters] in ten." But I defer to Mr. Wright's facts.—H. J. F.]

WESLEY HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

possession of Viscount Wesley, Earl of Mornington. In later years the Castle came into the possession of Roger O'Connor, who laid waste the estate, and in whose time the Castle was destroyed by fire, when, it is believed, the two paintings referred to perished.

This explanation is accepted by the Rev. Wellesley Wesley and the present Duchess of Wellington, who have taken great interest in the subject.

It is curious to note how many times alleged discoveries of this missing portrait have been made, generally by persons who have been ready to accept very slight proof, or no proof at all, of the genuineness of their "finds." Perhaps the most remarkable of these is the latest one, which was described in the *Methodist Recorder* of July 20th, 1899, in an article entitled "Wesley pictures at the Conference, by the Rev. W. G. Beardmore." This was a portrait of some other person than John Wesley, and did not contain a shred of internal evidence that it was from the hand of Reynolds. It was most probably a portrait of John Cennick, one of Wesley's helpers and the first master of Kingswood School.

I have dealt more fully with this matter in vol. 2 of the *Proceedings* of the Wesley Historical Society, p. 49.

JOSEPH G. WRIGHT.

“MR. RILAND” IN WESLEY’S JOURNALS.

On April 19, 1764, Wesley addressed to forty or fifty clergymen his famous letter with proposals on the subject of Christian union. The names of thirty-three of them are given under the head of “chiefly,” and in this list is included that of “Mr. Riland.” To Tyerman (*Life* ii, 509,) Mr. Riland is unknown, though he has an unconscious allusion to him elsewhere, as we shall see. Mr. Crookshank (*Proceedings* iii, 5) discovers him as “Rev. John Riland, Curate of Sutton, Coldfield.” (The comma dividing the double name should be omitted). John Riland was that, and much more. Two of my papers on Methodism in Birmingham and Sutton Coldfield (*Methodist Recorder*, March 28, and Oct. 10, 1901) speak of him at some length. The rectory of Sutton Coldfield, which has now been in the family more than three centuries, was at the date named held by Richard Bisse Riland. The Rilands came from the Quinton in the N.E. corner of Gloucestershire, of which Wesley’s friend, Samuel Taylor, of the first Methodist Conference, was vicar. From the same stock came the families (variously spelt Ryland, Rylands, Ryelands) of Warwick, Northampton, (e.g., John Ryland, M.A., the Baptist minister of the 18th century) Birmingham and Bristol, with probably a common origin in Lancashire. (See *Genealogist*, 1880). John Riland (b. 1736), the rector’s younger brother, was ordained to the curacy in 1759. His religious views, at first on the Anti-Calvinistic side, were always deeply and strongly held, and his temper was controversial. But writing of that period in 1791, he declared he was then “a preacher of error and no preacher of truth; taught the law, and not the gospel for Salvation. . . . In July ’61, God opened my eyes to behold the wondrous things out of his law, and he then gave me the experience of John vi. 45. On that text, in August, I began to preach the truth I knew then experimentally, preaching which God blessed to the saving of souls, but no preaching before this did he ever bless.” This revolution led him to seek a curacy under a chief in more active sympathy with his views. This he found in 1763 with Henry Venn, vicar of Huddersfield; and the *Life* of Venn abundantly shows that in John Riland he had a congenial, faithful and capable assistant. He there married Miss

Ann Hudson, whose father and family were amongst Venn's warmest supporters, and to whom some of the vicar's most devotional letters were addressed. The first years of their married life were spent in residence with Venn, and when later on the vicar lost his wife, the assiduous and filial love of Mr. and Mrs. Riland ministered to his needs. "Mr. Riland (he says) weeps with me, and is a blessing more than I could have conceived to my wounded heart." In 1761 Venn wished Wesley to withdraw his preachers from Huddersfield, on the ground that he preached the same truths as Wesley. A temporary compromise resulted, by which the Methodist preachers were not to visit Huddersfield oftener than once a month; and later the interval was stretched to a year. But this vexed and dissatisfied both preachers and people, and in 1765 the former over-rode the compact by again visiting Huddersfield. "The curate [who was now John Riland,] took the pains to go from house to house entreating the people not to hear them; but all to no purpose." So Tyerman, (ii, 541) who gives in a footnote Pawson's "Affectionate Address" p. 10 as an authority.

At the Conference of 1765 John Pawson was appointed to Birstal, which at that time included Huddersfield. He was then in the 28th year of his age, and 4th of his ministry. In referring to these events (*E. M. P.*, 4th ed., iv, 34,) he adds the sequel: "By this means a way was opened into the mountains above, where the people in general were little better than heathens, ignorant and wicked to a high degree. The Lord hath since then wrought a wonderful change amongst them. In "*The Rilands of Sutton Coldfield*," a letter from the rector named early in this note, is quoted. Joining the coach for the North at Sutton in August, 1786, he finds "3 of Mr. Westley's preachers (one an Elder of some Authority) and a 4th on the Top, well behaved men, with whom we had no disputings, but a good deal of agreeable conversation. Three of these were going to fix in Scotland The Elder Minister had been once, he said, with my Brother." These, I shew (*Methodist Recorder*, Oct. 10, 1901) to be three preachers returning from the Bristol conference: Charles Atmore, newly appointed to Edinburgh, Joshua Keighley to Inverness, and, more to the point in hand, John Pawson, undoubtedly the "Elder of some Authority," returning to his circuit, Edinburgh. The single meeting to which he refers would doubtless be during the events of 1765.

Such was Venn's confidence in, and attachment to, John Riland, that on his retirement from the incumbency he strove to

PROCEEDINGS.

secure his curate's preferment. A man of quite another stamp was however appointed, whose discourses so repelled the people that a move was made to build an Independent chapel. The movement had Venn's sanction and financial support. Wesley, writing to Rev. Thomas Adam, July 19, 1768, shews his disapproval of that course: "I dare not, like Mr. Venn, leave the parish church where I am, and go to an Independent meeting. I dare not advise others to go thither . . ." John Riland opposed it with characteristic vigour and directness. His counsel was: "Stick to the church; by all means stick to the church; by all means pray for the conversion of your minister, and if you cannot approve of his preaching, remember you have the gospel in the prayers." This counsel was unavailing, and Highfield chapel was the issue.

John Riland was next (1774) presented to the living of St. Mary's, Birmingham, as its first Vicar. The author of the *Life of the Countess of Huntingdon* had this reference (ii, 477) to the event: "In the year 1774 the Gospel was first introduced into the Established Church at Birmingham, and St. Mary's Chapel was erected at the sole expense of a Miss Wayman. [The true spelling is Weaman; "Wayman" is phonetic]. It was consecrated August 24, 1774, by the Lord Bishop of Lichfield and Coventry." This church became the home of the "Church Methodists" in Birmingham, and for a century its traditional attitude was one of friendly sympathy with the Methodists. Wesley worshipped here on March 19, 1786, when "the curate preached an admirable sermon." William Thompson, president in 1791, is buried within the church, and Hester Ann Rogers in the adjoining graveyard; and it was at the instance of the Vicar of 30 or 40 years ago that their memorials were restored. (See my paper in *Methodist Recorder*, March 28, 1901, with illustrations). The curate just referred to was Rev. Edward Burn, who succeeded Riland as Vicar. He had been educated at Trevecca, and had itinerated some years in Lady Huntingdon's Connexion. Not long after the opening of St. Mary's chapel, Lady H. sent some of her students to Birmingham and other places in the neighbourhood. Now, there was a "cause" in the Sutton Coldfield parish, the parish of John Riland's family—at Hill Hook, to be exact,—possibly founded by Francis Asbury as early as the '60's—but this is another story. The circuit book shews the name to be "Hill-Hook" as late as October, 1793. In January, 1794, the steward writes "Hill-Hook" again, but erases the "-Hook", leaving the entry "Hill", which is a mile nearer Sutton,

implying that the place of worship had been changed, and it remained "Hill" till 1850. At that place was a little chapel, eighteen feet by sixteen. About 1853 it was converted into a dwelling house. (See *Methodist Recorder*, October 10th, 1901). All the surviving worshippers at that little place with whom I have communicated, are united in the tradition that it had been a Lady Huntingdon's chapel, previous to its acquisition by the Methodists. Is it unreasonable to assume that this is one of the "other places in the neighbourhood" just quoted, or to connect John Riland and his curate with it? Burn, it may be added, was to the front in the Priestley controversy. John Riland published numerous sermons on topics that were widely diverse. One of them at least, "A Sermon to Farmers," had the distinction of notice by the *Anti-Jacobin Review* (March, 1805) in terms of characteristically coarse and violent abuse, with a fine fling at the author's connection with the Evangelical school. His son-in-law, Rev. Joseph Mendham, who became his curate at Sutton, was a militant Protestant and an accomplished scholar, whose *History of the Council of Trent* is spoken of as an important work of reference; and his grandson, Rev. Robert Riland Mendham, presented in 1837 the Methodist Chapel at Hill, Sutton Coldfield, with a large pulpit Bible, printed in 1707, which is carefully preserved. He also rendered to the studies of a young local preacher, more than half a century ago kindly aid, which has since borne fruit in New Zealand. Mr. Riland succeeded his brother in 1790 in the family living at Sutton Coldfield, and with it he inherited a commanding position in the public life of this small but ancient royal borough. But secular life was not to his taste. As at Huddersfield, so here, he was indefatigable in pastoral visitation; young and old, educated and simple, rich and poor alike profited by his personal attention. He was unusually apt in consolation, vigorous and shrewd in thought, incisive, sententious, and often quaint in speech, independent and emphatic in action, and full of earnest evangelism. He died in 1822 in his 86th year, and is buried in the chancel of Sutton Church.

W. C. SHELDON.

Note.—Since the above paper was written, this Bible has come into my possession, and will be handed over to the trustees of the projected new Wesleyan Church at Four Oaks, half a mile nearer Sutton. The Bible contains Beza's Notes on the N. T.—W. C. S.

THE FOUNDERY LENDING STOCK.

No. 329. *FOUNDERY, Oct. 11, 1764.*

BORROWED and received of Mr. *Ward*
 (Steward of the Lending-Stock) the sum of
Two Pounds which we jointly and severally
 promise to pay to Him, or Order, within Three
 Months from the date hereof,

Witness our Hands, *Preb Lander* Borrower,

John Bakewell

Security,

John Bazlee

Borrower in

Clafs,

In that extremely interesting and valuable little pamphlet which Wesley published in 1749, with the title *A Plain Account of the People called Methodists: In a letter to the Rev. Mr. Perronet, Vicar of Shoreham, in Kent*, (*Wes. Bib.*, No. 126), Wesley shows how the Methodist spirit developed itself in the establishment of benevolent and philanthropic institutions. After naming the "Visitation and Relief of the Sick," "Schools for the Young," and the "Housing of poor Widows," he says:—"A year or two ago, I observed among many a distress of another kind. They frequently wanted, perhaps in order to carry on their business, a present supply of money. They scrupled to make use of a pawnbroker; but where to borrow it they knew not. I resolved to try if we could not find a remedy for this also. I went, in a few days, from one end of the town to the other, and exhorted those who had this world's goods, to assist their needy brethren. Fifty pounds were contributed. This was immediately lodged in the hands of two Stewards, who attended every Tuesday morning, in order to lend to those who wanted, any small sum, not exceeding

WESLEY HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

twenty shillings, to be repaid within three months. It is almost incredible, but it manifestly appears from their accounts that, with this inconsiderable sum, two hundred and fifty have been assisted, within the space of one year, Will not God put it into the heart of some lover of mankind to increase this little stock? If this is not 'lending unto the Lord,' what is? O confer not with flesh and blood, but immediately

'Join hands with God, to make a poor man live'!"¹

The following are references to the Lending Stock in the *Journal*: "Thursday, July 17, 1746.—I finished the little collection which I had made among my friends for a lending-stock: It did not amount to thirty pounds; which a few persons afterwards made up fifty, and by this inconsiderable sum, above two hundred and fifty persons were relieved in one year." "Sunday, January 17th, 1748.—I made a public collection towards a lending-stock for the poor. Our rule is, to lend only twenty shillings at once, which is repaid weekly within three months.² I began this about a year and a half ago: Thirty pounds sixteen shillings were then collected; and out of this no less than two hundred and fifty five persons have been relieved in eighteen months. Dr. W., hearing of this design, sent a guinea towards it; as did an eminent Deist the next morning." "Sunday, January 11, 1767.—I made a push for the lending-stock; speaking more strongly than ever I had done before. The effect was, that it was raised from fifty, to one hundred and twenty pounds."

Thus was founded a useful Society which in an unostentatious way gave help to many a struggling tradesman. Tyerman says, "Hundreds of the honest poor were greatly assisted by this benevolent device; and, among others, the well known Lackington, who about the year 1774 was penniless, but who, by the help of Wesley's fund, began a book business, which grew to such immense dimensions, that, in eighteen years afterwards, its annual sales were more than a hundred thousand volumes, from which Lackington, the quondam cobbler, realised the noble income of £5000 a year." (i. 551).

The printed representation at the head of this paper is taken from one of the original promissory notes given by the borrowers. Through the kindness of my friend Mr. R. Thursfield Smith, I am able to exhibit this to our readers.

R. GREEN.

1. *Works*, viii, 267.

2. "We now (1772) lend any sum not exceeding five pounds."

HASLINGDEN.

Haslingden, in Wesley's day, formed part of the Forest of Rossendale, into which William Darney introduced Methodism in 1744. Jessop's *Methodism in Rossendale* (p. 40) gives a woodcut of Heape Barn, Darney's first preaching place. Wesley visited Rossendale in 1747, and wrote on May 7th, "I preached to a large congregation of wild men, but it pleased God to hold them in chains." Dr. Whittaker, Vicar of Whalley, 1776—1809, says in his *History of Craven*, that "their manners and morals were probably more degraded than in any other part of the island." Wesley writes,

- (1) 1757. "Thursday, May 19. I preached at Ewood about seven . . . Mr. Grimshaw begged I would give them one sermon at Gawksham, after which we climbed up the enormous mountain . . . on the brow of which we were saluted by a severe shower, which a high wind drove full in our faces almost till we came to Haslenden."

Ewood and Gaulksholme, near Todmorden, are mentioned in Darney's verses. An old barn is still standing at Gaulksholme where Darney preached. (See illustration in *Methodist Recorder*, December 27, 1900.) "The mountain" was Dule's Gate, 1200 ft. in height. The hills around rise to 1700 ft. Haslingden is about 800 ft. above sea level.

Grimshaw had visited Darney's societies in 1747, and in the same year Paul Greenwood preached at Facit, near Edenfield, about three miles away. Entries in Haslingden Church register show that Methodism was spreading :

'December 1st, 1751. Baptised, John, son of John Taylor,
—*A Methodist.*

November 17, 1754. Buried, Susanna Ramsbottom, widow,
A Methodist.'

There are several later entries of the same kind. Mr. John Stott's trustworthy *Notices of Methodism in Haslingden, for private circulation only, 1898*, (now out of print), gives an account, from original sources, of the formation of the first societies. The following notes are mainly based on his carefully verified records. Wesley writes :

- (2) 1788. 'Monday, April 21st. I went on through miserable roads to Blackburn. . . . Tuesday, April 22nd.

Through equally good roads to Padiham. . . . From here we went in the afternoon through still more wonderful roads to Haslingden. They were sufficient to lame any horse and shake any carriage to pieces.' . . .

It has been estimated that 452 Acts for making and repairing roads had been passed since 1762, yet the engineering of roads remained a dead art in England. "When a blind carrier proposed to contract for a portion of new turnpike, his tender was accepted because it was the lowest; professional engineers did not accept such work. John Metcalf, or 'Blind Jack of Knaresborough,' was a genius, and performed his contract admirably. But he invented no new method." (Traill's *Social England*, vol. v., 347). Mr. Stott quotes from the *Life of John Metcalf. E. and R. Peck, York, 1795*. In 1789, the year after Wesley's visit, "a new road was made from Bury, through Eslington (Haslingden) to Ackrington, and thence to Blackburn. There were such hollows to fill and hills to be taken down to form the level as never was done before." The contractor was this same John Metcalf, the blind man. The work was completed in two years, for which "Blind Jack" received £3,500, and was, to use his own words "after all £40 loser by it." This is a striking confirmation of Wesley's description of the roads. He goes on to say, of Haslingden,

(3) "A gentleman, no way connected with us, has built us a neat Preaching House here"

This gentleman was a Mr. John Holden, who came from London to reside on his estate at Coldwells, near the town. He and his wife joined the society three years later. He erected a dwellinghouse adjoining the Chapel, for the use of the preacher when he came on his "Round." The pulpit was entered from this cottage through a doorway in the wall. (The buildings were demolished in 1898). The old stewards' book, venerable and discoloured with age, but beautifully written, containing the conditions of occupancy, and the names of the seat-holders from 1786 to 1791, is still preserved. This Mr. Holden died in 1794. His will, given in Mr. Stott's *Appendix*, reveals a character generous but eccentric.

A memorial stone in the graveyard of King Street Chapel, Haslingden, records the death of a Richard Holden in 1811, who, prior to the building of the Chapel, was the first to rent a room for worship, and another for the preachers. Wesley says of the Chapel, which had been opened by Dr. Coke in 1786,

(4) "It was well filled in the evening with serious people, lying in the midst of many societies."

PROCEEDINGS.

On his arrival in the afternoon of this day, Mr. Wesley preached out of doors in the old Market ground, from the horse-steps near the "Old Black Dog" Inn, which is still standing. He had scarcely mounted the steps when a crowd of roughs, headed by one having the garb and appearance of a gentleman, approached him with the purpose, as they said, to pull him down. But a party of seven young men had armed themselves with stout sticks, and stood near to protect Mr. Wesley, if necessary. One of these seven was John Rishton, the class-leader, then about twenty-five years of age. Mr. Wesley, however, addressed the foremost of the roughs with characteristic coolness and dignity, and the service proceeded in peace.

The Sacrament of the Lord's Supper was administered to the Society in the Chapel. Amongst the communicants were the sons of Richard Holden, previously named. On Mr. Wesley approaching the younger of them, Robert, he paused, laid his hand on the head of the youth, and with great solemnity said, "Suffer the little children to come unto me, and forbid them not, for of such is the Kingdom of Heaven." The impression produced on the assembly was not soon forgotten, and Robert frequently adverted to the circumstance in later life with peculiar feeling. The two brothers became local preachers, rendered long and faithful service, and are interred in King Street graveyard. A great granddaughter of Richard Holden is a member of the Methodist Church at Haslingden, and possesses some interesting mementos of Mr. Wesley's visit.

After a night's rest in the house adjoining the chapel, Mr. Wesley writes, the next day :

- (4) Wednesday, 23. 'We hobbled on to Bury, through roads equally deplorable; but we met a lively congregation which made us forget our labour.'

But before starting from Haslingden, John Rishton accompanied him to his carriage at the "New Inn", near the Chapel. The conveyance was not ready to start for some minutes after the time appointed, and, as they stood waiting under the archway,—which still remains,—Mr. Wesley remarked: "I have lost ten minutes, and they are lost for ever." John Rishton bade him adieu, and used to say afterwards that as he looked upon him seated in his carriage, "His face was as the face of an angel."

THOS. E. BRIGDEN.

1. Cf. the anecdote in *Memoir of R. Spence*, of York, p. 35.—H.J.F.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

197. CLAYTON AND WESLEY.—Some time ago an article appeared in one of the Manchester newspapers, giving an account of an old Manchester library. It related to the addition to the Reference Library, King Street, of “a neatly written catalogue of the library of the Rev. John Clayton, Fellow of the Collegiate Church”; and it is stated that “Clayton, the son of a Manchester bookseller, was educated at the Grammar School, and went to Oxford as a School Exhibitioner. At Oxford he formed one of the group of young men known as the Oxford Methodists, and his friendship for John Wesley continued for many years.” It appears “from internal evidence that the catalogue of Clayton’s library was compiled about 1745, though there are a few additions of later date. It is neatly written, is arranged in alphabetical order, and contains about one thousand titles.”

The catalogue is in itself of much interest, but to us the interest is greatly enhanced by a particular entry. The article states that, “as might be expected from Clayton’s early association with Oxford Methodism, the works of the Wesleys, whose name Clayton invariably spells Westley, are well represented. Of John Wesley there are catalogued under his name ten works, beginning with his translation of *A’ Kempis* in 1735, and ending with *The Farther Appeal* of 1745; and under Clayton’s own name is entered, *Prayer by him and J. Westley*, 8vo., 1733. This work was John Wesley’s first publication, but it has escaped the notice of Wesley’s bibliographers that he was not the sole author of it.” This entry specially concerns us. That the joint authorship has escaped the notice of all Wesley’s bibliographers is not to be wondered at, as probably there is no other mention of the fact than the one found in this M.S. Catalogue, so recently brought to public notice.

PROCEEDINGS.

Wesley's little pamphlet was published in 1733, as he tells us (*Journal*, May 14th, 1765). "In the same year (1733) I printed (the first time I ventured to print anything), for the use of my pupils 'A Collection of Forms of Prayer'; and in this I spoke explicitly of giving 'the whole heart and the whole life to God'. This was then, as it is now, my idea of Perfection, though I should have started at the word."

Clayton joined the little band of Oxford Methodists in 1732. Wesley writes, "In April, 1732, Mr. Clayton of Brazenose College began to meet with us. It was by his advice that we began to observe the fasts of the ancient church, every Wednesday and Friday. Two or three of his pupils, one of my brother's, two or three of mine, and Mr. Broughton, of Exeter College, desired likewise to spend six evenings in a week with us from six to nine o'clock; partly in reading and considering a chapter of the Greek Testament, and partly in close conversation."—*Short History of the People called Methodists: Works*, xiii, 270.

As the volume of prayers was issued in the following year for the use of Wesley's pupils, it is quite within the range of probability that Clayton may have aided in its preparation, and that his pupils who met with Wesley's "six evenings in the week," may have used it; but the only positive evidence of the joint authorship at present brought to light is the statement in Clayton's catalogue.

Clayton's influence on Wesley, may perhaps be further traced. One of his letters to Wesley, quoted in *The Oxford Methodists*, (p. 29.) "helps us," as the author says, "to a better understanding of the position and practices of the Oxford Methodists" than almost any other piece of writing we possess. Certainly it is a valuable addition to Wesley's own accounts. In another letter in the same work (p. 32.) light is thrown upon a peculiarity in Wesley's two anonymous hymn-books, published the one in Georgia, the other in London. Readers of these books will have noticed that the third part in each is composed of "Psalms and Hymns for Saturday." I do not recollect any reference by Wesley to Saturday as a day of special religious observance; but the following extract from the letter is significant:—"As to your question about Saturday, I can only answer it by giving an account how I spend it. I do not look upon it as a preparation for Sunday, but as a festival itself; and, therefore, I have continued festival prayer for the three primitive hours, and for morning and

evening, from the Apostolic Constitutions, which, I think, I communicated to you whilst at Oxford. I look upon Friday as my preparation for the celebration of both the Sabbath and the Lord's Day; the first of which I observe much like a common saint's day, or as one of the inferior holidays of the Church. I bless God, I have generally contrived to have the Eucharist celebrated on Saturdays as well as other holidays, for the use of myself and the sick people whom I visit."

To this Tyerman adds the following note:—"To use a popular designation, Clayton and Wesley were becoming Ritualists. Hitherto the Bible had been their only rule of faith and practice; now they began to study ecclesiastical canons and decretals. One of these was to regard Saturday as the Sabbath-day and Sunday as the Lord's-day. Christians, however, were not to 'Judaize and rest on' (Saturday or) 'the Sabbath-day, but work, and give the preference to the Lord's-day, by resting as Christians.' On both days might be celebrated the feast of the Eucharist, even during Lent. If any clergyman was found fasting on any Saturday, except Easter Eve, he was to be deposed; and if a layman was guilty of such a *peccadillo*, he was to be suspended from communion, etc. (Laodicean Canons)."—*Rev. R. Green.*

198. J. A. COLET.—In Query 123 (p. 214, Vol. II., pt. 8) Mr. Martin inquires if *An Impartial Review of the Life and Writings of John Wesley*, by his nephew, John Annesley Colet, has been published. In Query 46 (p. 48, Vol. I., pt. 5) I had inquired if the Second Part of this *Review* had been printed: I have received no direct response to my inquiry. I will reply to Mr. Martin's query and state what I have been able to gather in answer to my own.

The following was published:—*An Impartial Review of the Life and Writings, Public and Private Character, of the late Rev. Mr. John Wesley. Interspersed with a variety of Curious, Entertaining, and Authentic Anecdotes. To which will be added a Copy of his Last Will and Testament, with Strictures and Remarks.* In Two Parts. Part I. Written and Collected by his Nephew, John Annesley Colet. London: Printed for the Author, and Sold by C. Forster, No. 41, in the Poultry; &c. Sold by all the Booksellers and Newcarriers in Town and Country. 1791. (Price One Shilling.) 8vo. pp. viii. 37.

On pp. iii. and iv. is an "Address to the public in general and in particular to the people called Methodists," signed John Annesley Colet. A "Preface" covers pp. v.-viii.,

PROCEEDINGS.

followed by an "Introduction" 1-37. On the 37th page are the words "End of First Part." The next page is blank: then is inserted a "Copy of the Will of the late Reverend Mr. John Wesley: Extracted from the Registry of the Prerogative Court of Canterbury."

This is followed by the curious note:—"It seems that the Reverend Mr. Wesley made this Will to supply the deficiency of the two Deeds alluded to, otherwise I think it supplies an ample field for litigation. But as no *Structures* or *Remarks* can with propriety be made on the Will independent of the Deeds, I shall reserve them for the Second Part, and make only a few observations here:—Mr. Wesley has given his MSS. to be burnt or published, as may be thought best. In some hands they may be turned to better account than either burning or publishing—Suppose they were sold as relics! Who among his followers would not give a shilling for a sheet of his *own hand-writing*? What a fortune might be made even at this low price! To each of the travelling preachers who remain in the Connexion *six months*, the eight volumes of sermons [are to be given]. If it was *twelve months*, few, I believe, would come in for this: perhaps they may hold together for six months. A PROPHECY, in the Second Part, will explain this.

"The Public is respectfully informed that the Second Part (now in great forwardness) will be published as soon as possible: Price One Shilling; Embellished with a striking likeness of the Reverend Mr. Wesley from an original whole-length portrait, universally allowed to be the most accurate ever taken, and from which no copy or print has yet been done.¹

"To which also will be added, Private Correspondence, or a Series of Letters from the Rev. Mr. Wesley to * * * * *, and of which the Editor flatters himself, that the gentlemen to whom his [Wesley's] papers are bequeathed are not in possession of copies."

From the "Preface" we learn that the Title-page and Address had been circulated widely as a handbill, which had given great offence to many; also that the First Part of the work was chiefly introductory, as the author had not had time properly to arrange his materials; but the Second Part would contain "an account of Wesley's Family, Life, Travels,

1. Has any member seen or heard of this portrait?

and Ministry, with a variety of entertaining matter and observations and reflections."

The First Part headed "Introduction" is a fulsome adulation of Wesley; it displays no degree of judgment or good sense, and is the product of a vain and immature writer.

It seems probable that the second part was published, for in the first part are none of the "facts," "charge," "delineation of characters," or "the two infamous letters" referred to by Colet in his recantation, which is appended. It has been thought that Lackington in his vile *Memoirs* pp. 195-209 (new ed.) makes extracts from the second part of Colet's pamphlet, and that the two shameless letters given on pp. 205-9 are the letters referred to by Colet (see below). In Southey's *Life of Wesley* (2nd ed., pp. 617,18) is the following note:—"Not long after Mr. Wesley's death a pamphlet was published, entitled, An Impartial Review of his Life and Writings. Two love-letters' were inserted as having been written by him to a young lady in his eighty first year; and 'to prevent all suspicion of their authenticity' the author declared that the original letters, in the handwriting of Mr. Wesley, were then in his possession, and that they should be open to the inspection of any person who would call at a given place to examine them. 'With this declaration,' says Mr. Drew, 'many were satisfied; but many who continued incredulous, actually called. Unfortunately, however, they always happened to call, either when the author was engaged, or when he was from home, or when these original letters were lent for the inspection of others! It so happened, that though they were always open to examination, they could never be seen.'" There is a similar statement in Lackington's *Confessions*, 2nd ed., pp. 148-50. Southey says, "The ex-Bishop Gregoire has inserted one of these forged letters in his *History of the Religious Sects of the Last Century*."

Colet endeavoured to make amends for his vileness and folly by writing a full confession and recantation, which he addressed to the Editor of the *Sun* newspaper. A copy of the confession is here appended. It seems to have been reprinted on the cover of some magazine.

1. One only was a love-letter.

Conscience v. Calumny.

Extract from the Sun News Paper, Feb. 3,
1801.

To the Rev. Dr. COKE.

REV. SIR,

Saturday Morning, 24th Jan., 1801.

AS the Author of a silly pamphlet, published some years ago, entitled, "An impartial Review of the Life and Writings of the Rev. John Wesley," I have taken the liberty of addressing you on that subject, for the purpose of disburthening my mind in some degree of that intolerable weight with which it has been impressed, in consequence of the folly and wicked tendency of such publication: and now I candidly declare to you, and to the world, that most of the pretended facts therein mentioned, are groundless; the charge sometimes false, and the characters, as delineated therein, both of the Rev. Mr. W. and others, are generally unjust, and *unfashioned* [sic] *even by my own opinion*.—At the same time, I flatter myself you will have candour to believe, that my motives in the publication were influenced rather by folly and wantonness, than deliberate wickedness; more especially if it be taken into consideration, that, at that time, I entertained sentiments somewhat different to what I do at present. — * * * * * —Wishing you in the mean time all imaginable prosperity in the great work in which you are so usefully and zealously engaged, I beg leave to subscribe myself, Reverend Sir,

Your most obedient humble servant,

*No. 9, Church-row,
Pancras, Middlesex.*

J. COLLET.

P.S.—I forgot to say, that the two infamous letters in the pamphlet, attributed to Mr. Wesley, are fictitious, being the invention of my own disordered imagination.

J. C.

N.B.—The letters alluded to in the postscript, were republished in several London and provincial papers, and in many periodical publications. [One of these was entitled:—*A Letter to the Rev. Thomas Coke, LL.D. and Mr. Henry Moore:*

Occasioned by their proposals for publishing The Life of the Rev. John Wesley, A.M. In opposition to that advertised (under sanction of the Executors) to be written by John Whitehead, M.D. Also a letter from the Rev. Dr. Coke to the Author on the same subject. Together with The whole Correspondence, and the Circular Letters written on the occasion, and a true and impartial statement of facts hitherto suppressed. To which is added An Appeal and Remonstrance to the people called Methodists. By an old Member of the Society. London: Printed for J. Luffman, etc. etc.]

† It may be necessary to apprise the reader, that Mr. Collet has not the slightest connection with the late Mr. Wesley's Society.

—*Rev. R. Green.*

199. An anonymous correspondent writes:—"I have just discovered an error in Wesley's Journal, Tuesday, Sep. 24, 1756; and, as I suppose you are editing Wesley's *Works* for a new edition [!], I forward the correction. Under the date given you will read the name of Mr. Jones. Now if you will turn to Jackson's *Life of Charles Wesley* vol. ii. p. 106, you will find it was John Downes with whom he came to Walbridge, a part of Stroud. The discrepancy of the day Sep. 17, or 24th, I cannot explain."

It is not the *Journal* that is in fault here, but our correspondent. If he will observe the *Journal* carefully he will find, that it does not give Sep. 24, but Aug. 24, as the date when Wesley says "Mr. Jones and my brother met us here"—i.e., at Stroud, Wesley then being on his way to the Conference at Bristol. The date in the *Life of Charles Wesley* (ii. 106) is Sep. 17, when, after the Conference, C. Wesley leaves Bristol "with John Downes and came to Walbridge by two."—*Rev. R. Green.*

200. LIFE AND CORRESPONDENCE OF MRS. DELANY.—The members of the W. H. S. will find Lady Llanover's six portly volumes a mine affording much valuable material for illustrating the *Journals* of John Wesley. The tender relation at one time existing between him and Mrs. Delany (then Mary Granville) need not be mentioned here; but the following extract is interesting as proving that she had conquered all tender feeling towards her old admirer and correspondent. "She told me" (i.e. Mrs. Delany told Miss Hamilton) "she had known ye 2 Mr. Wesleys, (ye Methodist preachers); she knew them when they were young men, when they were students at Oxford. They were of a serious turn and associated with such as were so. These brothers joined some other young men at Oxford, and used to meet of a

PROCEEDINGS.

Sunday evening and read the Scriptures, and find out objects of charity to relieve. This was a happy beginning, but the vanity of being singular, and becoming enthusiasts, made them endeavour to gain proselytes, and adopt that system of religious doctrine which many reasonable people thought pernicious," etc. It is to be hoped that the polished and courtly letter, in these tomes, addressed by the "sometime Fellow of Lincoln College" to Mrs. Delany's mother, will appear in the additional volume of Wesley's letters now in preparation. The contrast between its style and that of his later correspondence is most remarkable.

Presuming that the readers of the *Proceedings* have ready to hand Lady Llanover's work, we content ourselves with pointing out several passages illustrative of Wesley's *Journal*, in the hope that some of these may be used in the forthcoming annotated edition. The dates here given refer to the *Journal*.

October 4, 1739. "Young Mr. Seward came and made me a visit. I like him very well, as he is civil and sensible, but a little affected in his expressions, which is the university air, and will probably wear off with seeing more of the world and of good company."

A later mention of this saintly man relates how "Mrs. Chapone and Mr. Ben. Seward had a warm dispute on the Methodist notions of the latter. It is surprising how indefatigable he is in endeavouring to gain proselytes, and likewise the success he meets with."

June 13, 1748. Mrs. Delany describes Pepusch's music as "humdrum." "Indeed," says she, "I was never so tired of anything in my life." She refers to the music to his "Diocletian."

June 19, 1748. The Gumleys are mentioned in i. p. 190.

April 12, 1750. For extensive notices of Mrs. Pilkington, see vol. i. pp. 301, 327, 335, 473.

December 12, 1759. Sir Hans Sloane is noticed in vol. iii. p. 201.

September 13, 1764. The Duke of Kent is mentioned in vol. ii. p. 5, and i. p. 436 (Second Series).

December 31, 1764. Wild beasts at the Tower. "A terrible accident happened here, i.e. at the Duke of Cumberland's lodge at Windsor not very long ago. The tiger got out of his den and tore a boy of eight or nine years of age to pieces; the mother was by and ran upon the beast, and

thrust her hands and arms into its very jaws to save her child ; the keeper got her away safely, but the poor child was destroyed, upon which accident the Duke sent them to the Tower, as the only fit place for such fell beasts." (Letter dated June 9, 1757).

May 14, 1768. For General Hawley's character see vol. ii. p. 419.

May 16, 1768. On Dr. Shaw ; see vol. ii. p. 516.

November 11, 1768. General Paoli is mentioned in vol. ii. p. 545, and vol. i. p. 275 (Second Series).

November 29, 1771. For the Duke of Cumberland, see vol. i. p. 292 (Second Series), and his improvements at Windsor, vol. iii. pp. 461 and 462.

October 18, 1774. Mention of Lord Cornbury and his mansion is made in vol. ii. pp. 49, 219, 223, 441, and vol. iii. p. 226.

September 12, 1776. For "Mr. Hoare's garden," see vol. iii. pp. 140 and 141 (Second Series). For "Lord Weymouth's" seat, Longleat, see vol. iii. p. 140.

January 22, 1780. "Sir Ashton Lever's Museum" is described in vol. iii. pp. 14 and 349 (Second Series).

March 15, 1782. "Poor disconsolate Louisa" is mentioned in vol. iii. p. 145 (Second Series). [*Proceedings* iii, 6, p. 161.]—*Rev. R. Butterworth.*

201. JOHN WESLEY AND YOUNG'S NIGHT THOUGHTS.—Charles Wesley says in his *Journal*, "I began once more transcribing Dr. Young's *Night Thoughts*. No writings but the inspired are more useful to me." (*Jackson's Life of C. W.*, ii, 52-479 ; *Journal*, London, 1849, ii, 106, 275, 278).

John Wesley in his *Journal* says, "I took some pains in reading over Dr. Young's *Night Thoughts*, leaving out the indifferent lines, correcting many of the rest, and explaining the hard words, in order to make that noble work more useful to all, and more intelligible to ordinary readers." (*Journal*, December, 1768. See also *Meth. Mag.*, 1842, p. 974, and 1848, p. 976).

In 1744, Wesley published *A Collection of Moral and Sacred Poems*, (Bristol, 3 vols.) as mentioned in Osborn's List, p. 15, and Green's, No. 269.

"Mr. Marriott says, there is a circumstance little known regarding this Collection. A few months after the publication of these volumes, Dodsley (the publisher) called upon Wesley for reparation of a piracy, which the latter had unwittingly

PROCEEDINGS.

committed, and for which he agreed to pay him £50." This was done, says Tyerman, on February 8, 1745, by payment of a £20 bank note, and a cheque for £30, payable in three months. [Tyerman, *Wesley*, i, 465]. The circumstance is given at length in Willis's *Current Notes* as follows :—

"John Wesley, the founder of the Methodists, and who constantly carried in his breast a crucifix (*sic*), acknowledged to have pirated in his Collection of Poems the copyright of some portions of Dr. Young's Night Thoughts, and some productions of Mrs. Rowe: for these he consented to make restitution, by agreeing on February 8th, 1744, to pay fifty pounds." (*November, 1854, p. 90*).

This note elicited the following, signed H. "I have had pointed out to me the above passage, and my object is not to deny the allegations, but respectfully to ask for the authority upon which they are made. I mean the *very* terms, not a merely general reference to the memoranda of Dodsley." The Editor was George Willis, a bookseller, of No. 136, Strand, London: the firm became afterwards Willis and Sotheran, and is now Henry Sotheran and Co., 140, Strand. He wrote in reply: "Samuel Wesley, the father of John Wesley, published in 1703 a tract on the Dissenters' Education in their Private Academies: this was printed in 4to., and occasioned a considerable controversy. [Tyerman, *Samuel Wesley*, p. 269]. The whole of the tracts so published were collected by Sir Thomas Clutterbuck, and bound in a volume. His manuscript notes throughout evinced his intimate connection with the Wesley family, and in one of these notes it was stated,—John Wesley, though educated as a divine of the Church of England, always carried a crucifix about him. In December, 1835, many original assignments of copyrights from various authors to the Dodsleys, the property of the late Mr. George Nicol, the bookseller, were dispersed by auction by Mr. R. H. Evans, in Pall Mall.¹ The previous note (November, 1852) was constituted of notes made at Evans' sale, from the original papers: A reference to the sale catalogue of that day, yet possessed by Mr. Evans, in Albany Street, Regent's Park, would show who was the possessor of that agreement, and possibly, where it is yet extant, but would fail in invalidating the fact of the

1. As to Dodsley's relations with Young, see Johnson's *Lives of the Poets*. (Cunningham's Edition, iii, 341).

piracy as stated in the article referred to. The agreement was signed by John Wesley and witnessed." (*March, 1856, p. 26*).

Can any member of our Society say if anything is known of Sir Thomas Clutterbuck, and where is his collection of tracts. [Was he connected with Stephen Clutterbuck, the fairminded and favourable Mayor of Bristol? (*Journal, 2 April, 1740*).—H. J. F.]—*Mr. Francis M. Jackson.*

202. AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF ZINZENDORF.—Wesley's *Journal, 1750*. September 15: "I read over a 'Short Narrative of Count Z——'s Life' written by himself." Mr. F. M. Jackson enquires: What is this? and has it been published?

In reply to a question, by private letter, the Rev. L. Hassé, Principal of the English Moravian College at Fairfield, says:—"There is no Autobiography of Zinzendorf extant in any language. What John Wesley referred to in his *Journal* of September 15th, 1750, was no doubt the Appendices to his book, PERI HEAUTON, or *Naturelles Reflections*. It might be rendered in English, *Personal Sketches; or Homely Meditations on his own person*, by Lewis de Zinzendorf. The whole book in its completed form, with the Appendices (*Beilagen*) was published at the Count's own press in Chelsea, probably some time later than September, 1749. In these Appendices Zinzendorf publishes a paper which he had drawn up in 1742, entitled,—I translate the German,—*History of a small village of the Lord and of its daughters*, meaning Herrnhut. In this *History*, of the year 1742, he gives in chapter III sketches of the persons of some of the leading men of Herrnhut; and finishes, on p. 21 of the Appendices, with a very short *sketch of himself* given in the third person. This is probably in particular the passage to which Wesley refers. It is in German and is very short; only one page. Wesley may, however, refer to the whole Book as given above. But it contains no other autobiographical sketch. In either case the description 'Narrative of Count Zinzendorf, written by himself,' is not quite exact."—*Mr. C. D. Hardcastle.*

203. NOTES ON JOHN WESLEY'S JOURNALS.—1738. June 9. See *Gentleman's Magazine, 1739, vol. i, p. 358*. *Methodist Magazine, 1848, p. 411; 1857, p. 160.*

August 12. On drawing lots. In "Extract of Constitution of the Church of the Moravian Brethren."—pat. 16. There are also references to this on Nov. 23; Dec. 3; 1739, March 15, 28; 1740, Feb. 21; 1741, April 20: and see

PROCEEDINGS.

Gledstone's *Life of Whitefield*, p. 74; *Meth. Mag.*, 1829, p. 671; Wesley's *Works*, viii, p. 451.

1739. January 1. See *Life of Countess of Huntingdon*, i, 20; Gledstone's *L. of Whitefield*, p. 101; Moore's *L. of Wesley*, i, 408; *Meth. Mag.*, 1809, p. 213.

March 28. The quotation from Herbert is not quite exact and should read:

“Let thy mind still be bent, still plotting where
And when and how the business may be done.”

The Church Porch, lvii.

1739. April 1. Extract from the *Gentleman's Magazine*, 1739. April the first. “Some wags having advertised the arrival of Mr. Whitefield at London, and that he would preach at Bow, near London, several hundred people hurried down there to hear him, but to their great mortification, were disappointed.”

June 22. On the French Prophets: see *Notes and Queries*. 9th Series. Vol. ii, 408, 493; iii, 56, 178, 418; and *Journal*, April 3, 1786.

October 20. *Tomo Chachi*: there is a sketch of him in the *Gent. Mag.*, 1740, i, 129.

October 31. In the verses commencing:—“Why do these cares my soul divide,” the last line is omitted: it reads, “My comfort and my God are gone.”—see the Wesley *Poetical Works*, “In Desertion or Temptation,” i, 131.

1740. January 21. There is a reference to this frost in the *Gent. Mag.* for 1740, vol. i, p. 35.

1741. June 10. There are references to Simpson and Greaves (Graves) in Tyerman's *L. of Whitefield*, ii, 260; *Meth. Mag.*, 1856, p. 334.

1742. March 31. Ann Calcut. To this case there is a reference in Dr. Lancaster's *Methodism Triumphant* (London: 1767. 4to) p. 9.—see *Anti-Meth. Writings*, No. 387.

“Diseases all obedient come or go,
If He but speak—or if He give the nod.
Not less the very dint of furious sounds,
Vociferation's fascinating tone,
Bespeaks an impulse of supernal force.”

1744. February 1. For Wesley's reply to J(ohn) H(aime's) letter, see *Life of John Haime*, par. 21, in *The Lives of Early Methodist Preachers*.

June 11. The quotation “Servant of God, well done!” is from Milton's *Paradise Lost*, vi, line 30: the last line should

WESLEY HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

be "Of Truth: in word, mightier than they in arms."

June 25. On this entry (the meeting of the first Conference) see Daniel's *Short History of the Methodists*, p. 105; Beecham, *Constitution of Meth.*, p. 5; *Life of Countess of Huntingdon*, i, 62; Umlin, *Churchman's Life of Wesley*, p. 97; Moore's *Life of Wesley*, ii, 41.

August 24. Moore's *Life of Wesley*, ii, 31-2; Wesley's *Works*, v, 37; *Wes. Meth. Mag.*, 1842, p. 413; Jackson's *Life of Charles Wesley*, i, 402 Green's *Bibliography*, No. 55.

December 27. *Wes. Meth. Mag.*, 1842, p. 61; and 1848, p. 61.

1745. July 4. Moore's *Life of Wesley*, ii, 9; *Wes. Meth. Mag.*, 1820, p. 540.

October 9th. "The Danger, &c." This was the day for "the National thanksgiving for the suppression of the Rebellion." See Byrom's *Poems* (Cheth. Soc.) i, 334.

November 29. John Frederick Lampe: see Jackson's *Life of Charles Wesley*, i, 432.—*Mr. Francis M. Jackson*.

204. Mr. C. Lawrence Ford, of Bath, writes: I send the following notes to show that if in the course of our reading we were to note down the casual remarks made about Methodism and the Wesleys, an interesting collection of "odds and ends" might in time be formed, not only entertaining, but perhaps even useful for reference or illustration. I refer especially to notices by contemporary writers.

1.—The form used in the Methodist Covenant Service may be seen in Gregory's *Life of Dr. Mason Good* (ed. 1828, Section I, p. 125, appendix). It is given as being used by Sarah Peyto, whom Dr. Good married. The writer says that "she drew up this striking document in the twentieth year of her age," apparently supposing that she composed it. It was thus signed by her:—Sarah Peyto, February 11, 1757; Sarah Peyto, April 14, 1759; Sarah Good, February 6, 1762. The writer remarks "Of late the practice has, I apprehend, fallen almost entirely into disuse, except amongst the Wesleyan Methodists." But he does not seem to have been aware that this form was substantially the one used by them. It is not reproduced *verbatim*; the "marriage" phraseology is omitted.

2.—"In the course of his chapters [Walter Savage Landor's *Last Fruit*], there is an eloquent passage on the service done by Methodism in reclaiming at a critical time the most profligate of the people from turbulence and crime. On one side is the gentle and virtuous Wesley, bringing about

PROCEEDINGS.

him as great multitudes as ever surrounded the earlier apostles, and working as great marvels in their hearts; while on the other side are the benefited clergy everywhere setting their faces against him."—Forster's *Life of Landor*. 1895. p. 472.

3.—"In 1780, Dr. Hawes published a third edition of an *Examination of the Rev. J. Wesley's Primitive Physic*, 8vo. So rational a confutation did Dr. Hawes great credit, while it exposed the ignorance of Mr. Wesley and the absurdity of remedies founded neither on theory nor experience."—*Public Characters of 1800-1*. Lond. 1807. p. 431.

4.—"The conversation turned . . . on the Methodists. Dr. Johnson . . . owned that the Methodists had done good, had spread religious impressions among the vulgar part of mankind; but, he said, they had great bitterness against other Christians, and that he could never get a Methodist to explain in what he excelled others; that it always ended in the indispensable necessity of hearing one of their preachers."—Boswell's *Tour to the Hebrides*; Journal, entry for November 10.

5.—"He (Johnson) called Warburton's *Doctrine of Grace* a poor performance, and so, he said, was Wesley's answer."—*Ibid.*, p. 63; entry for August 23.

6.—"The growing High Church, or as it was then (1625) called, Arminianism."—Mark Pattison's *Life of Milton*, pp. 5, 6 (*Men of Letters* series).

Would this help to explain John Wesley's statement:—"I am a high Churchman, the son of a high Churchman," i.e., he and his father belonged to the Arminian, not the Calvinistic section of the Anglican Church?

7.—Dr. Johnson *approved* of the expulsion of the six Methodist students from Oxford University in 1768: see Tyerman for that year, and Boswell's *Johnson* for the year 1772, p. 196 of Griffen's edition.

8.—Dr. Johnson spoke more highly of John Wesley than of Whitefield. "We talked of Whitefield. He said he was at the same College with him, and knew him *before he began to be better than other people* [smiling]; that he believed he sincerely meant well, but had a mixture of politics and ostentation, while Wesley thought of religion only." Boswell's *Tour to the Hebrides*, August 15. The editor rightly attributes Johnson's appreciation of Whitefield to prejudice or caprice.

Boswell, in a note, adds to Johnson's commendation of

J. W. "That cannot be said *now*, after the flagrant part which Mr. John Wesley took against our American brethren, when, in his own name, he threw among his enthusiastic flock the very individual combustibles of Dr. Johnson's *Taxation no Tyranny*; and after the intolerant spirit which he manifested against our fellow-Christians of the R.C. communion, for which that able champion, Father O'Leary, has given him so heavy a drubbing."

It is refreshing to find Boswell appending to this castigation: "But I should think myself very unworthy if I did not at the same time acknowledge Mr. John Wesley's merit, as a veteran 'soldier of Jesus Christ,' who has, I do believe, turned many from darkness into (*sic*) light, and from the power of Satan to the living God." [On *Taxation no Tyranny* see *Wesley Bibliography*, No. 305, p. 180; and on Father O'Leary see Tyerman's *Wesley*, III, 5th ed., p. 320.]

9.—Lord Byron pronounced this judgment on Methodism: "Were the early and rapid progress of what is called Methodism to be attributed to any cause beyond the enthusiasm excited by its vehement faith and doctrines (the truth or error of which I presume neither to canvass nor to question), I should venture to ascribe it to the practice of preaching in the *fields*, and the unstudied and extemporaneous effusions of its teachers." Murray's *Byron*, 1837, app., p. 768. Note F (by Byron) to *Childe Harold*, Canto III.

10.—"The sublime reveries of the Platonists, as they appear in the works of some of their followers, and the doctrines of the modern Methodists, are at times scarcely distinguishable in their respective writings." Roscoe's *Life of Lorenzo de' Medici*, Bohn, 1851, p. 131.

11.—Wordsworth, in *Peter Bell*, describes the sudden conversion of the brutal "potter" under the preaching of "a fervent Methodist" in a rustic conventicle.

12.—It is curious to find that Mrs. Piozzi (Mrs. Thrale) was playfully taunted by her friends with being a Methodist. But Boswell records that he too was once called a Methodist, for seeming to place some faith in "second sight": i.e., for his *credulity*, which recalls Horace's "Credat *Judæus* Apella, non ego." Sat. I. 5, 100.