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To the Right Honorable Upon a puce of Rews in Must, that the Lev M' W. refus I to write against M' Pope because his best Sation had a Friendship for the said of. Wesley, if Wesley the they mean, Would his best Patron let his Pen ... Would his best Patron let his Pen .. What , Patron this, a doubt must be Or Father Frances crops the Jeas, Or else Earl Edward here. That lotte were good must be confist But which to Him will be the best The Lord of Oxford knows The Right Hon He the Earl of Oxford in Dover Sheet

FACSIMILE OF POEM BY SAMUEL WESLEY, JUNR., IN HIS HANDWRITING.

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

(Continued from page 102).

IV.

BOURNE, POPE, ATTERBURY, SWIFT, LORD OXFORD.

Thomas Hearne, of the Bodleian Library, wrote 2 Sep., 1731, 'Mr. Samuel Westley, Head Usher of Westminster School is a very ingenious, witty man, and famous for making English ballads.' Hearne wrote this before the publication of Wesley's large volume of *Poems*, but it is probable that he had read Wesley's Neck or Nothing . . . published by C. King, and sold in 1716, and The punishment of Curll Westminster Hall, by the Westminster Scholars, which appeared in Oxford Carmina Quadragesimalia, or Lent Verses (Vol. 1723).1 Wesley's skit, written in the style and with some of the coarseness of Butler's Hudibras, flagellated Edmund Curll, described by Dr. Johnson as 'a rapacious bookseller of no good fame.' He had pirated a Latin oration delivered at Dr. South's funeral by the Captain of the School, and, worst crime of all. 'did the oration print

Imperfect, with false Latin i'nt.'

The scholars enticed him into Dean's Yard, tossed him in a blanket, flogged him as some of them had been flogged—for, said they, 'False Latin's never pardoned here,' and followed this up by shouting 'in jeer,' whenever they passed his shop afterwards, the refrain of the ballad, 'Which is the way to Westminster?' The satire gained Wesley much popularity at the School and at Oxford, and appeared again among his *Poems* in 1736. It was thought worth discussing with much detail a century and a half later! It certainly throws some light on the ways of boys and booksellers in Wesley's day.

^{1.} Wordsworth's University Life in the 18th Century, p. 311, and Notes and Queries, 2nd Ser. ii. p. 301. Wesley's satire must be distinguished from Duntons's three political pamphlets with titles commencing Neck or Nothing.

We may not to-day regard Wesley as 'famous,' and critical readers will hesitate to accept Dr. Adam Clarke's opinion that 'as a poet he stands entitled to a very distinguished niche in the Temple of Fame.' He is overshadowed by his younger brother and pupil. 'In a family of rhyming divines,' says Mr. Gosse,2 'Charles Wesley was the one who rose nearly to the purely secular standard of a poet. There can be little question that his sacred songs . . . reach at their noblest the highest level of Protestant religious poetry in this country since George Herbert.' This cannot be said of Samuel Wesley's verse, although the Rev. A. Gordon (Dict. Nat. Biog.) finds among his sacred songs 'Several hymns of great beauty.' But his more famous brother's debt to him ought not to be overlooked. He saw well to Charles's classical training, his studies in the Greek New Testament, and the 'exercise in verse-making' which formed part of the curriculum at St. Peter's College. Some of the best phrases of the fraternal master's verse are reflected in the pupil's poetry.8

That Samuel Wesley's *Poems* were appreciated by the book-buyers of his day is evident when we find the quarto volume of 1736 followed by two new editions in 1743—one 12mo. printed at Cambridge—in addition to single poems and satirical verses published in 1716-24-25-26-28-29-32 and 1735. His verses on *Tomo Chici*—the Indian Chief of his brother's *Journal*—and on *General Oglethorpe's second voyage*, were published in 'handsome folio pamphlets.' He might have said with his contemporary Swift

-but without Swift's cynicism-

I cannot tell what critics thought 'em, But this I know, the public bought 'em, As with a usual view designed To please and to reform mankind.

'London was then so small a place,' says Herbert Paul 'that nothing good could be published there without the writer becoming in a short time familiar to the literary circle of the metropolis.' Wesley gained a well-earned place in this circle. The age of Dryden and Pope elaborated a system of artistic

^{2.} Lecturer in Eng. Lit. at Trinity Coll., Cambridge, Eng. Lit. in the 18th Century. p. 230.

^{3.} Rev, R. Butterworth's art, in present vol. p. 35. And Rev. H. Betts' *The Hymns of Methodism in their literary relations*—a gem among recent manuals, critical, appreciative, condensed, and indispensable to hymnologists.

effects which later came to be called 'poetic diction.' Of this Samuel Wesley was an expert master. Sometimes he was 'Pindarique,' as when, in the approved fashion, he eulogised his friend General Oglethorpe in an Ode, beginning:

Arise, and soar, my towering soul, To flights of lofty Pindar's song, When, scorning laws, his torrents roll Their dithyrambic tide along.

A British general of our time would scarcely accept this with due gravity from any 'towering soul,' but Oglethorpe would be quite aware of its propriety in his day.

In lines that follow in the same ode, Wesley almost seems to feel the breath of the coming spring, of which the Westminster boy, William Cowper, the pupil of his colleague Bourne, was to be the herald. Wesley writes of his longing to be

Free from the city's crowd, And from the art of man retire, To view the art of God.

Had Cowper seen this when he wrote in his Task, 'God made the country, and man made the town.'? Or were both Wesley and Cowper echoing Cowley: 'God the first garden made, and the first city, Cain.'?

Christopher Wordsworth in his Scholæ Academicæ says 'At Westminster itself among the ushers (hostiarios) were scholars of considerable taste and talent' (pp. 102-4). He names Wesley and Bourne, 'who must have supplied something of that style of versifying which played so prominent a part in the liberal education of the day.' Vincent Bourne was a master under Wesley for twelve years from 1720 until the latter left for the headmastership of Blundell's School. Pope, Bourne, and Wesley each contributed to D. Lewis's collection of Miscellaneous Poems (1726). Wesley's contribution was his Verses on Isa. xl. 6-8, occasioned by the death of a young lady—the hymn in the Methodist Hymn-book: 'The morning flowers display their sweets.' Was the phrase a variation of a line in Pope's first Pastoral of 1706, where 'opening blooms diffuse their sweets'?

Bourne was the 'poor Vinny' of Cowper's letters. 'I love his memory,' writes Cowper to Mr. Unwin. 'I think him a better Latin poet than Tibullus . . . I love him too with a love of partiality, because he was Usher of the Fifth Form at Westminster when I passed through it . . . I remember

^{4.} R. G. Moulton The Modern Study of Literature, p. 249,

seeing the Duke of Richmond set fire to his greasy locks and box his ears to put it out again.' To Mr. Rose, Cowper describes his old friend as 'the neatest of men in his versification though most slovenly in his person. He was so inattentive to his boys, and so indifferent whether they brought him good or bad exercises, or none at all, that he seemed determined, as he was the best, so he would be the last Latin poet of the Westminster line.' Some charming translations of Bourne's Latin verse appear among Cowper's poems, and remind us of Samuel Wesley's best work. The two masters had interests in common when poetry was discussed at Dr. Freind's table, but they differed in their attitude towards the boys, Wesley being a good disciplinarian.

That Samuel Wesley was on friendly terms with Pope, whom he often met at Lord Oxford's house, appears from the record of Pope's kindness in securing subscribers to his father's Dissertations on Job, and to his own volume of Poems. But more convincing still is the close of the letter written by Pope from Twickenham:

I agree with you in the opinion of Savage's strange's performance which does not deserve the benefit of the clergy. Mrs. Wesley has my sincere thanks for her good wishes in favour of this wretched tabernacle, my body; the soul that is so unhappy as to inhabit it deserves her regard something better, because it really harbours much good-will for her husband and herself; no man being more truly, dear Sir, your affectionate and faithful servant,

ALEXANDER POPE.

This may have been one the 'very friendly letters' written by Pope to Wesley of which John Nichols speaks (Lit. Anec. of 18th Cent. Vol. V.). One result of Pope's growing friendship with Samuel Wesley was the revision, in the second edition of The Dunciad, 6 of a passage in the earlier edition in which the Rector of Epworth was assigned with Dr. Watts to the 'Temple of Dulness.' Watts also sent Pope 'a very serious but gentle remonstrance' and other names were substituted in both cases. A fascimile exists of a transcript, apparently in Samuel Wesley's handwriting of Pope's verses which appeared in Nathaniel Mist's

^{5.} On the reference to Savage's strange career, see Johnson's Lives of the Poets.

^{6.} The Dunciad, Variorum with the Prolegomena of Scriblerus 1729 (p. 82 with note). The writer possesses this edition with its curious title page on which appears the odd picture of an ass laden with the more scurrilous periodicals of the day, including Mist's Journal, named in Pope's verses that follow.

^{7.} A comparison of this with some of S.W.'s letters in Mr. G. Stampe's collection leaves no doubt that the handwriting is Wesley's.

Journal concerning Wesley and his patrons. We reproduce it as our illustration.

'Father Francis' who had crossed the sea, was the exiled Jacobite, Atterbury, for whom Samuel Wesley had imperishable affection. To the masters and boys of Westminster School their banished Dean was a hero and, Wesley affirms, 'a prelate great,' 'A man who slighted gold,' and 'laughed at glory and at shame,' who held as sport,

The whispers of defaming spite,

The thunder of a threatening court.

Atterbury was much more to Wesley than a mere patron, and wrote to him, 'as a poet and as a man, I esteem you.' In a letter from Paris to his son-in-law Morice (May 27, 1730), the fallen prelate says of Wesley, 'he has shown an invariable regard for me all along in all circumstances; and much more than some of his acquaintance, who had ten times greater obligations.' avowed friendship with a Jacobite leader raises the question as to how far Samuel himself was tinged with Jacobitism. friend, Bishop Smalridge, 'toasted the Pretender in his rooms at Christ Church, but gave him no other support; recognising no doubt that anything but a Platonic affection was incompatible with the Church principle of non-resistance to established authority.8 Was this Wesley's position? A 'Platonic affection,' at least is revealed in his poems, but there is no reason to suppose that he was involved in Atterbury's clearly proved intrigues to restore the Pretender. We are familiar with John Wesley's reply to Badcock's assertion that Samuel was a noted Jacobite: 'Nay he was no more a Jacobite than he was a Turk.'9 That might be said of Robert Walpole, but not of Sam Wesley, From John Wesley's curious History of England (4 vols, 1776) we learn that he himself did not believe that Atterbury was guilty of the charges brought against him: 'The whole affair was doubtless a plot of the ministers, to rid themselves of one that was This was only partly true.; 'The bill of troublesome to them.' pains and penalties was a dangerous invasion of legal guarantees,' says Lord Morley. Atterbury made much of the unfair methods of procedure. But this was not the 'whole affair.' himself involved in a more dangerous 'plot,' and his latest biographer, though conspicuously fair in presenting the brilliant, affectionate, and dignified elements in his personality, is compelled to call him a 'conspirator,' refrains from defending his

^{8.} Canon Beeching.

^{9.} Maty's New Review, Art x. Dec. 1784. W.'s Works xiii 370.

'perjuries,' and admits that 'his extraordinary adroitness now and then suggested expedients which it was impossible to square with the right line of truth.'10 But Samuel Wesley either did not know all of this—which is most probable—or under the spell of strong affection chose to be silent about it, and to stand by a friend in trouble and exile. 'It is only within the present generation,' writes Overton, (1847) 'that the question of Atterbury's guilt has been for ever set at rest by the publication

of the Stuart papers.'11

Was it of set purpose, or unconsciously, that John Wesley illustrated the inequalities of punishment that befell Jacobite conspirators at this time by following up his account of Atterbury's trial with an obscure incident? 'The fate of Mr. Christopher Layer, a young gentleman of the Temple was more severe. He was tried at King's Bench, and received sentence of death. The circumstances of this conspiracy were never known. Many methods were used to make him discover his accomplices; but still denying the whole, he suffered death at Tyburn, and his head was fixed on Temple-bar.' So the 'young gentleman' lost his head; the prelate lost his two benefices, the See of Rochester and the Deanery of Westminster, and continued as Wesley says, 'in exile and poverty until he died' in Paris, 1732. Samuel Wesley was in correspondence with him to the last. Can we be surprised that a rumour should have spread that Samuel was a Jacobite, and that even so exact a scholar as Wordsworth, 12 in his University Life in the 18th Century (1874) should perpetuate

12. p. 35. But even this careful writer slips in ascribing a share in the defence of Sacheverell to the Westminster 'Usher' in 1710. At that time Samuel was a King's Scholar. He did not become Usher until 1714-15. John Wesley, in his History of England, vol. iv. p. 75 expressly states of Sacheverell's speech "It was wrote by the Rector of Epworth in Lincolnshire."

^{10.} Francis Atterbury, by Canon Beeching. 1909 pp. 343-5.
11. The English Church in the 18th Cent. Vol. 1. p 101. Overton thinks there can be but one opinion about the conduct of this able prelate. Unlike such non-jurors as Samuel Wesley's friend John Hutton and others, 'he had taken the oaths of allegiance and objuration. He held office under the existing Government. He solemnly protested his innocence of all share in the plot. . . . while, in point of fact he had been more deeply implicated in it than even his enemies were aware.' Canon Beeching does his best as an apologist for Atterbury when he finds that in the epitaph he composed for himself he 'makes no denial of correspondence with the Pretender. It was not a fact of which he was morally ashamed, though at his trial he was obliged to pretend to be so. Casuist as he was, he no doubt excused all oaths and protestation of innocence as equivalent to the formal plea of 'Not guilty' which he was not allowed to accept.' If so, was Dean Stanley quite wrong in describing Atterbury as 'a worldly theologian?

this report in referring to 'the Christ Church wit and Westminster Usher, the Jacobite Samuel'? We fall back on Canon Beeching's phrase and conclude that he had a deep personal affection for Attterbury, and a platonic affection for Jacobitism. Clarke says that 'the disgrace of this prelate blasted all Wesley's prospects of preferment,' and Moore adds that his intimacy with the second Earl of Oxford, the Tory, and 'the frequent exertions of his pen against Walpole, the Whig,' had to do with the deprival of his right of promotion at Westminster. Forshall in his Westminster School (1884), states that 'he was a candidate for the Under-mastership, but he lost this through his fidelity to Attterbury, of whose innocence he felt fully persuaded.'

In John Wesley's Thoughts on the Character and Writings of Mr. Prior he refers to his brother's acquaintance with that genius. He may have met Prior at the Deanery. Atterbury and Prior had been at school together, and Prior in the intervals of his foreign tours lodged at Westminster. In 1717 Prior wrote to Swift, come to Duke Street, where you shall find a bed, a book, and a candle.' Wesley therefore had a fair opportunity of knowing much about Prior and does not appear to have accepted all the tales told of him by scandal-mongering society, and recorded by Spence. Clarke states that 'Prior has made honourable

mention ' of Wesley, but we do not know where.

Dr. Clarke also says that Samuel the younger was "highly esteemed by Swift." This statement requires confirmation. When Lord Oxford wrote to Swift in 1730, three years before Samuel left Westminster, requesting a subscription for the Rector of Epworth's book on Job, he said: 'Three sons he has and they are excellent scholars.... the eldest has been one of the Ushers in Westminster School since the year 1714.' This does not imply that Swift had any personal knowledge of Samuel the younger up to 1730. The journal-letters to Stella do not help us. From the date of his last visit to England (1727) Swift lived in Ireland until his death (1745). If Swift 'highly esteemed' Samuel, Samuel's brother John did not highly esteem Swift, though he appreciated his wit. He thought the brilliant Dean lacked 'a deep fear of God, and a tender love for mankind.'13

With Edward Harley, second Earl of Oxford and Mortimer, 14

14. Tyerman, in his reference to the Rector of Epworth's Dissertationes in Librum Jobi, appears to confound Edward with Robert Harley, first

^{13.} For John Wesley's criticism of Swift, see his remarks on Skelton and Swift, 14 June, 1771; Byrom and Swift, 12 July, 1773; Swift's Letters, 27 Nov. 1775, and A. Gordon's note W.H.S. Proc. iv., 207.

(d. 1741) Samuel Wesley was on most friendly terms. That Harley, like Atterbury, was much more than a 'patron' appears from his gossiping and affectionate letter to Wesley, written from Dover Street, where the 'schoolmaster' had often been a welcome guest. Lord Oxford may have had something to do with his appointment to the head-mastership of Blundell's School, Tiverton in 1732, and the following letter shows that the school prospered under Wesley's rule.

To the Rev. Mr. WESLEY, Schoolmaster, Tiverton, Devon.

Dover street, Aug. 7, 1734.

Rev. Sir,

I AM forry and asnamed to say it, but the truth must come out, that I have a letter of yours dated June 8, and this is Aug. 7, and I have but now fet pen to paper to answer it. I affure you, I was very glad to hear from you; and, fince that you are much mended in your health, change of air will certainly be of great fervice to you, and I hope you will use fome other exercise than that of the school hear you have had an increase of above forty boys since you have been down there. I am very glad, for your fake, that you are so well approved of; I hope it will in every respect answer you expectation: if your health be established, I make no doubt but that all parts will prove to your mind, which will be a great pleafure to me. There is very little news ftirring; they all agree that the Bishop of Winchester is They fay Hoadly is to fucceed him; and Potter, Hoadly; but how farther I cannot tell, nor does the town pretend, which is a wonderful thing.

I am very glad you was reduced to read over Hudibras three times with care; and I find you are perfectly of my mind, that it much wants notes, and that it will be a great work; certainly it will be, to do it as it should be; I do not know one fo capable of doing it as yourfelf. I fpeak this very fincerely. Lily's life I have; and any books that I have you shall fee, and have the perusal of them, and any other part that I can affift. I own, I am very fond of the work, and it would be of excellent use and entertainment.

The news you read in the papers of a match with my daughter and the Duke of Portland was compleated at

Lord Oxford (*Life of Samuel Wesley* p. 379). It was *Robert* Harley who was 'the distinguished *statesman*,' Secretary of State, Prime Minister, who 'formed the nucleus of the Harleian Library. His son was a patron of literature, but not a 'statesman.'

Mary-le-bone Chapel. I think there is the greatest prospect of happiness to them both; I think it must be mutual; one part cannot be happy without the other. Here is a great harmony of temper, a liking to each other; which is, I think, a true foundation for happiness. Compliments from all here attend you. I am, Sir, your most affectionate humble fervant,

OXFORD.

The two boys are well.

Pray let me hear from you foon, and let me know, under your own hand, how you do.

The Bishop of Winchester referred to in this letter was Richard Willis, who died before the month closed. He had supported the proceedings against Atterbury. Dr. Hoadly, another of Atterbury's opponents succeeded him. Sherlock, not Potter, followed Hoadly, and Potter became Bishop of Oxford.

Wesley evidently intended to edit *Hudibras*, but this work was accomplished by Dr. Zachary Grey ten years later, a year before Lord Oxford died. It is strange to find Samuel's mother thanking him in a letter for sending her a

copy of Hudibras.

In old Marylebone Chapel, named in the letter, Lord Bacon had been married. Its interior appears in one of Hogarth's prints a year after this letter was written. It became the burial place of Charles Wesley and his family, and his monument is there to-day. Of course the faithful Samuel followed the fashion of the day and wrote A Pindarick Ode to the Earl on the marriage of his daughter expressing his sentiments on the line in the letter, 'I think it must be mutual':

When mutual trust and mutual vows
Put all reserve to flight,
The bliss our mortal state allows
Attains its utmost height.

Lord Oxford fell a victim to the habit of hard drinking which prevailed in his day—the peril against which Susanna Wesley had warned her son when he was a scholar at Westminster. The literary world owes him much for his additions to the Harleian collection of books and M.S.S. founded by his father.

THOS. E. BRIGDEN.

(To be Continued).

THE REPEAL OF THE CONVENTICLE ACT

(Continued from page 108).

In order that we may understand the events which led to the repeal of the Conventicle Act, it is necessary that we should deal with certain incidents which occurred during the opening years of the nineteenth century. Once more the question of granting licences confronts us. It seems to have been a practice for local preachers to avail themselves of the protection of a licence in neighbourhoods where they and their congregations were liable to be assaulted by mobs. In addition, some cases occurred of private members who obtained licences. We may be surprised that any Justice of the Peace should grant them; but we once more remind ourselves that the Act of Toleration was "mandatory," and, if the applicant had duly qualified himself, a magistrate, "caring for none of these things," would be apt to save himself the trouble of inquiry. It must be admitted that some of those who obtained licences were suspected of acting from impure motives. It must be remembered that much of the work of Wesley and the early Methodists was done while this country was at war, and that during the first fifteen years of the nineteenth century the great struggle against Napoleon Bonaparte was carried on with ever-increasing intensity. The threat of invasion produced restlessness and anxiety, and the Militia Act was in force which compelled the military service of a multitude of citizens. It is enough to indicate the fact that clergymen. schoolmasters, and licenced preachers were exempt from service in the Militia, and it is possible that some licences were obtained by men who wished to escape their military obligations.

It has been said that "loyalty is part of the definition of a Methodist," and the whole history of Methodism confirms the truth of the assertion. It is no wonder that when a suspicion arose that the Toleration Act was being misused the minds of many Methodists were disturbed Action was taken. The Quarterly Meeting of the London Circuit was held on December 30, 1802, and the following resolutions were passed unanimously:—

1. That if any member of the Methodist Society in this Circuit apply to the Quarterly Sessions for a licence to preach, without being approved as a Preacher by the Quarterly Meeting such person shall be expelled the Society.

- 2. That if any member of the Methodist Society in this Circuit, who may have already obtained a licence contrary to the last resolution, shall attempt to claim any exemption from offices, 1 by virtue of such licence, such person shall be expelled from the Society.
- 3. That it is the opinion of this Meeting that the regularly appointed Local Preachers, or persons who preach occasionally, and follow trades or other callings, are a very useful and valuable body of men; but as they are not wholly set apart for the work of the ministry, it is not considered to be consistent with the spirit of the Toleration Acts that they should claim any advantage from the licences in question. This Meeting, however, has such confidence in the good sense and uprightness of Local Preachers, as to render it unnessessary to pass any penal resolutions with regard to their conduct upon this business."

When these resolutions were reported to the Conference they were highly approved, and the Conference determined to adopt them and to enforce them throughout the whole Connexion.

(Minutes of Conf., ii, 183-184).

The Conference of 1803, held in Manchester, is made memorable by the fact that it appointed, for the first time, a Committee to guard the religious privileges of the Methodists. It consisted of ten persons, seven of them being laymen. Mr. Thomas Allan, the father of the donor of the Allan Library, was appointed "our General Solicitor." The creation of this Committee, and the presence of laymen on it, marked a new departure. It was soon enlarged, and speedily justified its existence.

It would be interesting to trace the course of events during the period from 1803 to 1810. It was a time when religious liberty in this country was in grave peril. But, for our immediate purpose, it will be sufficient to fix our attention on the literary assault then delivered against the representatives of evangelical religion. We pass by the newspapers, and turn towards the Reviews. The Whig Edinburgh Review and the Tory Quarterly Review allied their forces against the Methodists. In the former, Sydney Smith, "the witty Canon of St. Paul's," distinguished himself. Violating rules of literary decency, he declared that the nasty and numerous vermin of Methodism must

I. The preamble of the resolutions speaks of persons who had abused the privilege of a licence "by claiming exemption from civil and military offices, to the manifest prejudice of their fellow citizens, to the injury of the State, and to the great scandal of religion."

all be caught and killed in the manner and by the instruments which were found most efficacious to their destruction. Many people approved the canon's unsavoury suggestions, and his articles stirred them up to renewed attempts to annihilate Methodists, Calvinistic Methodists, and even the evangelical clergy of the Church of England. Sydney Smith's vulgar paragraphs are best left under a veil of oblivion, but the article which appeared in the Quarterly Review in November, 1810, may still be read with surprise but without disgust. Its chief points are reproduced by Dr. George Smith in his History of Wesleyan Methodism (see ii, 491-496). Dr. Smith stigmatises the article as "a malignant libel on an inoffensive religious community." The description was just. It was, moreover, a clear revelation of the character of its author. He was a man who, while ready to admit some of the good qualities of Methodism, was so lacking in spiritual insight that he was unable to appreciate evangelical doctrine and work. His name was Robert Southey, who, subsequently, considered himself capable of writing a Life of John Wesley.

The literary attack on Methodists and Dissenters preceded an assault on them in Parliament. We will devote the remainder of our space to a description of the attack and its consequences. The steady progress of Nonconformity in England excited the fears of Churchmen, who imagined that by such progress the safety of the country was being endangered. In order to ascertain facts the House of Lords ordered a return of the numbers of places of worship in every parish containing one thousand persons and upwards. The returns were laid before the House on April 5, 1811. The number of Churches and Chapels of the Church of England was 2,547; the Chapels and Meeting Houses not of the Church of England numbered 3,457. In the latter category many private houses used for religious worship were not included. These returns caused astonishment. They revealed the extraordinary strength of Nonconformity, and stirred up conflicting thoughts. Some of the members of the House of Lords were alarmed and laid hold on the discredited weapons of coercion and repression; but others were of a different mind. They saw in the swiftly increasing multitudes of Nonconformists men who had their rights as Englishmen, and they felt an instinctive aversion from any increase of oppression. These were the heralds of the coming day of religious freedom, but they had to wait until the coercionists had made one more demand on the patience of the Nonconformists.

On May o, 1811, Lord Sidmouth obtained leave to introduce a bill "to explain and render more effectual certain Acts of the first year of King William and Queen Mary, and of the nineteenth of the reign of his present Majesty, so far as the same relate to Protestant Dissenting Ministers." In his speech he complained of the facility with which Dissenting Ministers were able to obtain certificates, under the Act of 1779,2 without any proof of their fitness to preach, or of there being any congregation requiring their ministrations. He alleged that some had been admitted who could not even read and write "but were prepared to preach by inspiration." He also stated that one of the abuses resulting from this facility was the exemption of so many preachers from serving on juries and from other civil duties. To correct these evils, he proposed certain securities, of which the principal was that a certificate of fitness from six reputable householders of the same persuasion, should be produced by all persons seeking a licence to preach. (Sir Erskine May's Constitutional History, ii, 213). Sir Erskine May describes the bill as a trivial measure, and condemns its policy as being in the wrong direction. It is strange that, at first, some of the Methodists approved its provisions. They saw in it a means whereby applications for licences would be checked, and they looked upon it as a measure supporting the line of action laid down by the London Quarterly Meeting, and the Conference in 1803. But John Barber, "a preacher of plain manners, but of strong common sense," saw the mischief that lurked in it, and sounded an alarm that stirred the Methodists to action. The provision concerning the certificate of the "six reputable householders" struck at the roots of the discipline of the Nonconformist Churches. As Thomas Jackson says, the object of the bill was "to make the local magistrates throughout the country the judges as to what teachers should enjoy the protection of the law in the communication of public religious instruction; thus subverting the true principle of religious liberty in the United Kingdom." (Recollections, p. 130). Dissenters immediately opposed the bill. The Methodists joined them in their opposition. Petitions were sent in such number that one noble lord wailed that the floor of the House was flooded with them. The apt retort of another peer would not calm his "The deluge," he said, "has been caused by the flagrant sin of the bill." At the second reading it was made clear that many members of the Upper House were beginning to understand the position of the Methodists and the Dissenters.

^{2.} See supra, p. 105.

after speech was delivered in opposition to the bill. It is pleasan to read the appreciative words spoken concerning the work of John Wesley in this great debate. On May 21, Lord Sidmouth, perceiving the temper of the House, declined to go to a division, and withdrew his bill.

Lord Sidmouth's attack led to a closer association of the Methodists and the Dissenters. A common peril threatened them. and unitedly they faced it. We have seen that actions in the Law Courts sometimes resulted in favour of rabbled preachers and On other occasions, however, the judgments that were delivered revealed the unsatisfactory condition of existing statutes. It will be enough to say that it had been judically decided that a man wishing to avail himself of the Toleration Act must declare himself to be a teacher or preacher of a congregation of Dissenters, and must prove himself to be the acknowledged pastor of some particular and separate congregation. If he claimed exemption from the penalties of the Act of Uniformity on the ground that he possessed "pretended holy orders" it had been judically doubted whether he must not profess that he had been previously ordained by somebody claiming rights to discharge that function. Lord Ellenborough, presiding over the King's Bench, had questioned the meaning and effect of the existing laws. Percival Bunting says: "Lay-preachers, therefore, of all denominations, occasional exhorters, class-leaders, and even the teachers in the Sunday Schools, were all thrown into perplexity; and it seemed that the whole machinery of Methodism must for a time be stopped." (Life of Dr. Bunting, p. 365-366).

Encouraged by the success of their opposition to Lord Sidmouth's measure, the Methodists and Dissenters determined on a bold step. Their programme included the total repeal of the Conventicle and other oppressive Acts, and the amendment of the Toleration Act. The value of the Methodist Committee of Privileges was at once demonstrated. To it was assigned the drafting of a new Bill that would effect the purposes indicated. It was wisely resolved that the Bill should be a Government measure, and that Mr. Perceval, the Prime Minister, should be approached in order to secure his sympathy and advocacy. On May 9, 1812, a large deputation consisting of Methodists and Dissenters waited on him and laid the case before him. He promised cordial support of the bill prepared by the Committee of Privileges. One member of the depution was Jabez Bunting. Two days afterwards he went into the lobby of the House of Commons, and saw Mr. Perceval's dead body carried into an adjoining room. He

had been murdered by Bellingham. We catch a glimpse of William Wilberforce rushing out of the House. Seeing Jabez Bunting he stopped, seized him by both hands, and, speaking of Mr. Perceval said, "Of all the public men I have ever known, this was the one most ready for such an end." (Life of Dr. Bunting, p. 369.) The assassination of Mr. Perceval deprived the Methodists and Dissenters of a valuable supporter; but when Lord Liverpool's Government was formed negotiations were resumed, and the friendly spirit was still displayed. In a few weeks the Bill prepared by the Committee of Privileges was passed without serious opposition. The whole tone of the Houses of Parliament was changed, and it was evident that a new spirit had taken possession of the Legislature.

The Act of 52 Geo. III, c. 155, passed on July 28, 1812, is set out at length in the Minutes of Conference, iii, 316-322. In Myles's Chronological History Mr. Thomas Allan's Observations appear (406-411), and they shall be our guide in pointing out the

principal changes effected by the Act

By the first section the Five Mile Act, the Conventicle Act, and an Act directed against the Quakers and others refusing to

take "lawful oath" were totally repealed.

By the second section all religious assemblies of Protestants. not exceeding twenty persons besides the family of the person in whose premises such asseembly should be held, were made lawful without registering the place of meeting. Mr. Allan shows that, from thenceforth, there would be no absolute necessity to register houses where small class, prayer, and other social meetings were held; he, however, recommended that places where, in all probability, more than twenty persons might assemble for religious instruction, including Sunday Schools, should be registered. gives clear directions as to certificates and registrations and emphasises a significant change made by the Act. He says "It is not necessary that this certificate should express that the place is to be registered for Protestant Dissenters, the Act mentions only Protestants; and it is recommended that no certificate be accepted from the Registrar of the Bishop, or Archdeacon, or from the Clerk of the Peace, which narrows the term, or which states the place to be for any specific denomination of Protestants. The certificate should mention Protestants only."

By the fourth section all Protestants, whether Teachers or hearers, whether Dissenters or Churchmen, attending a place of worship certified under the Act, were exempted, even before the actual and formal registration of the building, from the penalties

of all the Acts recited in the Toleration Act, or in any Act amending the same.

The fifth section deals with the licensing of Preachers. If a Preacher was not already qualified he might be required to take the oaths and make the declarations set forth in the Act after he had actually preached, but the Act did not make it necessary that any person should take the oaths and subscribe the declarations required as an antecedent qualification to preaching. The requisition must be made by a Justice of the Peace in writing. The declaration which concerned an applicant's Christian faith was in the following words: "I am a Christian and a Protestant, and as such I believe that the Scriptures of the Old and New Testament, as commonly received among Protestant Churches, do contain the revealed Will of God; and I do receive the same as the rule of my doctrine and practice."

The sixth and seventh sections made it no longer obligatory for a Preacher to go to the Quarter Sessions for the purpose of taking oaths, etc. It was enough to go before a neighbouring magistrate, who was required by the Act to administer them. It was also unnecessary for any person to take the trouble of applying to take the oaths, etc., unless he was a regular Preacher, wholly devoted to the ministry, who intended to claim exemption from civil and military services. Another section provided that to entitle a person to claim such exemption he must be altogether employed in the duties of a Teacher or Preacher, and not engaged in any secular employment for his livelihood, with the exception of that of a schoolmaster.

The twelfth section subjected to a penalty of \pounds 40 any person or persons who should, whether on the outside or within a place of religious assembly, wilfully and maliciously, or contemptuously, by any means disturb a congregation, or disturb molest, or misuse any Preacher, or other person there assembled'

We have indicated the principal provisions of this most valuable Act, but it should be read by all who are interested in the growth of religious liberty in this country. The letter addressed by the Methodist Conference to the Superintendents of Circuits, contained in the Minutes of 1812, should also be consulted. It supplements Mr. Allan's "Observations" and states the whole case clearly. In addition, it records the names of the men to whose advocacy in Parliament we, as Methodists, are so much indebted for the freedom we enjoy. We have so long enjoyed that freedom that some of us have forgotten the

oppressions that afflicted our forefathers. But it is wise to remember the sufferings borne by others that we might dwell in peace. If what we have written concerning the Conventicle Act creates a sense of gratitude to the men who vindicated our right to religious liberty we shall be satisfied.

JOHN S. SIMON.

THE JOURNALS OF VON RECK AND BOLTZIUS

Among the benefactors of the Colony of Georgia, the name of Baron Von Reck deserves honourable mention, as having taken the principal part in the settlement of the German section, and conducting across the Atlantic two companies of the persecuted Saltzburghers. The former of these voyages was begun in the early days of January, 1734, when he sailed from Dover in the good ship "Purrysburg," and the latter was in October, 1735, when he embarked for Georgia in the "London Merchant" as Wesley was stepping on board the "Simmonds" bound for the same destination. The Journal published by Von Reck relates to his earlier voyage, and not, as stated in the last issue of the Proceedings, p. 108, to the second. This mistake lessens the interest of the voyage itself, but does not diminish the value of the observations on the Colony and the method of its settlement which form an important addition to the information contained in Wesley's Journal. The little volume contains but 72 pages, small 8vo., and bears the title:--

"An extract of the Journals of Mr. Commissary Von Reck, who conducted the First Transport of Saltzburghers to Georgia: and of the Rev. Mr. Boltzius, one of their ministers, giving an account of their voyage to, and happy Settlement in that Province."

It was published by the direction of the S.P.C.K., and is dated MDCCXXXIV. Amidst the rejoicing of the poor refugees, "who praised God that He had heard their prayers," and with a favourable wind the "Purrysburg" left Dover for Ebenezer, on January 8, O.S., 1733-4. On the 11th they had cleared Land's End, on the 24th they were in the latitude of the Canary Islands, and on March 5th were in sight of the Carolina

The voyage was diversified by an alarm of fire and four storms, in which the pious Saltzburghers "joined in singing hymns and psalms, and promising never to offend His Holy Majesty by any known sin." The entry for March 9th is "a pilot came on board, and at ten the captain, the reverend divines (Boltzius and Gronau) and I went into the pilot's boat." On the same day the Commissary waited on his Excellency Robert Johnson, Esq., and Mr. Oglethorpe, who were "glad to hear that the Saltzburghers were safe, and had not lost one person on the voyage." As Oglethorpe was there at Charlestown on his way to England, he at once produced a plan of Georgia and gave Von Reck liberty to choose a settlement for his people, either near the sea or further inland. "I accordingly," says the Baron, "chose a place 21 miles from Savannah and 30 miles from the sea, where there are rivers, little hills, clear brooks, cool springs, a fertile soil and plenty of grass."

The Journal proceeds to give a description of Charlestown, which is worthy of transference to these pages. "It is a fine town and a seaport, and enjoys an extensive trade. It is built on a flat, and has large streets; the houses are good, mostly built of wood, some of brick. Wheat bread is dear, rice excellent and There are five negroes to one white, and there are imported generally three thousand fresh negroes every year. There are computed to be thirty thousand negroes in this province, all of them slaves and their posterity for ever. They work six days in the week for masters without pay, and are allowed to work on Sundays for themselves. Baptism is rarely here administered to the children of negroes, and marriage is not in use amongst them, but they are suffered promiscuously to mix, as if they were part of the brute creation. Being thus used they watch an opportunity of revolting against their masters, as they have lately done in the islands of St. John and St. Thomas belonging to the Danes and Swedes; and it is the apprehension of these and other inconveniences that has led the Honourable Trustees for Georgia to prohibit the importation and use of negroes within their colony."

Before Von Reck resumed his voyage to Ebenezer, he records two acts of kindness on the part of General Oglethorpe, the first being a present from the Trustees of a large quantity of fresh beef, vegetables, and fruit, two butts of wine, and two tuns of spring water for use on board ship; the second being the appointment of Mr Dunbar, already settled in Georgia, as the guide of the new colonists.

On March 10th they entered the Savannah River, "which is in some places broader than the Rhine, from 16 to 25 feet deep, and abounds with oysters, sturgeon, and other fish. Its banks were clothed with grass, and a little beyond were seen woods, old as the creation, resounding with the music of birds." The reception at Savannah was most cordial. "The magistrates returned our salute of five guns, and we were received with all possible demonstrations of joy. The Indians reached their hands to me as a token of their joy." The ship's company went ashore and were accommodated in a tent in the square of the town.

Savannah is described as regularly laid out and divided into four wards, the streets being straight and the houses well contrived. All the inhabitants are white people. The Commissary was much impressed with the signs of plenty and brotherly love that were to be seen, and adds to his remarks that, "rum, that flattering but deceitful liquor, is prohibited." While at Savannah he "went to see the Indians and their King Tomo-cha-chi, and distributed raisins, of which they are very

fond. Their huts are 100 paces from the town."

It was now time for Von Reck to see the selected site for the new settlement, and on March 14, he tells us that Mr. Oglethorpe gave orders to have three horses at our disposal to ride out to the place chosen for the Saltzburghers. Floods prevented their journey, but Oglethorpe and Mr. Jenys (Speaker of the Assembly of Carolina) said they would show the way and desired Tomo to send two Indians to hunt for them in the journey. On their way they met Mr Musgrave, who afterwards came to England as interpreter to the Indian chief.

Leaving the rest of the company to travel by water, Von Reck and Oglethorpe rode on horseback to the site of the settlement, of which a very favourable account is given: "The earth is so fertile that it will bring forth anything that can be sown or planted in it." Soon after his return to Savannah we find an entry in the Journal to the effect that Oglethorpe, who had delayed his departure in order to see the Saltzburghers first settled, now set out for England amidst the tears of many to

whom he had been a benefactor and father.

The days that followed this event were occupied by Von Reck in journeys and manifold arrangements on behalf of the settlement which grew so rapidly that some English visitors were greatly surprised to see how much had been accomplished in so short a time. On Good Friday (April 12th) occurred the first death, 'a man called Lackner died in peace," and a few days later

Mr. Boltzius made a very moving "oration" at the graveside. On the 29th of the same month the settlers began to build a chapel, which was opened by the same good minister on May 13th.

Here ends the Journal of Von Reck.

Bound up with the Commissary's work, and forming the larger part of the little volume is an "Extract of the Reverend Mr. Boltzius's Journal from their arrival in Carolina." The Preface states that Boltzious "was recommended to the Society (S.P.C.K.) by Professor Frank, at Hall (!) as an excellent and pious person, zealously affected to every good work."

The first date is March 7th, 1734, and the first entry: "We have a liberty to go withour captain in a boat to We found no taylor here that understood making Charlestown. habits. Charlestown makes a fine show at a distance, and is regularly built." He then proceeds to observe: "1, That almost everything is dear; 2, That they have money made of paper. This money is current over all Carolina; 3, That though all things are dear, anybody willing to work may get his living; 4, That there are more blacks than white people. They are brought hither from Africa in whole ship-loads to be sold; 5, That the weather is very hot here; 6, That we found here some Germans who were very glad of our arrival, and will come to us to receive the sacraments; 7. That three weeks ago a rich laden ship lying before this town was burnt to ashes by the carelessness of a boy; 8, That the black slaves are about 30,000 in Carolina only; 9, That Mr. Oglethorpe received us with great kindness and went with us to the Governor, a very good man." Oglethorpe gave a full description of the Indians, and afterwards sent the Saltzburghers on their way to Georgia laden with necessaries. On landing at Savannah, March 12th, Boltzius says: "We, the Commissary, and Mr. Zwester, the physician, were lodged in the house of the Reverend Mr. Quincy, the English minister here. The other settlers were lodged in a tent awaiting Oglethorpe's arrival, and there were treated by a Tew with a good rice soup for breakfast."

The entry on March 14, is: "Last night we prayed on shore for the first time in the English chapel made of boards; the use of which was allowed us during our stay here. The Jews (as well as other inhabitants) of which there are about twelve families here, come to church and seem very devout. They understand German. Went to see some Indian hunters; but these, in the absence of their chiefs, who had gone to meet Mr. Oglethorpe.

were drunk with rum." The Saltzburgers were deeply moved and went to prayer, and were strengthened in hope by Psalm 72."

On March 15th Oglethorpe arrived, and on that day recommended that the leaders of the new settlement should learn the language of the Indians in order to bring them to the knowledge of God. Then follows a description of the language and religion "They say that all nations descend from two of the natives. brothers—one red, their ancestor, and the other white, the ancestor of the Europeans. They believe in a Supreme Being called Sotolycate (He Who sitteth above), They use no ceremonies except at a festival once a year, worship no idols, but sing about ancient heroes." The description of the various tribes is much like that given by Wesley, but a more favourable account is given of their morals. They love one another, abhor adultery, provide for the poor, the widows and orphans. They have no longing for obscene things or oaths. Their Kings do not reign with absolute power, but give counsel. They attend the sick, give them physic provide for widows, and they are called Kings of Peace. The wisest is their King who does not distinguish himself by clothes. They all regard Mr. Oglethorpe as their father." Several entries show the good will entertained by the settlers towards the new-comers. "An English minister belonging to the garrison of Port Royal was at our church, and after service went with us to our lodgings. One of our number dined with an English merchant, the English minister being present. They came twice a day from their tent to the chapel." Boltzius repeats the statement that Oglethorpe accompanied the band to Ebenezer, and reports a meeting with Mrs. Musgrave—"the daughter of an Englishman by an Indian woman, and speaks the Creek language and is a very good Christian." Some of the Indians began to attend the services, and behaved very well. Gronau, the assistant minister, preached to the Germans at Purrysburg, where there were three families of the Lutheran confession. Journal adds other proofs of the goodwill of the settlers to the "At a service the English minister was present at the Communion, and at the Baptism of Mrs. Rothe's child. spake highly of our Communion." The Jews showed them much affection and freely entered into conversation with them on religion. Even Mr. Causton, one of the magistrates, who had the inspection of the storehouse, was gracious to them. One of the latest entries is: "There are some French families settled at Abercorn, to whom Von Reck ministered, as he better understood the language."

The Journal of Boltzius concludes on May 13th by giving an account of the great Thanksgiving Day in honour of the settlement at Ebenezer. An important supplement to the Journal is to be found in a letter by the author, published in the Arminian Magazine, 1779, p. 148.

R. BUTTERWORTH.

An advertisement at the end of the volume reads thus:—" If any person moved with the calamity of these persecuted Protestant Brethren, shall be inclined to contribute towards their relief, and will please send their benefaction to the Rev. Mr. Archdeacon Denne, Rector of Lambeth, Benjamin Hoare, Esq., Banker in Fleet Street, Sir Jno. Philips, Bart., in Bartlet's Building, William Tillard, Esq., in Spital Square, &c., &c. These gentlemen will take effectual care that the sums of money remitted to them shall be most faithfully distributed in the most advisable manner for the relief and benefit of these distressed Protestants."

WESLEY HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

Greatly to the regret of the Editorial Council, the Rev. John W. Crake, on account of ill-health, has found it necessary to retire from the Secretaryship of the Society. Mr. Crake has discharged the duties of this office for many years with unwearying devotion, and the loss of his services is very great. The Council desire to express to Mr. Crake their deep sense of the value of the work he has done, and their hope that his health may speedily be restored.

The following arrangements have been provisionally made to meet the emergency, they will be submitted to a meeting of the members to be held in Manchester during the ensuing Conference.

General Secretary: Rev. J. Conder Nattrass, B.A., B.D.

Joint Editors: Rev. Thos. E. Brigden and Rev. F. F. Bretherton, B.A.

Mr. Bretherton will for the present continue the circulation of the MS. Journal.

Notes and Queries.

518. COMMUNION CUPS.—Rev. J. Conder Nattrass in his notes on Haworth Methodism in Proc., x, 205, refers to the "two large pewter flagons capable of holding two quarts each which were doubtless used on the great sacramental occasions when Wesley visited Haworth."

The reference reminds me of a meeting of the Trinity College, Dublin, Debating Society in connection with the

Theological School, which, attracted by the subject for discussion, I attended some years ago. The subject was "Methodism," which in one form or another used to be "a hardy annual" with the Society, but in more recent years it seems to be avoided. Dr. Bernard, then President of the Society and Dean of St. Patrick's, but now Archbishop of Dublin, was in the chair. In summing up the discussion the chairman spoke with much appreciation of the work of Methodism, but of course its secession and schism were the unpardonable sin. But incidentally he stated that he had been often puzzled to account for the abnormally large size of the communion cups at St. Patrick's, but on enquiry he had learned that they had been obtained to meet the emergency when the Methodists of former times came in a body to the Cathedral to partake of Holy Communion. -Mr. Robert Morgan.

519. A SIDE-LIGHT ON WESLEY'S DIARY FOR 22ND FEBRUARY, 1791.—I have a copy of Wesley's publication: An Extract from Dr. Young's Night Thoughts on Life Death and Immortality. Bristol: Printed by William Pine in Wine Street, 1770. Wesley has written on the fly leaf of this volume in a somewhat trembling hand:

Maria Thornton Feb. 22 1791.

Below this inscription there is written in another hand, perhaps that of John Thornton:

"The Rev. John Wesley gave this to dear Marion on perhaps his last visit to us. The above is his handwriting."

Maria was the second daughter of John Thornton of Clapham, Surrey, the friend of the Rev. John Newton, of Olney. Whitehead in his Life of John Wesley says:

"Tuesday, 22 February: He went on with his usual work, preached at the City Road and seemed much better than he had been for some days." Friday, 25th February, was the last day he went abroad."—Mr. D. B. Bradshaw.

520. HALFWAY HOUSE.—Under date June 21, 1790, Wesley's Journal states—"Being importuned by our friends at Malton to call there, (it being but about thirty miles out of the way) I set out early, to prevent the heat of the day. Calling at Pickering, &c." This is simplified in Wesley's diary as follows:—"Mon: 21. Prayed, conversed; 4 chaise; 6-15 Halfway House, tea; 7-30 Chaise &c." The "Halfway

House" referred to where Wesley had tea and remained from 6-15 to 7-30, was the inn at Saltersgate, a hamlet on the uplifted moors situate mid-way between Whitby and Pickering. Natives of the district still speak of it as the "Halfway House." It has not now the importance it had in Wesley's day when it was the stopping-place for coaches between Malton and Whitby. South of the inn lies the unique circular hollow among the hills known as the Hole of Horcum, a famous botanical centre. A stone's throw away is a small Wesleyan Chapel an outpost of the Pickering circuit, which is used also as a day school.—Rev. J. W. Seller.

521. DR. COKE'S DOCTORATE.—In answer to the Rev. F. F. Bretherton's query (512), the Rev. Alex. Gordon replies, in The Christian Life and Unitarian Herald, Dec. 15, that recourse to the Dict. Nat. Biog., "might have saved the editors, of whom Mr. Brigden is one, from printing unanswered the query: Where did Thomas Coke get his L.L.D.? Here Where means Whence: and the answer is: From some blunderer. The D.N.B. shows that Coke, a gentlemen commoner of Jesus College, Oxford, after graduating in Arts, was created D.C.L. on June 17th, 1775. Similar information, only not quite so full, may be found in Foster's Alumni Oxonienses, with the reference: see Dictionary of National Biography (always a valuable suggestion). It may be worth mentioning that the reason why Oxford gives no higher law title than D.C.L. (i.e., Civil Law) is that by special parliamentary statute, Oxford is forbidden to grant a degree in Canon Law, and therefore cannot furnish, as Cambridge can, the double doctorate, LL.D.

The Editorial Council, on behalf of the Society, present to Mr. George Stampe and his family, their sincere sympathy on the death in action of his son, Major George Herbert Stampe, M.G.C., on March 27th,