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THE
Oxford Methodists :

Being an ACCOUNT of some

YOUNG GENTLEMEN
IN

That CITY, in Denison so called ;

Setting forth their

RISE and DESIGNS.

WITH

Some Occasional REMARKS

ON

A LETTER inserted in *Fog's Journal* of
December 9th, 1732, relating to them.

In a LETTER from a Gentleman near
OXFORD, to his Friend at LONDON.

The SECOND EDITION,
With very great Alterations and Improvements.

To which is prefixed,

A Short EPISTLE to the Reverend
Mr. WHITEFIELD, A. B. of Pembroke-
College, Oxon.

L O N D O N :

Printed for J. ROBERTS at the *Oxford Arms* in
Warwick-Lane; and A. DODD, without *Temple-
Bar*. 1738. [Price Six-Pence.]

PROCEEDINGS.

BOOKS, TRACTS, PAMPHLETS, &C.,
ON METHODISM, IN THE BODLEIAN
LIBRARY, OXFORD.

Mr. Lightwood's list may be found useful to those who have not easy access to the shelves of this Library. The books will be found indexed under *Methodism*. Only those of the 18th century are given, with a very few exceptions.¹

1. THE OXFORD METHODISTS, being an account of some young gentlemen in that city in derision so called: setting forth their rise, views, and designs.

London, 1733 8vo.

2nd Edition signed A.B. „ 1738 8vo.

See *facsimile* from T. E. B's copy on opposite page.

2. (p. 335) THE METHODISTS, an humorous burlesque poem...to Rev. G. Whitefield and his followers.

London, 1739 8vo.

(See Green's *Anti-Methodist Publications*. No. 26.)

3. THE TRUE SPIRIT OF THE METHODISTS AND THEIR ALLIES fully laid open: in an answer to six of the seven pamphlets lately published against Dr. Trapp's sermons upon being righteous overmuch. (Anon).

London, 1740 8vo.

(Green's *Anti-M. Pub.*, 93.)

4. A COLLECTION OF TUNES, set to music, as they are commonly sung at the Foundery.

London, 1742 8vo.

(Green's *Wesley Bibliography*, 38.)

1. Copies of some of these publications in Mr. J. T. Lightwood's useful list are in Mr. Brigden's library. He is willing to lend these to members of the W. H. S. He has inserted references to the late Rev. R. Green's invaluable *Bibliographies*, &c.

WESLEY HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

5. M. AND ENTHUSIASM fully displayed, viz: authentic memoirs...of Rev. George W[hite]f[ie]ld...likewise critical and explanatory remarks upon that inimitable piece...God's dealings with the Rev. Mr. Whitefield.

2nd edition, corrected, Oxford, 1743 8vo.
(Green's *Anti-M. Pub.*, 139 on 1st edition.)

6. AN ESSAY, containing evident proofs against the Methodists, with remarks on the famous sermon (by John Wesley, Aug. 24, 1744), at Oxford: by an impartial hand.

London, 1744 8vo.
(Green's *Anti-M. Pub.*, 6, 40, 56, 57.)

7. AN EARNEST AND AFFECTIONATE ADDRESS TO THE PEOPLE CALLED METHODISTS, 2nd edition corrected, [signed A. B., ascribed to H. Stebbing in M.S. note].

London, 1745 12mo.
(Green's *Anti-M. Pub.*, 200.)

8. A SERIOUS ADDRESS TO LAY METHODISTS to beware of the false pretences of their Teachers. By a Sincere Protestant.

London, 1745 8vo.
(Green's *Anti-M. Pub.*, 186.)

9. A brief account of the late persecution and barbarous usage of the Methodists at Exeter.

Exon, 1745 8vo.
(Green's *Anti-M. Pub.*, 188.)

10. Extracts of letters relating to METHODISTS AND MORAVIANS, by a layman.

London, 1745, 8vo.
(Green's *Anti-M. Pub.*, 197.)

11. OBSERVATIONS upon the conduct and behaviour of a certain sect usually distinguished by the name of Methodists, (by Edmund Gibson, Bishop of London)

(c. 1744) 4to.
(Green's *Anti-M. Pub.*, 164.)

12. ADVICE TO THE PEOPLE CALLED METHODISTS. Anon.
4th edition Bristol, 1746 8vo.

Another edition, London, 1787 8vo.
(By Wesley. See Green's *Wesley Bibliog.*, No. 73.)

13. A DIALOGUE BETWEEN A METHODIST AND HIS NEIGHBOUR.

London, 1746 12mo.

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14. AN ANSWER to a late charge against *the Methodists and Moravians*. The first part.

London, (W. Owen), 1747 8vo.

15. A SUMMARY VIEW of the doctrines of Methodists occasioned by the late persecution of THE METHODISTS AT NORWICH.

Bristol, 1752 12mo.

16. THE ENTHUSIASM OF METHODISTS AND PAPISTS COMPARED, (by George Lavington, Bishop of Exeter).

3rd edition, Anon. London, 1752 8vo.

Part 2. 2nd edition. London, 1752 8vo.

Part 3. London, 1751 8vo.

(Green's *Anti-M. Pub.*, 213.)

(On Lavington's assistants in writing this, see W.H.S., *Proc.* III., 23.)

The Bishop's "design" in publishing this pamphlet is thus stated in his preface:

"Tis my principal design as a caution to all *Protestants*, to draw a *Comparison* between the wild and pernicious *Enthusiasms* of some of the most eminent *Saints* in the *Popish Communion*, and those of the *Methodists* in our own Country."

This "design" is indicated in the curious quotation on the title page, as follows:—

These *Preachers and Mendicants*—for some time rambled uncontroul'd, taking upon them to *Confess and Preach* wherever they came, without the content of the *Bishop*, utterly despising all *Canons and Ecclesiastical Rules*: and professing voluntary *Poverty*, and *Contempt of Riches*, wandering like *Strollers* from place to place, under a pretence of *Piety*, they chous'd the filly people of their *Money*.

Howel's View of the Pontificate, pag. 406.

Some readers may be interested in the term 'choused,' quoted from *Howel*. It is from the Turkish, *chaus*, = an interpreter. In 1609 a *chaus* attached to the Turkish embassy in London defrauded certain merchants of £4000, then deemed a great sum. This created a public sensation: *to chause* became a popular word for cheating, as the *chaus* had done. Ben Jonson, (*The Alchemist*), Butler (*Hudibras*), Swift, and the *Gentleman's Mag.* in 1755, all use the word. Swift has: "From London they came silly people to *chouse*."

[T. E. B.]

17. DIE AND BE DAMNED: or an antidote against every species of Methodism and Enthusiasm.

1st edition. Anon London, 1758 8vo.

2nd " " " " "

Another copy with author's name, T. Mortimer

3rd Edition ... London, 1761 8vo.

(Green's *Anti-M. Pub.*, 268.)

WESLEY HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

18. **METHODISM DISPLAYED, AND ENTHUSIASM DETECTED :** intended as an antidote against, and a preservation from...A modern set of seducing preachers. Addressed to the Rev. Mr. Romaine, the Rev. Mr. Jones, &c., (by Wm. Mason).

4th edition, enlarged. Anon. London, 1759 8vo.

5th " " " " " " 1761 8vo.
(Green's *Anti-M. Pub.*, 262)

19. The principles and practices of the Methodists considered, (by John Green, Bishop of Lincoln).

London, 1766 8vo.

2nd edition. Anon. " " 1761 8vo.

(Green's *Anti-M. Pub.* Nos. 294, 315, *Academicus.*)

20. The principles and practices of the Methodists farther considered. (Anon.) (John Green).

Cambridge, 1761 8vo.

21. **AN ADDRESS TO THE RT. HON. ——— with several letters to the D—— of ——— from the L—— IN VINDICATION OF HER CONDUCT ON BEING CHARGED WITH METHODISM.**

London, 1761 8vo.

(Green's *Anti-M. Pub.*, 316.)

22. **THE METHODIST, a comedie,** (being a continuation... of *The Minor*...by Mr. Foote...with the original Prologue and Epilogue...3rd edition [by Israel Pöttinger].

London, 1761 8vo.

(Green's *Anti-M. Pub.*, 305.)

THE METHODIST. A Comedy.

London, 1823 8vo.

23. **A PLAIN ACCOUNT OF THE PEOPLE CALLED METHODISTS** in a letter to Rev. Mr. Perronet.

6th edition. Bristol, 1764 8vo.

(Green's *Wesley Bib.*, 126.)

24. **A SHORT HISTORY OF METHODISM.**

2nd edition. London, 1765 8vo.

(Green's *Wesley Bib.*, 229.)

25. **THE DOCTRINES OF METHODISM EXAMINED AND CONFUTED,** (a discourse on Jude, vv. 17-19), by a presbyter of the Church of England.

London, 1765 8vo.

(Green's *Anti-M. Pub.*, 366.)

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26. THE SELF COMMISSIONED APOSTLE an impostor, or the Methodist missionaries proved destitute of a lawful ministry in a letter to the Rev. Mr. Townsend.

Chippenham, 1765 8vo.
(Green's *Anti-M. Pub.*, 371.)

27. MR. WESLEY'S PRINCIPLES DETECTED: or a Defence of the Preface to the Edinburgh edition of ASPASIO Vindicated. In answer to Mr. Kershaw's earnest appeal. To which is prefixed the Preface itself. For the use of those who have the English editions of *Aspasio Vindicated*.

Edinburgh, 1765 sm. 8vo.
(Green's *Anti-M. Pub.*, 362, 363.)

28. THE METHODIST AND THE MIMICK. A tale...By Peter Paragraph, (i.e. George Faulkner?) inscr. to Samuel Foote, Esq.

London, 1766 4to.
2nd edition. " 1767 4to.
(Green's *Anti-M. Pub.*, 378.)

29. METHODISM TRIUMPHANT, or the decisive battle between the Old Serpent and the Modern Saint, (by N. Lancaster)

London, 1767 4to.
(Green's *Anti-M. Pub.*, 387.)

30. THE METHODISTS VINDICATED from the aspersions cast upon them, by the Rev. Mr. Haddon Smith, in a series of letters to that gentleman.

London, 1771 8vo.
(Green's *Anti-M. Pub.*, 426.)

31. An earnest and affectionate address TO THE people called METHODISTS.

8th edition. London, 1774 12mo.
9th " " 1781 12mo.
(Green's *Anti-M. Pub.*, 200.)

32. ADVICE to the people called Methodists WITH REGARD TO DRESS.

London, 1780 8vo.
2nd edition. " 1790 8vo.
(Green's *Wesley Bib.*)

33. THE METHODIST attempted in plain metre. Anon— (James Kershaw, Gainsborough).

Nottingham, 1780 sm. 4to.
W.H.S.-*Proc.* III., 24, and XII., 121. Tyerman's L.W. III. 362.

WESLEY HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

34. PREACHING FOR BACON. Ballad begins: 'A methodist parson whose name it was George.'

London, n.d. large 8vo.

35. *An essay on THE CHARACTER OF METHODISM* by the author of Remarks on Dr. Halifax's preface to the sermons of the late Dr. Ogden.

Cambridge, 1781 8vo.

(Green's *Anti-M. Pub.*, 526.)

36. A REVIEW OF THE POLICY, DOCTRINES, AND MORALS of the Methodists.

London, 1791 8vo.

(Green's *Anti-M. Pub.*, 555.)

(To be continued).

J. T. LIGHTWOOD.

THE ARMINIAN MAGAZINE.

The *Magazine* of the Wesleyan Methodist Church claims to be the oldest religious magazine in circulation. The first number appeared on January 1st, 1778, under the title *The Arminian Magazine*, and it has been running ever since. In the original address *To the Reader* Wesley expounds his plans and says something of his reasons for publishing. The Calvinist publications called *The Gospel Magazine* and *The Spiritual Magazine* had "defended their dear Decrees, with Arguments worthy of Bedlam, and with language worthy of Billingsgate." Wesley proposed to defend the doctrine of the Universal Love of God in a very different manner. But is that the whole story?

We learn from the *Journal* that he drew up the proposals for the *Magazine* immediately after the Bristol Conference of August, 1777. The chief discussion at that Conference had been concerning the report that the Methodists were a fallen people. John Hilton, the Bristol Assistant, had voiced the report, and Fletcher of Madeley, ill in body, had spoken in a depressed manner. The general impression was that the report was entirely erroneous. With this Mr. Wesley fully concurred, but his inquiries into the state of the societies and their progress or decline were never more careful than in the year that followed. The conversation clearly affected him. The remedy, which at once presented itself to the tireless evangelist of 74, was new aggression, and he would

begin with the press. His prospectus for the *Magazine* was published November 24, 1777, and a vigorous propaganda began.

In other ways 1777 was a year of great unsettlement,—it was the year of the American revolt. Wesley wrote addresses to the colonists, to the inhabitants of England (February 6, 1777), and to the inhabitants of Ireland (May 5, 1778) on the subject. The whole question of loyalty and national unity was much in his mind. In France the works of the Encyclopædists that preceded the Revolution began to appear. The *Journal* for April 27, 1778, has a long examination of Abbé Raynal's attack on the institution of monarchy. Wesley felt that from every point of view the seriousness of the time demanded new endeavours for national salvation. The *Magazine* was part of the plan for new aggression. Within a week of the Bristol Conference a new colleague had been found in Dr. Coke, whose buoyant optimism and splendid faith was to be the means of discovering new worlds to conquer in days that were more plagued with war than any that Wesley himself ever knew.

Turning to the subject matter of the *Magazine* we find that a good deal of it is occupied with the beginnings of Arminianism, and with well-known 17th century discussions of the question of free will and universal grace. The first article is a sketch of the life of Arminius taken from the funeral oration of Peter Bertius. It was evidently done very hurriedly and contains a few mistakes which cannot be attributed to the carelessness of Thomas Olivers, the Book Steward. Oudewater, the birthplace of Arminius, is on the river Isala, not Isalo. Geneva did but give Arminius his D.D. when he left. It was offered to him at Basel, and declined by him on account of his youth. The Professor of Philosophy at Padua was Zabarella, not Zabarelli. Trelcatius becomes Frelcatius in the hands of Wesley. Otherwise the speech of Bertius is accurately condensed. The Account of the Synod of Dort is extracted from Brandt's *History of the Reformation in the Low Countries*. Other Arminian 17th century tracts which appear in the first volume of the *Magazine* are 'The Examination of Tilenus before the Triers'; Thomas Goad's *Discourse on the Contingency of Events*; John Plaifere's *Doctrine of Predestination Concorded with Free Grace*; and an anonymous writing on *The Absolute Decree of Damnation Disproved*. These are all fairly long and appear in serial form month by month. They form the body of the *Magazine*, and provoked criticism on the ground of their controversial nature and lack of variety. For edification Wesley added lives of eminent Christians, beginning with Martin Luther. The

filling-up consists of Letters and Poems. The latter deal generally with the Calvinistic controversy, but the reasons that govern the selection of Letters are hard to find. In the preface to the second volume of the *Magazine*, Wesley claims it as "by far the best collection that has been published in the present century." He claimed to have a greater collection than any person in England, and published a selection of experimental letters in chronological order. Some are purely family letters dealing with personal matters. Samuel Wesley, senior, it is true, is made to appear in the true Arminian succession, but there is no unity of subject in the letters. It was objected that they were not spiritual enough, but to this Wesley will by no means agree. They are apparently intended to lighten a solid body of divinity, and also to be of help to the religious reader. As time went on the practical side of the *Magazine* grew in importance as the controversial declined. There can be no doubt that Wesley believed that the solution of national dangers and the deliverance for the individual were to be found in the proclamation and acceptance of the Gospel that "the Lord is loving unto every man, and that His mercy is over all His work."

A. W. HARRISON.

SOME REFERENCES TO METHODISM IN THE PERIODICAL LITERATURE OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.

I. In the *Adventurer*, April 3, 1753, Bathurst in his *Adventures of a Halfpenny* deploras the adulteration of the copper coinage; and points out what a loss it has been to the beggars; and, says he, "I am assured that orders will be issued out from the king of the beggars, to bring all their adulterated copper to their mint in the Borough, or their foundery in Moorfields."

[In November 1739, John Wesley acquired the old King's Foundery in Windmill Street (now Tabernacle Street) Moorfields, and began to preach there. In August 1743, he got possession of an old Unitarian Chapel in Snows Fields, Bermondsey, which was not far from the disreputable locality known as the Mint in

Southwark. The names—Foundery and Mint—suggested to the noble earl the joke about the bad pennies; but the insinuation seems to be that the beggars frequented Wesley's preaching-houses and gave their bad coins to the collections.]

II. In the *World*, January 9, 1755, it is said of the *argumentum ad hominem* "You may also take away the force of a man's argument by concluding from some equivocal expression, that he is a Jacobite, a republican, a courtier, a methodist, a free-thinker, or a Jew."

July 3, 1755, in a dream in which the world is described as it would be if everybody did what he was really best fitted for, the author (Cambridge) says "A reverend divine, who was preaching in the fields to a numerous audience, recollected himself on a sudden, and producing a set of cups and balls performed several very dexterous tricks by sleight of hand." Probably the reference is to Whitefield, who had returned to England from America in May, and had preached to congregations of "thousands and thousands" in London, Bristol, and elsewhere.

May 27, 1756, is an account of a visit paid by the writer to the country-house of Sir Harry Prig. "Of books" he says "there were none, except a small one containing tunes for the French horn, belonging to Sir Harry; and the third volume of Peregrine Pickle, and a Methodist prayer-book, the property of her Ladyship." Probably the collection of Prayers for Families, first published by Mr. Wesley in 1745, and reprinted in numerous editions, is intended. There is possibly a hit at the ladies of title, like the Countess of Huntingdon, Lady Maxwell, Lady Glenorchy, and others, who had shown sympathy with the Methodists.

July 8, 1756, Gataker says "The divine . . . who preaches faith without works, and damns all who differ from him, may be an orthodox divine, and only labouring in his vocation."

III. In the *Connoisseur*, March 7, 1754, a writer says: "In the meantime a maiden aunt with whom I lived, a very pious old lady, turned Methodist, and often took me with her to the Tabernacle, the Foundery, and many private meetings. This made such an impression upon my mind, that I devoted myself entirely to sacred subjects, and wrote several hymns, which were received with infinite applause by all the good women who visited my aunt; and (the servants also being Methodists) they were often sung by the whole family in the kitchen. I might perhaps in time have rivalled Wesley in these divine compositions, and have even begun an entire new version of the Psalms; when my aunt,

changing her religion a second time, became a Moravian. But the hymns usually sung by the United Brethren contain sentiments so sublime and so incomprehensible, that, notwithstanding my late success in that kind of poetry . . . I durst not venture on their style and manner."¹

April 18, 1754, we have the story of a talking Parrot who is indicted for defaming the Lord Mayor and magistrates. "The Court however was pleased to show mercy to him upon the petition of his mistress, a strict Methodist,¹ who gave bail for his good behaviour, and delivered him over to Mr. Whitefield, who undertook to make a thorough convert of him."

May 28, 1754, it is said "There have risen, within these few years, very numerous tribes of Methodists, Moravians, Middle-tonians, Muggletonians, Hutchinsonians, etc. In a word our sects are multiplied to such an infinite degree, that (as Voltaire has before observed) every man may now go to heaven his own way. Can the Divinity-schools boast such sound doctrine as the Foundery in Moorfields?" See also *July 17* and *July 24*.

August 28, 1754, it is reported that Broughton's amphitheatre "is converted into a Methodist meeting-house, and perhaps (as laymen are there admitted into the pulpit) those very fists, which so lately dealt such hearty bangs upon the stage, are now with equal vehemence thumping the cushion." (Jack Broughton was the author of the famous "Broughton's Rules" which governed prize-fighting until 1838. He built an amphitheatre for boxing in Oxford Street near Hanway Street, and opened it in 1743. In 1750 he was beaten there by Slack, and never fought again; shortly after this the amphitheatre was closed. He died in 1789, and was buried in the West Cloister of Westminster Abbey. The figure of Hercules in Rysbrach's monument to Sir Peter Warren in the North transept of the Abbey was modelled from him).

September 26, 1754, one of the Robin Hood Society is "Jeremy Crispin, cordwainer, In the space of three years he had been a Papist, a Quaker, an Anabaptist, a Jew, an Arian, a Socinian, a Mahometan, a Methodist, a Deist, and an Atheist."

October 17, 1754, amongst a catalogue of males and females to be disposed of in marriage to the best bidder at Mr. Keith's Repository in May-Fair is "A Methodist lady, relict of a knight deceased within this twelve-month—would be a good bargain to

1. Note that there is no distinction yet between Whitefield's Tabernacle and Wesley's Foundery, they are both Methodist. But the Moravians are recognised as being of a different religion from the Methodists: Zinzendorf had formally disavowed the Methodists in September, 1749).

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any handsome young gentleman, who would comfort her in the spirit."

December 19, 1754, we are informed "Instead of languid discourses from the pulpit, several tabernacles and meeting-houses have been set up, where lay-preachers may display all the powers of oratory in sighs and groans, and emulate a Whitfield or a Wesley in all the figures of rhetoric."

March 27, 1755, is devoted to an attack on the Methodists and the Moravians. It is too long to quote in full, but some "elegant extracts" may be interesting. "The most extraordinary tenets of religion are very successfully propagated under the sanction of the leathern apron instead of the cassock; every corner of the town has a barber, mason, bricklayer, or some other handicraft teacher; and there are almost as many sects in this metropolis as there are parish churches." . . . "Many of these sects consist almost entirely of battered prostitutes, and persons of the most infamous character." A story follows of a debauched young fellow, who in order to repair his shattered fortune "turned Methodist" and seduced one of the "sisters." The lowest of the vulgar by a mock conversion "often insinuate themselves as servants into Methodist families." . . . "A religion founded on madness and enthusiasm is almost as bad as no religion at all" . . . a sort of parable follows in which Superstition, an old lady, dies "melancholy mad," and bequeaths a sum to build an hospital for religious lunatics; "which, I am informed, will speedily be built on the same ground, where the foundery, that celebrated Methodist meeting-house, now stands." (The point of this gibe depends partly on the fact that the Bethlehem, or Bedlam, Hospital for the insane stood on the south side of Moorfields, over against the Foundery and the Tabernacle on the north.)

In No. 70, a letter is published alleged to be from "some inspired shoemaker or enlightened bricklayer," in which the last-named attack on the Methodists is criticised. It is a sensible letter and I should judge that it was genuine. The writer says "This new doctrine, Sir, that you revile, is the real gospel, which you will find so, if you will hear it, and compare it with the Scriptures." He points out that many of the clergy of the Established Church preach and accept it. As to the proposed madhouse, he thinks their will be "as many criticising lunatics in it, as religious ones." In No. 71, the editors make a sort of apology for their attack on the ground that ridicule is the only effective weapon against "enthusiasts," but they admit that they might have treated the question "with a more serious air."

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July 17, 1755, we have a letter purporting to come from a fellow who intends to set up as a pedlar; amongst other wares he will have "some pious ejaculations, whingings, and groans, ready cut out in leathern aprons and blue frocks, for the preaching fraternity of carpenters, bricklayers, tallow-chandlers, and butchers, in the Tabernacle and Foundery in Moorfields."

July 24, 1755, the writer denounces "the sectary or zealot" who "devotes to eternal damnation all those who will not go to heaven in the same road with himself, under the guidance of Whitfield, Wesley, or Count Zinzendorf."

No. 86, *September 18, 1755*, is an alleged letter from "Orator Higgin," a transparent pseudonym for the notorious "Orator Henley" who delivered his politico-religious harangues in the Oratory in Newport Market, Pope has gibbeted him in the *Dunciad*, iii, 195.

Imbrowned with native bronze, lo, Henley stands
Tuning his voice and balancing his hands,
How fluent nonsense trickles from his tongue!
How sweet the periods, neither said nor sung!
Still break the benches, Henley! with the strain,
While Kxx, Bxx, Wxx, preach in vain.

He says "I confess myself highly obliged to the itinerant missionaries of Whitfield, Wesley, and Zinzendorf, who have instructed us in the New Light from empty barrels and joint-stools." "Once indeed, being out of other business, I descended to the mean office of a ballad-singer, and hawked my own verses; but not having a good ear for music, and the tone of my voice being rather inclined to whining, I converted my ballads into penitential hymns, and took up the vocation of Methodist preacher. In this station I made new converts every day among the old women by my sighs and groans, who in return contributed their halfpence, which I disposed of in charity to myself; but I was at last beat off the field by a journeyman shoemaker, who fairly out-whined me."

December 25, 1755, *This we omit.*

April 16, 1756, we are told, "The divine, without living, cure, or lectureship, may perhaps incur transportation for illegal marriages, set up a theatrical-oratorical-Billingsgate chapel under the shelter of the toleration-act, and the butchers of Clare-market, or kindle the inward light in the bosoms of the saints of Moorfields, and the Magdalens of Broad Street, Giles.

April 29, 1756, we read "Though Nonsense is excluded, at least from the first part of the service in all regular churches, yet

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she often occupies the whole ceremony at the Tabernacle and Foundery in Moorfields, and the chapel in Long-acre." The chapel in Long-acre was rented for Whitefield by the Rev. John Barnard about the end of 1755; there was an outbreak of violent and riotous opposition against Whitefield's preaching there in 1756, and every effort was made by the Dean of Westminster, Zachary Pearce, to inhibit him; but in vain. It was here that Smollett represented Humphrey Clinker as preaching (Melford's letter of June 10th).

June 3, 1756, amongst the inmates of the Foundling Hospital *This we omit.*

June 24, 1756, the writer laments that he has "with pain been witness to a wild intemperate delivery in our parish churches, which I should only have expected at the chapel in Long-acre, or at the Foundery and Tabernacle in Moorfields."

August 12, 1756, the writer commenting on Lord Coke's suggestion that four hours a day should be given to prayer says, Nobody but a Methodist would ever think of praying four hours."

IV. In *Winter Evenings*, No. 82, (1761) Vicesimus Knox says, "Methodists and infidels are equally extreme to mark what is done amiss by that order which is countenanced and protected by church and state. Their severity is unchristian and irrational but, such is the malignity of mankind, that it is found to serve their cause, by making proselytes to their opinions. Both these descriptions of men have increased, are increasing, and ought to be diminished. But how diminished? Not by persecution, but by the mild, yet irresistible compulsion of sound argument, enforced by a brilliant example of Christian perfection. I must retract the word perfection. None of us can reach it; and woe to them who judge others, whether believers or unbelievers, clergy or laity, methodists or atheists, with excessive rigour."

In No. 47, Knox says "Those among the inferior ranks, who still retain a reverence for religion, are too often seduced by enthusiasts from the parish church, and endeavour to evince their zeal and attachment to their self-appointed pastors, by professing, a contempt, if not a hatred, for the regular minister of the parish."

In No. 106, Knox, after setting forth the doctrine of the indwelling of the Divine Spirit in the believer, says "It is difficult indeed to maintain this truly scriptural doctrine, without incurring, in a sceptical age, the charge of Methodism."

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In No. 147, Knox says, 'He who, fearing the imputation of over-righteousness, and the appellation of a saint or methodist, treats things sacred with affected levity, will in time lose all proper awe of everything that is worthy of religious veneration.'

E. H. SUGDEN,
Queen's College, Melbourne.

REFERENCES TO THE WESLEYS IN
THE FIRST CALVINISTIC METHODIST
NEWSPAPER.

[For previous articles and notes, by Mr. Roland Austin and Rev. M. H. Jones, see *Proc.* vol. xi, 39-43, 181-188, and vol. xii, 15-20, 46].

When the first doctrinal division took place between Whitefield and Wesley in 1740, as the result of the latter's Sermon on Free Grace, there was started by Whitefield and his helpers,—John Cennick, Howell Harris and Joseph Humphreys—a little Paper of four pages per week, called *The Weekly History*, and sold for one penny to members of those Religious Societies which advocated the Calvinistic doctrines of God's Sovereignty, Election and Perseverance. This newspaper was printed and sold by John Lewis, 'the Printer to the Religious Societies,' in Bartholomew Close West Smithfield, between the year 1740 and 1747 or 48, during which period it assumed different titles and appeared in different sizes.

At first it appeared as the private venture of John Lewis himself. It was called *The Christian's Amusement*, and was made up of 27 weekly issues ranging in date from September, 1740, to March 11, 1741. This was followed by *The Weekly History*, of which 84 parts were issued, covering the period from April 11, 1741, to November, 1742. Both the above were in folio size, but in its third form it was a small pocket edition of 4 pages per week or a volume of three numbers of 84 pages each, bearing the title of *An Account of the Progress of the Gospel*. Three volumes of the *Account* appeared in 1743. Then four similar volumes, bearing the title of *The Christian History* were published as follows:—vol. v, in 1744; vi, in 1744-45; vii, in 1745-46; and viii, in 1747 and 1748. After a careful inquiry at the best-known

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of the Public Libraries in England and Wales, I have found that the only *complete* set of John Lewis's little Newspaper is the one that belonged to the Trevecka College Library, and is now exhibited in a glass case at the Theological College, Aberystwyth.¹ I have read the whole set of volumes, and found that it was the design of John Lewis, the printer, to foster unity and Christian tolerance rather than jealousy and conflict between the respective followers of George Whitefield and John Wesley.

The following quotations, from the Letters and the Advertisements printed in the little Newspaper, will serve to illustrate the nature of the references to the Wesleys :—

- 1.—*Letter from the Rev. Thomas Jones, Cwmyoy, a Clergyman in Wales, to Mr. Seward*, dated July 28, 1740, and printed in Nos. 21, 22 and 23 of *The Christian's Amusement*. It deals with Wesley's Sermon on Free Grace and refers to the doctrinal differences between Howell Harris and John Wesley. Howell Harris was first taught in the Calvinistic creed by Thomas Jones, whose parish was not very distant from Trevecka. The separation between Wesley and the Fetter Lane Moravian Society took place in 1740.
- 2.—*Letter from Howell Harris to John Wesley*, dated July 16, 1740, and published in No. 13 of *The Weekly History*. In this letter Harris condemns Wesley for excommunicating a brother because he believed in the Doctrine of Election. Wesley replied to Harris's letter on July 29, 1740, and a copy of it was published on p. 65, *W. M. Magazine*, 1849. The reply, however, I have not yet seen.
- 3.—*Letter from Joseph Humphreys to John Wesley*, dated April 5, 1741, and published in No. 11 of *The Weekly History*. It deals with the doctrine of God's Electing Love. A footnote on page 445 (vol. ii) of the Standard Edition of Wesley's *Journal* says that the latter's exposition of Romans 8th chapter on April 10, 1741, in opposition to Humphrey's Calvinistic view of the same chapter in the letter referred to above, led Joseph Humphreys to cast his lot with Mr. Whitefield soon after the incident. On April 16, Humphreys wrote another letter to J. Wesley, dealing with the question 'Was Davd a child of God or of the Devil?' This also appeared in No. 11 of *The Weekly History*.

1. For an account of the volume in the Memorial Library, see Mr. Roland Austin's article in *Proc.* vol. xi, p. 41. Of this Mr. Whitebrook has sent us the useful abstract, with index and notes, referred to in *Proc.* xii, 46.

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- 4.—In No. 12 of *The Weekly History* there appears a Letter from Joseph Humphreys to Charles Wesley dealing with God's Decrees and Election. Wesley's *Hymns on God's Everlasting Love*, just then published in Bristol, helped to fan the flame of controversy between the Calvinists and the Wesleys at that time.
- 5.—Letter from George Whitefield to an anonymous Bro. in London, dated April 25, 1741, and published in No. 4 of *The Weekly History*. In this Whitefield condemns Wesley's doctrine of Perfection. In the same paper there is a letter by Joseph Humphreys written on the same subject from Bristol to Mr. M^{rs} of London, and dated April 27. Wesley replies to both letters on the 28th.
- 6.—In No. 5 of *The Weekly History* there is a letter from John Cennick in Bristol, to an anonymous friend, dated May 2, 1741, in which he refers to the doctrinal differences between G. Whitefield and J. Wesley.
- 7.—In No. 78 of *The Weekly History* there appeared a Letter from Brother Thomas Price of Watford in Glamorganshire to Howell Harris in London, dated August 12, 1742, in which he says that "Charles Wesley was in Wales last week and was persecuted at Cardiff."

John Lewis, the printer, used to insert Advertisements in his *Christian's Amusement* and *Weekly History*, but none in the *Account of the Progress of the Gospel* and the *Christian History*. Some of these advertisements are interesting in their reference to the Wesleys and their influence. For example, J. Lewis printed 'Luther on the Galatians' at the recommendation of J. Wesley. 'Homilies of the Church of England' by Charles Wesley. The 'New Collection of Hymns' by the Rev. Mr. Wesley, and G. Whitefield's 'Letter to John Wesley in answer to his Sermon on Free Grace' were both advertised in *The Christian's Amusement* and sold by J. Lewis.

Similarly in *The Weekly History*, Lewis advertises and sells 'Ridgway's Answer to Wesley on the Sovereignty of God'; Fleetwood's 'Examination of the Doctrine of Perfection'; a 'Sermon preached on April 4, 1742, before the University of Oxford, by the Rev. Charles Wesley'; and a 'Letter to the Rev. Jn. Wesley in Vindication of the Doctrines of Absolute unconditional Election, Particular Redemption, Special Vocation and Final Perseverance.' Printed by J. Hart, London.

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Whitefield makes the following Announcement in No. 12 of *The Weekly History* :—

“Whereas an Affidavit made a Gentleman some time ago at Bristol against the Rev. Mr. John Wesley has been lately reprinted, with instructions at the bottom for people to apply to the Rev. Mr. Whitefield for further information. This is to give Notice that he knew nothing of the reprinting of that Affidavit, but that he has made diligent enquiry into that Affair when abroad, and has found that the Rev. Mr. Wesley has been much injured, both in respect to anything criminal in his character and as to his going from his Bail, there being no bail given. The whole prosecution I verily believe was groundless. Such as require further particulars, I refer them to Mr. Wesley's first *Journal* (p. 46), which I believe to be a true account.”

A full explanation of this affidavit is given in volumes I and VIII of the Standard Edition of John Wesley's *Journal*.

In the Trevecka Collection of Letters there are three letters which corroborate the quotations we have made from from the *Christian's Amusement* and *Weekly History*. For instance, John Lewis, the printer, in a letter (No. 126) to Howell Harris, dated 1740 (no month and day), speaks of “the Wesleys as being mistaken in judgment.” Letter 17 J, dated Sept., 1740, from H. Harris to J. Lewis, speaks of “Brother John Wesley as not yet been enlightened on God's Electing Love.” In another letter, dated March 19, 1740-1, Harris requests John Lewis to consult Samuel Mason as to the advisability of publishing in *The Weekly History* his Letter to Charles Wesley about the doctrinal divisions. This is probably the letter, bearing the *nom de plume* of Philoveritas, in the issue for June 23, 1741.

The references to the Wesleys in the *Account of the Progress of the Gospel* and *The Christian History* are not so numerous as in the earlier newspapers; and the following were the only ones we noticed in our first rapid reading of the papers :—

1.—*Account of the Progress of the Gospel*, Vol. ii, No. 1.

Page 3. Letter from Daniel Rowland, of Llangeitho in Wales, to Howell Harris in London, dated October 24, 1742.

He blames Harris for staying so long in England when the Revival in Wales needs his help. “Thou bold champion, where art thou? What! in London now in the day of battle! Has not London champions

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enough to fight for her? Where are the great Wesleys, Cennick, &c.? Must poor Wales afford an assistant to England?

Page 9. An undated letter in 1742 from Herbert Jenkins, an exhorter in Wales, to Brother P— in London.

“Last Monday I preached to a large congregation at Llyssen (?) in Glamorganshire. There were many of Bro. Wesley’s people present who behaved very civilly and lovingly toward us.”

2.—*Account, &c.*, Vol. ii, No. 2.

Page 71. Letter from Howell Harris in Swansea to G. Whitefield in London, Jan. 30, 1742-3. “I have discoursed in Cardiff gaol to a great auditory last week, and some of the Gentry that opposed Brother Wesley, heard quietly, attentively and seriously indeed; and the Society received me tenderly.”

Page 21. Letter from Joseph Humphreys to Howell Harris in London, undated 1742. “Mr. J. Wesley and I are more free. I will endeavour to hope all things.”

3.—*Account, &c.*, Vol. iii, No. 2.

Page 25. Letter from H. Harris in Haverfordwest to John Cennick; April 18, 1743. “Last Saturday Bro. Whitefield preached at the Town Hall of Cardiff, where many that opposed Bro. Wesley heard very attentively and were affected.”

Page 67. Letter from Thomas James, exhorter, Builth, to G. Whitefield; May, 1743. “Bro. J. Wesley came to Builth the 3rd of May unexpected: his letter that he sent before, miscarried. He also was refused the church. He preached out at the end of the Chancel very sweet, and free from controversy; and is to come again in August next. After he had preached twice, he kept a Society. The Rev. Mr. P—ps² was with him. He pray’d with great power for Bro. Harris.”

Page 78. Letter from H. Harris at Watford, Glamorganshire to G. Whitefield; May 12, 1743. “Last Sunday I heard Bro. John Wesley preach upon the 7th of the Romans. He was very sweet and loving and seem’d to have his heart honestly bent on drawing the poor souls to Christ. The persecutors at Cardiff said, if he would

2. “Mr. Philips, the rector of Maesmynys (at whose invitation I came)
. . . . *Wesley’s Journal* III, p. 76, *S. Edn.*”

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preach anywhere but at the new Room they would not disturb him, but would come and hear; whereat he preached at the Castle Green, concluding it was God's call out of the house to the streets. He was disturbed and hindered preaching at Cowbridge."

- 4.—*The Christian History*, Vol. v, No. 4. 1744.
Page 31. Letter from H. Harris at Aberthyn, Glam., to G. Whitefield; April 28, 1744. "While we had our Association in Monmouthshire, we found that Bro. J. Wesley had recently paid a visit to Wales."
- 5.—Bound under same cover as Vol. iv, of the *Account of the Progress of the Gospel*, the following *Tracts* were found:—
- (a) A Letter to the Members of the Religious Societies in London, Bristol, &c., in testimony against the errors of Universal Redemption, Sinless Perfection . . . by Joseph Humphreys, Bristol. Printed by B. Hickey, 1741.
 - (b) A Letter to the Rev. Mr. J. Wesley, by Joseph Humphreys, Bristol, May 7, 1741, to which is appended a Hymn on 'Election.
"O let us thank and praise
Jehovah's name always, &c."
 - (c) A Plain Account of the People called Methodists in a letter to the Rev. Mr. Perronet, Vicar of Shoreham in Kent (2nd edition) by J. Wesley. Printed by W. Strahan, London, 1749. 34 pp. Price 3d.

M. H. JONES.

NOTES ON THE STANDARD EDITION OF WESLEY'S JOURNAL.

III, 441. Cownley should certainly be Cawley. See "*Early Methodism in and around Chester*," p. 5. The error unfortunately disguises an interesting personality and tends to confuse with another.

IV, 60, f.n. Hampson senior was afterwards a dissenting pastor, etc. Hampson junior was Wesley's first biographer. Though this note is not actually wrong it is so badly arranged as to be very likely to mislead. The facts are set out correctly in VII, 394.

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IV, 303. At top of page, April should be March.

IV, 409. The word "touching" near the end of the footnote should apparently be "teaching."

IV, 446, f n 4. The article referred to is on Byrom and Wesley in general and does not deal with Chester at all, though the index number would appear to suggest that it does. The deletion of footnote 4, would be an improvement as the Magazine reference is given in footnote 3.

IV, 496, f n. What is the point of quoting J. G. W's. statement? It seems out of of harmony with the first part of the footnote.

IV, 517, f n. Index number omitted.

V, 31, f n. The particulars in this note are copied from an article by Thomas Marriott in the *Magazine*, 1837. I think the Editor is perpetuating a mistake when he follows Marriott in saying that Assistant superseded Helper. Superintendent superseded Assistant at a later period, but Assistants and Helpers are found at the same time. In *Minutes*, 1765, we have two classes of preachers; those who are Assistants, and those who are not. Were not the latter known as Helpers?

V, 140, f n. 3. The *this.*, delete "the."

VI, 32, 24-7.1774. Mr. Harvey, Finningley.

Following W.H.S., V. 203, the Editor identifies this Mr. Harvey with the owner of Finningley Park. I think it highly probable that it was the Clergyman of the Parish who desired Wesley to "give him a sermon." Note the phrase. The Rev. Edmund Harvey, of St. John's College, Oxford, was inducted into Finningley Rectory, April 6th, 1764, John Harvey, Esq. patron. A pious, diligent minister, rector 50 years. See *A memorial addressed to his friends and parishioners by the Rev. G. Harvey Woodhouse, 1877.*

VI, 77, f n. Why Cuberts?

VI, 311 f n. 2. The *Minutes* give the appointment for 1780 as Boothby and Hern. As the footnote stands it misses the significance of the remark which it quotes from my book on Chester. My remark was called forth by the order of the names.

VI, 311 f n. Read, W. E. Whitehouse.

VII, 519. At Dr. Coke's. (Diary).

There was no Methodist of that name in Chester so far as I know. The Dr. Coke landed at Liverpool on July 10. (*Drew's Life of Coke*, p. 214). His object in coming to England was to communicate particulars to Wesley. The letter to Henry Moore evidently arose out of the conversation between Wesley and Coke.

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Coke assisted Wesley in the Sacrament at Manchester on July 19.

VII, 179. 1 Col., 1, 10, should surely be 1, Cor., 1, 10.

VII, 375. For "Buck[ley] Hill now Knutsford," read "Bucklow Hill near Knutsford."

VII, 394, f n. The Conference grant to John Hampson was £12 not £10. See early *Minutes*.

VII, 455, f n. There is something strange here. On this date he was at Highgate. How then is a letter of that date addressed from Canterbury as the footnote apparently says?

VII, 493, f n. "Died of the guillotine." A queer expression!

VIII, 95. Index number missing in fn. 1.

F. F. BRETHERTON.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

557. WESLEY'S DIARY AND SAMUEL BEST.—(*Standard Journal*, vi, 478, and vii, 45).

On February 26, 1784 and January 21, 1785, Wesley records in his diary that he met Mr. Best. Light on Best comes to us from America. In the *Christian Advocate*, of New York, Mr. Riddell, Justice of the Supreme Court of Ontario, says that in the late sixties he knew by sight an Englishman at Coburg, who was earning a somewhat scanty living as customs house broker. He left some reminiscences in MS. which have come into Judge Riddell's hands. One of his father's neighbours at 'Wadsworth Common' used to invite him to meet John Wesley. Among the thirty or forty guests was an old man, Samuel Best, who knew his Bible by heart and was called 'Poor Help,' 'as an innocent-minded man.' The tea and evening passed pleasantly. Wesley gave an account of his voyage across the Atlantic, and at ten his coat was brought, and he shook hands with all. When he reached Mr. Best, he said, 'Why, Samuel, thee have been unusually silent this evening. I have not heard thee speak a word. There must be something remarkable on thy mind.' He replied, 'Yes, John, there is, and I cannot refrain from telling thee what it is. "Set thine house in order, for thou shalt die and not live."' Mr. Coventry says that Wesley did not receive this well, but that he died in less than a fortnight. Best's tombstone was in a church-yard near the Bricklayers' Arms, Kent Road.

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' Here lies
SAMUEL BEST,
commonly called
POOR HELP.

Aged 93.'

Mr. Coventry looked upon Best as a prophet. One day the King went to see him, with Lord Sandwich and two or three other eminent men. He told the King to write down Prov. xxv. 5. When they got back to St. James's, the King read out the verse, 'Take away the wicked from before the King, and his throne shall be established in righteousness.' Sandwich was very angry, but the King was his friend, and never suffered him to want. Best was born in 1738, and before he was fifty disowned his children and became an inmate of the workhouse at Shoreditch. He took the name Poor-help to describe what he regarded as his vocation. He was a visionary and enthusiast, probably a little touched with insanity. He removed to a house in Kingsland Road, where he was consulted by many of the upper classes. 'He professed to eat no food but bread and cheese, and to drink only gin tinctured with rhubarb. He spent his nights, as he claimed, in communion with the celestial powers. For the last thirty years of his life he was convinced that he was to be the leader of the Children of Israel to rebuild the city of Jerusalem.' He died in 1825.

558. WESLEY IN COLONEL BULL'S GARDEN, and the aloe in flower, 1737.—The Standard edition of the *Journal* inserts a passage omitted from the first edition published by Wesley. It is as follows:—

' Fri. 15 April, 1737

I walked over to Ashley Ferry, twelve miles from Charles-town, and thence, in the afternoon, went to Mr. Guy, the minister of Ashley, and to Col. Bull's seat, two miles farther. This is the pleasantest place I have yet seen in America; the orchard and garden being full of most of those sorts of trees and plants and flowers which are esteemed in England, but which the laziness of the Americans seldom suffers them to raise.'

The following appears in the *Gentleman's Magazine* of that year:—

Charles-town, July 6. In the garden of William Bull, Esq; lieutenant-governor of this province, in St. Andrew's parish, an aloe of the arborefcient kind is now in flower, and

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makes a most beautiful appearance. The flower-stem has grown about 24 feet in the last five months; the plant is about 29 years old.—*Mr. G. Brownson.*

559. JOHN PAWSON: A LETTER TO CHARLES ATMORE, DEC. 7, 1796.—The Rev. H. G. Godwin of Banbury has a collection of old letters of much interest. We have inserted in the *MS Journal* his complete transcript of the above. It contains a reference to the death of Mrs. Page, of Bristol, who is named ten times in *Wesley's Diary* (*Standard Journal*, vols. 2 and 8). But the main part of the letter expresses his opinion of "outrageous work at Liverpool," in connection with Kilham's agitation. We agree with Mr. W. Bainbridge's comment that it is "rather fierce in parts." There is also a reference to Mr. Thomas Olivers, aged 71, and his recent marriage, which some of his brethren thought injudicious. On this, Mr. Godwin has a note. Pawson's letters throw light on the conflicting opinions of the period, so we insert them in our *MS. Journal* for reference.

In Pawson's letter from Edinburgh, June 2, 1786, (see p. 107 of the present vol. xii *Proc.*) Mr. Page, in St. James' Square, Bristol, is named as the probable host of Atmore and Pawson.

560. ANTI-METHODIST TRACTS, NOT IN GREEN'S BIBLIOGRAPHY.
- I. A Plain and Familiar Dialogue between a Steady and a Wavering Christian Printed for the Author, 1749. Brit. Mus. Cat. 4014 d. 16. Directed against worship at the Tabernacle, Zeal, etc.
 - II. A Display of God's Special Grace in a Familiar Dialogue between a Minister and a Gentleman of his Congregation about the work of God in the . . . conversion of sinners so remarkably of late begun and going on in these American parts . . . with an addition, in a second conference, relating to sundry Antinomian principles beginning to obtain in some places (By J. Dickinson). To which is prefixed an attestation, by several ministers of Boston. Boston, N.E., 1742. 12mo. Brit. Mus. Cat. 4493 bb. 12.
 - III. A Comparison between the doctrines taught by the Clergy of the Church of England and the doctrines taught by Whitefield, Seagrave and others . . . London, 1741, 8d. B.M. Cat. 4106 c (58) 7.
 - IV. An humble Enquiry into the Nature of the Gospel Offer, Faith and Assurance occasion'd by some late Writings on the Subject. By John Lavington Junior. J. Buckland and T.

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- Field at the Wheatsheaf in Cheapside. 1/- Advertised in the London Chronicle; Aug. 21-23, 1759, p. 1759, p. 179.
- V. A Letter to the Editor and Publisher of . . . A Collection of Letters of the late Rev. Mr. James Hervey. A defence of Cudworth against Wesley, by Christianus, dated Aug. 21, published in London Chronicle as above, Aug. 23-26, p. 195.
- VI. The Seventh Number of The Grand Journal of the Lessons of Truth the God of the three People in the World, True Believers, Jews and Christians.

A wager of one hundred guineas is offered in the long advertisement contained in the Gazetteer, Oct. 1, 1760, to anyone who shall prove the Advertiser's propositions unintelligible or meaningless. One proposition is as follows:—

"The three words universal Sovereign Master, are the treble Adjective Name of Truth which is Jesus Christ; the single word Truth is the only Substantive Name of Jesus Christ, visible figure and masculine Nature of her invisible Substance, and feminine Nature, thus the Bridegroom, and the Bride, and his own life or Spirit under both these aspects; the two words Jesus Christ are the double figurative name of Truth, shewing the union of the two Natures 1 x + "

The whole is signed; John Baptist, the "Arch Teacher, Disciple of Truth his God, not the God of John Wesley."

The hundred guineas is still unclaimed.—

J. C. Whitebrook.

CORRIGENDA.—JUNE.

1. *Hull Evangelicals*, p. 125. Mr. I. Bennett, of Grimsby, calls attention to two dates. The date in *Notes*, p. 126 is correct. But on p. 128, for (1787) read (1797). To be exact, Joseph Milner was elected vicar on August 22nd, and died on November 15th, 1797. William Wilberforce, M.P., had much to do with Milner's election, and has some interesting entries on the subject in his diary. (*Life of W.* II p. 228).
2. On p. 128, for Caius, read Caius. On p. 126, third line, read Sabbatarian.
3. *Notes and Queries*, p. 144, Mr. G. Wray, of Grimsby, finds that C. Wesley's hymn (My God I know . . .) in eleven verses is in the Hymn-book of 1876.