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Transactions

of the

Baptist Historical Society.

The Life and Works of Mrs. Ann Dutton.

THE value attaching either to the career or the productions of Mrs. Ann Dutton is almost entirely due to the material they afford for literary research respecting her various correspondents. Even so, the most valuable portions of her letters are the addresses and the dates. Her works of mystic piety are curious productions: but their strangeness is more interesting to the psychologist than to the divine; and chiefly to the psychologist who is engaged in that limited field of research which extends from an emotion betwixt religious morbidity, despair, and exultation, towards a borderland of alienism never overtrodden by the object of investigation. To such a student, the details of Mrs. Dutton's career, her fevers, nerve-convulsions, marriages, separations, and the variations of her style with years, form a very useful object-lesson. For such an one, and for the use of persons who have to combat the dangers of ill-regulated enthusiasm, it is hoped that the following short sketch and bibliography may have more worth than the nature of its items would seem to promise.

Mrs. Ann Dutton was born at Northampton in 1692, if the indication afforded by her epitaph is

reliable. Therein it is recorded that, "as a shock of corn fully ripe she finished her course with joy on the 18th of November, 1765, aged 73 years." It is to be hoped that the dates are more accurate than the observations on the habits and emotions of shocks of corn!

In Burder's *Lives of Pious Women*, it is stated that she was the daughter of Mr. Dutton of Northampton. This, the only original portion of the long biography in that scarce work, is incorrect; her maiden name was Williams. In the account of herself from which Burder excerpts, she records that she had the advantage of a religious education, her parents being both gracious. With them she attended on the ministry of Mr. Hunt¹ at Northampton, and at his meeting was baptized.

She preferred—she tells us—religious exercises to the childish vanity of play with her fellows. This animosity against childish games (not peculiar to Mrs. Dutton, but manifested even by John Wesley, who forbade them to scholars under his control), was strengthened—she informs us—by quite understandable motives. "I have been ready," she says, "at times to bless myself thus, when I have seen other children at play, 'Well, others are employed about vanity, but I know better things.'" She deduces from this that she was "a proud worm"—her selection of the language of self-depreciation is always extraordinary—"a self-righteous creature, an awful stranger and enemy to God and the way of salvation." She was probably none of these, but simply a conceited little girl, whose whole future career was harmfully

¹ John Hunt (son of a minister ejected in 1662 from Sutton, Cambs.) was minister of Castle Hill Meeting-house from 1698 to 1709. He was a paedobaptist, and a keen Controversialist. He died at Tunstead, Norfolk, on 15 September, 1725.

affected by the lack of due physical expression suitable to her years. The development is duly recorded: "I began," she continues, "to be more airy and proud, and to please myself with creature vanities." It is difficult to define precisely what a minx is, but, as in all Natural History, a study of the individual example will help to an understanding of the species. An illness supervened, which removed the pride, if not the airiness, which may have been symptomatic. It was of the nature of a fever with "convulsions of the nerves." She came—she says—near death, within an hour of it; but neither unconsciousness nor speechlessness hindered her enjoyment of the analysis and repetition of her sensations. Her cure resulted from the use of an unworthy instrument. "An unthought-of means was proposed to my parents, who had given me up, and designed to use no more. But, however, being pressed to make another experiment, they yielded. My case was desperate, the remedy was so; a very skilful, though a very profane person, ordered it. I received the potion, and it put nature into a violent struggle for a time. Its operations were ordered for life; my convulsive motions ceased, and I strangely revived."

Thereafter she experienced less of the airiness, but a frequent desire to utter blasphemous expressions, and she was assailed by recurrent doubts whether prayer from herself, if not elect, was not an addition to her sin in the sight of God. Of these temptations, the former is common to the spiritual life led in solitude, idleness, or vacuity; it is age-old. The second was the fashion of the day, wherein the sequelae of Election gave much trouble: C. H. Spurgeon would have classed that particular temptation with the "dead devils now not worth fighting."

She became dissatisfied with the ministry of Mr.

Hunt, who really does seem to have been partially responsible for a very peculiar disciple; and she removed to a fresh communion with the Church of Mr. Moore,² another Northampton worthy. She found peace; and, if my diagnosis of her troubles is correct, it will prove that Mr. Moore was a younger man, more blessed with creature vanities than the other vessel.

At the age of 22 she married Mr. Coles; and really Coles might have done worse if he cared about "proud worms," for Miss Ann Williams was not lacking in reasons for self-appreciation. Her portrait, engraved by Hopwood, is in Vol. II. of Burder's *Pious Women*. It represents her tossing a very shapely little head, on which her own hair is tired high, to fall in large curly ringlets on either side of a smooth, well-poised neck. A silk gown, tight in sleeves and waist, is rucked in rolled chiffon, décolleté, with gathered sleeves ribboned at the insertion. Her expression is what our ancestors would have called "sprightly," and quite explains much of the airiness which she laments. It is pleasant to be able to feel that this was the agreeable wife of Mr. Coles, and that the Mrs. Dutton of the tracts was a mistake, trying to explain itself, and failing. With Mr. Coles she lived about five years, in London, then at Warwick, then again in London. Her autobiography records no piety of Coles; he is simply and vaguely described as "a gentleman." Probably she lived with him happily enough, and it is likely that he found her quite attractive. It was still the period of her "creature-vanities."

"He was suddenly removed from her"; a phrase

² John Moore, from Rawden, Yorkshire, an elder of the church of Rossendale, Lancashire, was minister at College Lane from December 1700 till his death in 1726. He was a Baptist; but the church admitted "open communion." The meeting-house was built in 1714: a hired room having formerly been occupied.

which implies his death without definitely asserting it, according to the stilted form of pseudopietistic phraseology. The primary facts of life and death all needed an allusive trimming in those days. Mrs. Dutton even uses the elegant locution, "First Birth" to avoid emphasising the mundane nature of her beginning.

During Mrs. Coles' sojourn in London she attended on the ministry of Mr. John Skepp, author of *The Divine Energy*, who was pastor at Curriers' Hall until his death in 1721.

Her residence in London terminated shortly after her widowhood. She married Mr. Benjamin Dutton, the youngest of the many children of Matthew Dutton. One of the volumes in the Dutton library at Great Gransden records, or recorded, that Benjamin was born on 12 February, 1691/2, that Matthew Dutton survived until April 11th, 1719, and his wife until the age of about 92 years, dying upon May 30, 1742.

Mr. Benjamin Dutton had been converted at the age of 17, and thereafter apprenticed to a clothier. With Mr. Dutton his wife lived at Northampton, Wellingborough, Whittlesey, and then, for a second time, and for three years, at Wellingborough. At the last-named place she enjoyed the friendship of a Baptist minister, Mr. William Grant.

In June, 1732, the couple removed from Eversholt to Great Gransden, a Huntingdonshire village, where Mr. David Evans had long been minister. The tomb of Mary Evans, his wife, daughter of Joshua Mead of Stoughton, in Gloucestershire, is close to that of Mrs. Ann Dutton, in the Great Gransden chapel ground. This chapel and the adjoining house were built in 1732, partly at the expense of Mr. and Mrs. Dutton, and there Mr. Dutton ministered. As early as 1725 he had preached; a record of a sermon delivered at

Cambridge in that year upon John xvi. 27, Psalm xxxi. 9, Proverbs xviii. 24, existing. In 1735 he journeyed to Rotterdam, preaching there.

From Great Gransden Mrs. Dutton scattered her tracts, pamphlets, and letters. Her chief literary production—which passed into a sixth edition—was entitled, “A Narration of the Wonders of Grace in Verse: to which is added a poem on the special work of the Spirit on the hearts of the Elect; As also sixty-one hymns composed on various subjects.” The “Narration” consists of 1504 lines, arranged in six parts, and reviews, from the standpoint of Supra-lapsarian Calvinism, the whole course of redemption, from the Eternal Purpose to the final glorification of the Elect. Almost every couplet is fortified with a scripture reference in the margin. The following is a favourable sample of the versification:—

“Oh! what will't be to see God's face,
 And feast on th' Riches of his Grace,
 Which are in Christ laid up, to be
 Unfolded to Eternity?
 Hope then shall to Fruition come,
 And Faith, as in its perfect Bloom,
 Shall into Vision changèd be,
 When we Jehovah's Glory see.
 But Love, unto Eternity,
 Will join our Souls to one in Three:
 When we shall see, and shall adore,
 Our God in Christ, for evermore.”

The “Poem” runs to 948 lines, in heroic couplets. The opening section may serve for a taste of its quality:—

“When God, the mighty Spirit, doth begin
 To save us influentially from Sin,
 He comes, as sent from th' Father and the Son,
 To do the Work design'd e'er Time begun.”

The Spirit keeps Election in his Eye,
 And knows exactly for whom Christ did die;
 And what the Counsels were in Heav'n above
 When he engag'd in Offices of Love.
 And thus he seeks, and finds the chosen Sheep
 The Father gave the Shepherd Christ to keep;
 And though among the Devil's Herd they lie,
 He comes resolv'd that there they shall not die."

As to the "Hymns," they are unqualified doggerel. Let three verses out of No. 49 suffice as a specimen:—

"Our God in Christ, his dwelling Place,
 A Strength is to his Poor,
 And needy Ones in their Distress,
 What can we wish for more?
 Whate'er Jehovah is, or has,
 He not only decreed,
 But gave in th' Covenant of Grace,
 To Christ and all his Seed.
 And since God's Power keeps the Saints,
 As in a fortress strong;
 And richly doth supply our Wants;
 Let's make the Lord our Song."

The friends of Mrs. Dutton were amazed at the energy with which at this time she applied herself to literary endeavour. Her eyes were weak; to write her pamphlets was difficult; but nothing deterred her. It is well-nigh impossible to suppose that—except for one or two of them—she found any large circle of readers. No criticism of her style is needed to support this denial; the rarity of the pamphlets points conclusively to very small impressions. Her publishers treated her with scant courtesy, producing her tracts and shortly afterwards the replies of her opponents. The one magazine venture with which she was con-

nected—*The Spiritual Magazine*—is among the rarest of literary curiosities. Of Whitefield she was a determined—almost an inexpugnable—correspondent. In his replies he expresses himself with invariable caution, sympathetically, but non-committingly. The first of these replies is dated from Philadelphia, 10th November, 1739. It begins with ominous raillery: "I owe you several letters . . . have patience with me and I will pay you all." Whitefield was not unaware of the context of his quotation. He proceeds to estimate his span of life as seventy years, and hopes to meet her *thereafter*. In the same strain—that of a very able master of language dealing very gently with a very tedious and exigent correspondent, he writes on 20th February, 1741, from the sailing ship *Minerva*, "My conscience often reproaches me that I have not written to you often enough nor full enough . . . I am sorry for it. We are now about a thousand miles off England. I hope this will provoke you to send me a letter immediately after my arrival." Of course no mid-Atlantic post carried his letter. His congregations in Georgia, he says, were once badly shaken, and he wishes she would send them a long letter. Her book on *Walking with God* had been blessed to one, Mr. B.—, and others, in South Carolina. On the same date he wrote to T.K., one of his congregation in London, rebuking him for a tendency to Quietism. He does not name his informant, although a perusal of the letter will indicate that an informant certainly existed. The continuance of this tattling to Whitefield was ultimately responsible for the secession from Calvinistic Methodism of Cennick, Cudworth, Collins, and Silverthorne, probably also for the waste of the vast energies of Ingham, and for all the trouble that befell the congregations at Forncett and Norwich.

The breach with Wesley about Election had been consummated before February 1741; and the building of the Tabernacle in Moorfields had been commenced, with much misgiving, in March of that year. It was completed sufficiently for worship in June, and on the third of that month there was added a Society Room, in which in 1744 and later Cudworth acted as schoolmaster. Whitefield was at this time in a perilous condition. To support his Orphanage he needed at least five thousand pounds a year; he was over a thousand pounds in debt; he was in danger of arrest for an overdue bill of exchange for £350 accepted by him; his booksellers influenced—it is said—by the Moravians, had refused to print for him; and always he had to reckon with the antagonism of his old friends the Wesleys.

His most prominent collaborator at the Tabernacle was Mr. John Cennick, then twenty-two years of age. God produces such men at the beginning of all great movements; they are the saints whose still strength upholds the men of action. What Keble, poet and mystic, was to Pusey and Newman, that also to Whitefield was Cennick, a poet of depth far vaster and a mystic not less devout. When Whitefield summoned Cennick to London in March 1741, "to a trying time in the church," he besought aptly "that the Lord might give us a due mixture of the lamb and the lion." The subsequent trouble proved that the lion could not assimilate the lamb, with the result of marked intestine convulsions.

In 1744, after William Cudworth had published his *Vindication of the Assurance of Faith*, Mr. Whitefield desired him to join him as a fellow-labourer. Cudworth undertook ministerial work in addition to the care of the School at the Tabernacle, and attached to Whitefield a small connection that had seceded from

the Scotch Church in Swallow Street, and which met at Peter's Yard in Castle Street, near Leicester Fields. But a certain woman "who pretended to extraordinary visions and revelations, frequently browbeat the young preachers." She procured the aid of Howell Harris, Ingham, and Adams in an embittered criticism of Cennick and Cudworth.

While Whitefield was at Plymouth, about to set sail for Georgia, he received letters of complaint from Ingham and Adams, and three letters from Mrs. Dutton—who may or may not have been the person above referred to; proof is lacking, and mere opinion is valueless. Whitefield returned the letters of Ingham and Adams to Cudworth and Mr. S—— for remarks. Mrs. Dutton he answered with an exquisitely humorous account of a brutal assault to which he had been subjected, expatiating on his notorious lack of personal courage; a baseless badinage of himself which he repeated on another occasion, in his account of the fashion in which he met the corsairs of the sea as a very militant but terrified cleric. No man could be less informative when he desired to be vague: and Whitefield left the divisions at the Tabernacle to be settled by the dividers.

When Whitefield reached America Mr. Dutton was already there. He had gone in 1743 to sell his wife's tracts. The pretext of course was ludicrous, but Mrs. Dutton seems to have been satisfied with it to the day of her death. It is precisely in this power to fit an explanation to the capacity and desire of the recipient that the skill of the student of men can be discerned. Mr. Dutton was actually in America in 1743, when one of his wife's tracts was published in Philadelphia.³

³ Whitefield had communicated to Mrs. Dutton rumours concerning her husband's conduct, which he afterwards discovered were unfounded. Letter of Oct. 9, 1741.

In October 1747 he had announced his intention to return to England. His absence had been long. The ship in which he sailed certainly foundered; for long his wife hoped that he had escaped. He was fifty-six years of age, and needed peace and rest. In any event, and whatever happened, he obtained it. Whitefield seems to have understood all. On 25 October 1747 he writes, without a word of regret, comment, or explanation, "Mr. Dutton, I believe, is lost in his return to England. The ship foundered."

The following year Whitefield returned to London, to find his congregations rent. With Cudworth he never resumed amicable relations; Hervey's efforts failed to procure a reconciliation. It is pleasant to know that the ill-will was not rancorous. The oil painting of Whitefield presented to Spa Fields Chapel was Cudworth's gift.

Perhaps the cessation of Whitefield's correspondence with Mrs. Dutton, and his chilly reception of the news of Mr. Dutton's death, may have been due in part to her correspondence with John Wesley. He wrote to her four letters, on 25th October 1739, on 25th June, 22nd August, and 23rd December, 1740. The last probably criticized one of her pamphlets, that mentioned by Wesley in his Journal on 4th Dec. 1740. On 6th January 1741 he records that he had read her letters; and on 28th February, 1741, he wrote to her what seems to have been the final letter of the correspondence. The letters were not printed, and their contents are not now known; but Mrs. Dutton's views on Election are antithetically opposed to Wesley's, and the warmth of his feelings upon that subject would probably have prevented any approach to amicable relations.

It is strange that Mrs. Dutton has recorded so few of the answers to her letters. It is not for her

biographer to suggest reasons; but an anecdote may be told. An old lady used to recount that she once had a conversation with the Duke of Wellington concerning his son's unhappy marriage. At last an incautious auditor asked, "And what did the Duke say?" "D—you" was the simple answer. Not all answers to pious letters are as didactic as the original provocations. The last considerable efforts of Mrs. Dutton's were aroused by the Sandemanian controversy. The Rev. Jas Hervey in his letter to John Ryland of 5th April, 1755, records the receipt of a long letter from her. He wisely ignored it.

Mrs. Dutton continued to reside at Great Gransden until her death on 18th Nov., 1765. She was buried in the Old Burying Ground there. A tombstone was erected to her memory by Mr. Christopher Golding, of Northampton Square, London, in 1822; which was replaced in 1887 by a new stone, still extant, the gift of Mr. James Knight, of Southport. The older monument recorded her twenty-five volumes of choice Letters to friends, and thirty-eight Tracts on Divine and Spiritual subjects.

She left the repute of a singularly patient, well-living old woman to survive her in the memory of friends who loved her. She bequeathed an endowment to the chapel, and 212 volumes of books, of which 197 remain. Mr. James Knight above mentioned is said to have bequeathed some of her books and manuscripts to the Library of the Strict Baptist Church at Southport.

[A Mr. Keymer was pastor of the chapel at Great Gransden from 1755 to 1771. I fear he is the same with T. Keymer, sometime of Norwich, friend of Wheatley, and author of "A Wolf in Sheep's Clothing." If so he was no saint.]

The complete bibliographical list of Mrs. Dutton's

publications includes about 50 titles, of which, however, two or three are of doubtful authorship. A few of these are known only from references in her autobiography, or from advertisements. A list of her correspondents may be found in Notes and Queries, 12th Ser. Vol. III., p. 79, and Mr. Wallington has published an account of her in the Proceedings of the Wesley Historical Society, Vol. XI, Part 2, for June, 1917.

A Bibliography of Mrs. Ann Dutton.

An asterisk denotes that the work was once included in the James Knight collection bequeathed to the Baptist Church at Southport. A dagger indicates that the work is mentioned in Mrs. Dutton's autobiography; a paragraph mark, presence in the British Museum Catalogue; double asterisk, the Congregational Memorial Hall Library; double dagger, the Angus Library. Other sources are named as occasion requires.

1. A Narration of the Wonders of Grace . . . to which is added a poem on the special work of the Spirit in the hearts of the elect, as also sixty-one hymns. . . . London, 1734, 8vo.†§

2nd ed. 1734, 8vo., pp. 143.§

3rd ed. 1735.*

4th ed. Corrected by C. G., London, 1818, 12mo.§

Another ed. Preface by W. Savory. Brighton, 1831, 12mo.§

New ed. With preface by J. A. Jones, Lond., 1833, 8vo.§

2. A Discourse on Walking with God, Joseph's Blessing . . . also . . . how the Author was brought into Gospel Liberty.*† 1735. pp. 170, 1s. 6d.

2nd edn, bound with 14. Lond. J. Hart, 1743, making pp. 222. In Yale Univ. Lib.

3. A Discourse concerning God's Act of Adoption, to which is added, A Discourse upon the Inheritance of the Adopted Sons of God. Among anonymous works, B.M. Cat. 4256 bb 18; heading 'Discourse.' 1735.*†

4. A Discourse concerning the New Birth, to which are added two poems, with epistle recommendatory by J. (i.e. Jacob) Rogers. 1740, 12mo.†§

2nd ed., 1740. With three poems.

3rd edition, in which the works are attributed to Thos. Dutton, late Minister in London. Dalry, 1803. This edition includes poems on Salvation . . . by Free Grace, on a Believer's Safety and Duty, and A Hymn on the Mercy and Grace of God. Subscribers' Names, 20 cols., pp. 172. In possession of author.

5. Occasional Letters upon Spiritual Subjects. Many volumes. Various dates. Vol. I., October, 1740; Vol. II., Feb. 9, 1742/3; Vol. III., 1743 or 1744; Vol. IV., 1746; Vol. V., 1747; Vol. VI., June 6, 1748; Vol. VII., 1749. Vol. VI. is B.M. Cat. 4402 bbb. 29. It is entitled "Letters on spiritual subjects and divers occasions sent to Relatives and Friends By One who has tasted that the Lord is Gracious." J. Hart, Popping's Court, and J. Lewis, Bartholomew Close, 1748. 2s.*†

The work is easily to be confused with No 29. Vol. III. contains various letters to Whitefield.

Reprint of some letters, edited by Jas. Knight, 1884.

6. A Discourse on Justification, Oct. 1740; dated 1741.

7. Letter to all Men on the General Duty of Love among Christians, pp. 52, 1742, 6d.*†§ Advertised in the Weekly History relating to the Progress of the Gospel for 1741.

8. A Letter to the Reverend Mr. John Wesley: In Vindication of the Doctrines of Absolute Election, Particular Redemption, Special Vocation and Final Perseverance. Pp. 88. 1742, 8vo.§ Advertised, price 8d., in the Weekly History for 1741. 2nd edn., 1743. Hart, Lewis and Gardner, 6d. 4 letters. In Wesleyan Conference Office Library.

9. A Letter to the Believing Negroes lately converted to Christ in America. 1742†

10. Letters to an Honourable Gentleman, for the Encouragement of Faith under Various Trials. 3 vols.

Vol. I., c. 1743; Vol. II., c. 1749; (Vol. III., later.*†

11. A sight of Christ necessary for all True Christians and Gospel Ministers. 1743.†

12. Thoughts on Faith in Christ. 1743.

The existence of this pamphlet is doubtful. The correct title is probably 'Some Thoughts about Faith in Christ. Whether it be required of all men under the Gospel. To prove that it is.'† This pamphlet was followed by another. See No. 20.

13. Meditations and Observations upon the eleventh and twelfth verses of the sixth Chapter of Solomon's Song. 1743. London, Angus Library, 21 g. 38(a).†

A later pamphlet on the same theme was written in 1748. See No. 27.

14. Brief Hints on God's Fatherly Chastisements, Showing their Nature, Necessity and Usefulness, and the Saint's Duty to wait upon God for deliverance when under His Fatherly Corrections. 1743.† In Yale Univ. Lib. See 2.

15. Letters to Mr. Wesley against Perfection, 1743, 6d. In Wesleyan Conference Office Library.

16. A Brief Account of the Gracious Dealings of God with a poor, sinful Creature, Relating to the Work of Grace on the Heart in a Saving Conversion to Christ and to some Establishment in Him. Part I., 1743.*†§

A Brief Account . . . sinful Creature. Relating to a train of Special Providence attending Life, by which the Work of Faith was carried on with Power. Part II., 1743.*†

A Brief Account . . . sinful Creature. Part III., 1750.*†

Parts I., II., and III. form B.M. Cat. 4902 bb. 33. All are replete with bibliographical details; and Part III., p. 149, contains a list of pamphlets published prior to 1750.

17. A Letter from Mrs. Anne Dutton to . . . Whitefield. Philadelphia. Wm. Bradford. 1743, pp. 11. Literary Company of Philadelphia.

18. A Letter to such of the Servants of Christ who may have any scruple about the lawfulness of printing anything written by a Woman. Pp. 12. 1d. 1743.*†

19. A Letter to all those that love Christ in Philadelphia. To excite them to adhere to, and appear for, the Truths of the Gospel.† Published prior to August, 1743.

20. Letters on the Being and Working of Sin in a justified Man. Circ. 1745.† See 48.

21. Letter on the Duty and Privilege of a Believer to live by Faith; and to improve his Faith unto Holiness. June 12, 1745.†

22. A Postscript to a Letter on the Duty and Privilege of a Believer to live by Faith, &c. July 7, 1746.†

To this pamphlet William Cudworth replied. Mrs. Dutton was much angered with the reply, "a very sophistical performance," and retorted with No. 26. William Cudworth's dialogue, "Truth defended and cleared from Mistakes, 1746, B.M. Cat. 1355 c. 11, closes the controversy so far as it took the form of pamphleteering.

23. A Caution against Error when it springs up together with the Truth, in a Letter to a Friend. 1746.†

24. Thoughts on some of the mistakes of the Moravian Brethren, in a Letter to a Friend. 1746.†

25. Letters on the Ordinance of Baptism. 1746.

This is probably identical with 'Hints concerning Baptism,' London, 1746. Angus Library, 21 g. 38 p. "Brief Hints concerning Baptism, 1746," are mentioned in her autobiography.

26. A Letter to Mr. William Cudworth. In Vindication of the Truth from his Misrepresentations. Being A Reply to his Answer to the Postscript of a Letter lately Published, &c. April 23, 1747.†

The Postscript referred to is No. 22 in this list.

27. Hints of the Glory of Christ as the Friend and Bridegroom of the Church: From the Seven last Verses of the Fifth Chapter of Solomon's Song, &c. 1748. Pp. 100. 9d.*† Angus Library, 21 g. 38 d.

28. Thoughts on the Lord's Supper. 1748. London. Angus Library. 21 g. 38 c.†

29. Letters on Spiritual Subjects and Divers Occasions. (By one who has tasted that the Lord is Gracious.) Pp. 288. 1748.§

Lond. G. Keith, 1749. pp. xxviii., 202 to 224. Yale Univ. Lib.

30. The Hurt that Sin doth to Believers, etc. 1733.*†
2nd ed. 1749.

31. A Letter on the Application of the Holy Scriptures. 1754. Printed by J. Hart, Popping's Court. Sold by J. Lewis of Paternoster Row.*

32. A Discourse on the Nature, Office and Operations of the Spirit of Truth. (No copy known. Reference in advertisement in No. 46. Published c. 1754.)

33. Five Letters to a New-Married Pair. 1759.*

34. Thoughts on Sandeman's Letters on Hervey's Theron and Aspasio. 1761, pp. 54.* Anonymous, "By an old woman." Noticed by Sandeman in his "Appendix to the Third Ed. of Letters on Theron and Aspasio," in complimentary fashion.

35. Divine, Moral and Historical Miscellanies, &c. Edited by A. D. 1761, &c., 8vo. B. M. Cat. 4409 h. 15 (1).

This is *The Spiritual Magazine* for 1761-3. Whether it is a continuation of 'The Divine Miscellany' published by Withers of Fleet Street in 1745 is worthy of investigation.

36. Letters against Sandemanianism and with a Letter on Reconciliation. Later than 1755.*

37. A Letter to Christians at the Tabernacle, n.d. The MS. is at the Cong. Library. The date is probably 1744.

38. A Letter on Perseverance; against Mr. Wesley, 1747.

39. Five Letters of Advice to Parents and Children, the Young and Aged, &c.

40. A Letter on the Saviour's Willingness to Receive and Save all who Come to Him.

41. A Letter on the Dominion of Sin and Grace.
 42. Letters on the Divine Eternal Sonship of Jesus Christ and on the Assurance of Faith.
 43. Letters on the Chambers of Security for God's People, and on the Duty of Prayer.
 44. Three Letters on the Marks of a Child of God.
 45. A Letter against Sabellianism.
 46. Salvation Completed and Secured in Christ as the Covenant of the People, Considered in a Discourse on that Subject.

Conjecturally Anne Dutton's. Cong. Lib. B. b. 36. London, 1753.

47. Wisdom the first Spring of Action in the Deity. A discourse in which among other things the absurdity of God's being acted upon by natural inclinations of unbounded liberty is shewn, &c. 1734, 8vo., pp. iv., 110.*

This is ascribed to Anne Dutton by an American bibliographer. The style differs from anything she has elsewhere written. B.M. Cat. 4224 cc. 17.

48. A Letter on . . . Sin in the Soul of a Justify'd Man, etc. 1745. To it is prefixed a recommendatory preface by William Collins, the obscure minister who left first the Tabernacle, then Fetter Lane, then William Cudworth's connection at Grey Eagle St., Spitalfields. He published two dialogues, wherein he sought to revive the doctrines of Baptismal Regeneration and Consubstantiation among Dissenters. He laboured some time at Wapping. Only copy in Cong. Mem. Hall Lib. See Nos. 20 and 30.

49. A Letter bound with above and 29, forming with them pp. 107-174. Possibly identical with No. 19.

50. Letters on Spiritual Subjects, sent to Relations and Friends. Prepared for the press by the Author before her death. To which are prefixed Memoirs of God's dealings with her in her last illness. In 8 vols. now publishing. (Only 2 vols. printed)* Whilst only two volumes were posthumously published, a third volume, otherwise similarly entitled, exists in the Cong. Mem. Hall Lib.; pp. 1-106 comprise 17 letters: 1-6 to Whitefield; 7, to Howell Harris, Mr. R—d and friends in Wales; 8, to Mr. C—r; 9, to Mr. B—r; 10, to Mrs. B—r; 11, to Mr. H—m; 12, to Mr. P—m; 13, to Mrs. P—m; 14, to Mr. G—t; 15, to Mrs. R—r; 16, to the dear family at Bethesda, 28 Feb., 1743. This contains references to the Spanish invasion of Georgia in 1742.

With this volume, published circ. 1745, are bound Nos. 48 and 49.

51. Wrongly ascribed to the Rev. Jas. Hervey. In the collected editions of that author's works, 1825, is included: "The Practical Improvement of . . . Justification, taken from a little piece entitled,

A Discourse on Justification, printed at London, 1740, which Mr. Hervey highly esteemed and warmly recommended." See No. 6.

52. Surreptitiously reprinted under the pseudonym, "The Rev. Thos Dutton"; the above, pp. x., 185, Wm. Smith, Glasgow, 1778. Has ten column list of subscribers' names. B.M. Catalogue, 4255 aaaa 41.

53. Surreptitiously reprinted under like pseudonym; "A Treatise concerning the New Birth" (see No. 4), Dalry, 1803. Copy in writer's possession.

OTHER SOURCES OF INFORMATION.

1. Notes and Queries. 12/S. ii. 147, 197, 215, 275, 338, 471; iii. 78, 136; v. 247; vi. 17.

2. Wesley's Journals. 1739, 25 Oct. 1740, June 25, Aug. 22, Dec. 4, Dec. 23. 1741, Jan. 6, Feb. 28.

3. Whitefield's Letters, 1771 edn. Vol. I., pp. 91, 250, 277, 328, 449; Vol. II., pp. 31, 32, 39.

4. The Gospel Magazine for 1771, pp. 377-381, contains a letter of Mrs. Dutton's, dated April 28, 1764, and that for 1772, another dated Nov. 7, 1735.

5. Wesley Historical Society's Transactions; June, 1917.

6. Biography by Rev. J. A. Jones, Minister at Mitchell St., London, 1833, with portrait.

7. Gibbon's Memoirs of Eminently Pious Women, 1804, Vol. II.

8. The same, re-edited by Samuel Burder, 1823, Vol. II.

9. The Welsh Calvinistic Methodist Record, 1852. Letter from Howell Harris to Anne Williams; Aug. 26, 1737.

J. C. WHITEBROOK.

"A List of Dangerous Persons."

In 1667 a long list of disbanded officers was drawn up, and may be found in the State Papers Domestic, volume 187, number 178. From this, Mr. Atkinson of the Presbyterian Historical Society sends the names marked An[abaptist]:—"Chillenden, Capt., London. Felton, Jo., Lt., Waterford. Foster, Wm., Capt., Yorkshire. Goffe, Lt. Coll., West Indies. Hoare, Major, Waterford. Mason, Capt. Newberry, Tho., Capt. Read, Lt. Coll. Rich, Nath., Coll. Sorrell, Capt., Suffolke. Yong, Lt. Coll.