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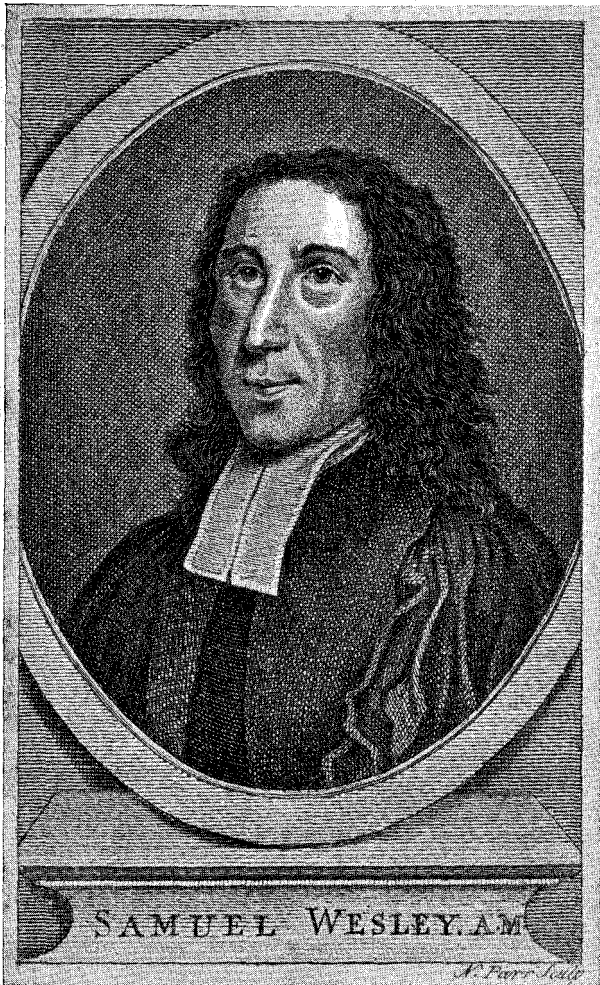
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THE REV. SAMUEL WESLEY, JUNIOR, M.A.

PORTRAIT OF
SAMUEL WESLEY, JUNR.

BORN IN LONDON, 1690. DIED IN TIVERTON, 1739.

This portrait, the only one, it is believed, issued in his lifetime, was prepared as a frontispiece to the second edition of his *Poems on Several Occasions*, published at Cambridge in 1743. Of the engraver, Nathl. Parr, very little is known. Most of his work was done 1723-47, and largely consisted of small portraits and book illustrations. The only large engraving by him is one issued in 1743, entitled "The King and the Miller of Mansfield," and it shows considerable merit. This portrait of Samuel Wesley, junr., is a very able example of the stipple process, though somewhat hard in tone, the smooth youthful forehead contrasting strangely with the deep wrinkle in the lower part of the face. In January, 1811, the *Wesleyan Methodist Magazine* reproduced this portrait, engraved by Ridley, considerably altered, that of his father having appeared in 1808. GEO. STAMPE.

SAMUEL WESLEY JUNIOR,

(Schoolmaster, High Churchman, Minor Poet)

AND HIS CIRCLE. 1690—1739.

According to the Rawlinson M.S. 406, in the Bodleian Library, Samuel, the eldest son of Samuel and Susanna Wesley was born in the house of his maternal grandfather, Dr. S. Annesley, on 10th February, 1690. The house still stands in Spital Yard, an opening between Bishopsgate Street and Spital Square, London. In this same house Susanna Annesley had been born, and from hence she was married on Monday, 12th November, 1688. Her husband when Samuel was born held a curacy at £30 a year, augmented by his ever busy pen. "Between the press and reading pew," he states, "I made a hard shift." A house at Newington, and then "lodgings" were taken, until, in August, 1690, the Wesleys removed with their first-born child to South Ormsby Rectory, Lincs., and dwelt, as the rector says,

In a mean cot, composed of reeds and clay

Near where the inhospitable Humber roars,

Devouring by degrees the neighbouring shores.

Here there was a stipend of £50 a year to live upon—'and one child additional per annum.' Concerning "Sammy's"

mulberry mark, favourite cat, and mute condition for about five years, Dr. Clarke and the *Arminian Magazine* tell odd and familiar stories. His mother—saint, High-churchwoman, disciple of Herbert and Ken, and thoughtful reader of Pascal—began his education when he was five, and continued to teach him until he was thirteen. Meanwhile the family had removed to Epworth Rectory (1697). There, in the year that his brother John was born (1703) and his father busy pamphleteering against Dissenters, a young clergyman, John Holland, was engaged to help in his preparation for a public school. Of this dissipated pedagogue's woeful end the rector tells his son in a letter, four years later. (Tyerman, S.W., 321, Kirk, 301.)

In the Rawlinson M.S. collection, Bodleian Library (J. vii., 197) there is a long and interesting letter by Samuel Wesley, junr., in reply to an enquiry from Oxford. Portions of this have appeared in the *W.M. Mag.*, 1869, and in an article by Mr. J. T. Lightwood (*W.H.S. Proc.*, II., 55). But a complete transcript is given by Dr. Augustin Leger in the appendix to his thesis, *La Jeunesse de Wesley*, (Hachette). Incidentally, this throws light on Samuel Wesley's mental methods, and suggests contemporary historical events which interested him. We can only afford space for a portion of this letter as follows :

I have not kept any regular Register of things & can only answer some of your Questions at random, & aim there or thereabouts, but perhaps my Mother & Brothers may supply any Inaccuracy.

I was born at Spittlefields Feb 10. in the year 90. I went to Westminster School the Day after the high wind 703—& by Bp Sprat's Favour got into the Colledge there. The late Earl of Nottingham recommended me to Christ Church in the Vacancy betwixt the Deanery of Dr. Aldrich & Dr. Atterbury in 1711 as I take it. At Queen Ann's Funeral, 1714, I went as an Usher to Westminster School at Dr. Atterbury's recommendation where I staid above 19 years. I took my two Degrees at the usual Times : & was ordain'd Deacon Dec. 23, 1716 & Priest Mar. 9. 1717. in K. Henry 7ths Chappell by Bp Atterbury.

It appears from this that Samuel was not an exemplary diarist like his brother John—though John's dates are not infallible—but memorizes in interesting fashion, by association. The "high wind of 1703" he could never forget. His contemporary, Daniel Defoe, was released from Newgate gaol just in time to describe it in his inimitably graphic style. It occurred Nov. 29-Dec. 1. It was probably the greatest storm of which a

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record exists in England. The loss of life and property was immense. 'There were as many people in mourning as if a great battle had been fought.' So many ships of the Royal Navy were wrecked that the House of Commons had to take special measures to restore the Fleet. On the estate of John Evelyn, the diarist, two thousand trees were destroyed. Bishop Kidder, who had succeeded the saintly Ken, was killed by the collapse of his palace at Wells. It made a deeper impression on Sam Wesley's brain cells than that great event to a boy of thirteen—his first day at a public school!

When Wesley entered Westminster School he found Dr. Thomas Knipe headmaster. He had been second master under Dr. Busby (d. 1695). Wesley probably witnessed Knipe's burial in the North Cloister. He was succeeded by a more noted man (1711), Dr. Robert Freind, best remembered, perhaps, for his steadfast friendship with Bishop Atterbury, and both names suggest the High Church, Tory, and Jacobite currents which run turbulently through the old school's history for the thirty years that Wesley was scholar and head usher in the days of Queen Anne and the first George. He came into close contact with the chief figures in the scenes so vividly described by the Whig historian, Macaulay, when Atterbury was banished. Samuel Wesley provokes us when he writes, "I have not kept any regular Register of things." What "things" he might have registered had he followed his brother John's example!

He was at Westminster as scholar and master during its most flourishing period. Under Freind's headmastership it reached a high point of numerical prosperity. The numbers in 1727 rose to 434.¹ While there can be no doubt of the educational efficiency of the staff, the social prestige of Robert Freind had, doubtless, much to do with the increase. His brother, Dr. John Freind, was the famous court physician who shared imprisonment with Atterbury. His wit and polished manners increased his popularity. His house became the resort of a brilliant coterie, as Samuel Wesley came to know. His political circle, chiefly High Church, Tory, and Jacobite, was large and influential. He originated the Foundress dinners in the College Hall. His boys delighted aristocratic assemblies with speeches and epigrams. At the dinner of 1728, five years before Samuel Wesley left, among the youthful speakers were twenty-five peers and six baronets.

1.—Mr. Telford, *Life of Charles Wesley*, says this was the highest record, but Bishop Newton, who was a schoolfellow of Charles Wesley, states that a few years later the scholars increased to 500.

But apart from this titular glory it is fair to add that the lists contain more really distinguished names than any other school of the period could have produced. As to Freind's learning, we only know that the tradition of it is rather painfully preserved in Westminster Abbey by the numerous long Latin epitaphs he wrote for other people's memorials. We should like to know what the critical head usher, Wesley, thought of Pope's derisive epigram on these verbose inscriptions by his Headmaster :

" Freind, for your epitaphs I'm grieved :
Where still so much is said,
One half will never be believ'd,
The other never read.

When Samuel Butler's monument was erected in the Abbey in 1721, the Usher, Wesley, composed the epitaph, and not the headmaster.² We conjecture that the majority of visitors to the Abbey much prefer Wesley's epitaph to any of Freind's !

Dr. Thomas Sprat, Bishop of Rochester and Dean of Westminster, mentioned by Wesley in connection with his election to St. Peter's College, was a man of note. What his "favour" had to do with the election does not appear. Welch's *List of Scholars, as they were elected to Christ Church, Oxford, and Trinity College, Cambridge*, records Wesley's entry to the school in 1704, and his election as a King's scholar, 1707. Forshall's *Westminster School* gives a full account of the methods of election, and Mr. Telford provides an excellent summary, based on this, in his *Life of Charles Wesley*. Dr. Sprat was now 73 years of age.³ He had been at Oxford with Wesley's grandfather, and was a link with the Commonwealth period. He had extolled Cromwell in every figure of rhetoric, of which he was master. But he entered orders after the Restoration, was made Bishop by Charles II, and became skilful in trimming and steering to every political gale.⁴ He was certainly a political High Churchman but not, confessedly, a Jacobite, though a friend of Atterbury. He was a writer of excellent prose, but Johnson's criticism of his poetry suffices us.

2. See W.H.S. *Proc.*, x, p. 194, and notes in Dodd's *Epigrammists on Wesley's, Pope's and Horace Walpole's parallel epigrams*, p. 340, ed. 1876.

3. G. J. Stevenson, in his *Memorials of the Wesley Family* (p. 235) states that Sprat "was an old Westminster scholar and Dr. Bushby's (*sic*) favourite scholar." But Dr. Johnson, in his *Lives of the Poets*, states that "He was born in 1636 at Tallaton, Devon, the son of a clergyman, and having been educated, as he tells us himself, not at Westminster, or Eton, but at a little school by the churchyard side, became a commoner of Waltham College, 1651."

4. *Abbey's English Church and its Bishops*, I, 150.

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Samuel Wesley, senior, in his *Letter to a Curate* (Tyerman, *Samuel Wesley*, 285), commends him as "One of the first masters of the English language." The Rector of Epworth had been ordained Deacon by Dr. Sprat in his Palace at Bromley (Aug. 7, 1688), but Dean Stanley, who had no prejudice in his favour, describes Sprat as "the most literary Dean since Andrews," in spite of his "eagerness against Milton and his liberality towards Dryden."⁵ He was the friend and biographer of Cowley, and, as we have noted, finds a place in Johnson's *Lives*. In these later years, when Samuel Wesley, junr., knew him, and read for him, we learn from Johnson, and from Abbey's *Lives of the Bishops*, that the worldliness by which his talents and office had been grievously sullied seems to have passed away. He became interested in scientific enquiry, a Fellow of the Royal Society, "passed his days in the quiet exercise of his function," as Johnson says, and commemorated his escape from the "Flower-pot conspiracy" peril by a yearly day of thanksgiving. Macaulay's criticism of him, however, remains very scathing.⁶

Such was the prelate to whom young Wesley became known as one of the most promising scholars in the school, and who selected him to be his reader and literary 'handyman' in his Palace at Bromley. Dr. Clarke appears to consider that most youths of nineteen years would consider this a great honour. In later years Wesley shows his appreciation of it, but at the time, to tell the truth, he felt bored by it. This appears from a Latin letter which he wrote to his father in Aug. 1710,⁷ which Clarke translates :

"Spending my last years in College, where being a senior, I do not need the hospitality of my friends, he has taken me away from my studies and from school. To-day he is from home else I should not have had time to write this letter. He chose me from all the scholars ; me, who am both hoarse and short sighted, to read books to him at night."

And not only at night, but by day Dr. Sprat took him to and fro in his carriage for reading and conversation by the way. On these journeys the Bishop would, doubtless, commend his favourite Cowley, "whom he considered a model, and supposed that as he was imitated, perfection was approached." (Johnson). Wesley followed this up later and praises Cowley for introducing

5. *Memorials of Westminster Abbey*, p. 525.

6. Macaulay : *Hist. Eng.* Chaps. vi., xiv and xvii.

7. Clarke's *Revised Edn. of Memoirs*, II. 144.

Pindar's style into English verse, and became his imitator, as his Odes addressed to Lord Oxford indicate. Sprat would be quick to perceive that young Wesley possessed a fair share of his family heritage of wit. The Bishop himself had some reputation for that quality. An anecdote is told in Noble's *Con. of Grainger*, (II., 83) that when Sprat was Chaplain to the Duke of Buckingham and dined as a young man for the first time at his patron's table, the Duke observed a goose near him, and remarked that he wondered why it generally happened that geese were placed near the clergy. "I cannot tell the reason," said Sprat, "but I shall never see a goose again without thinking of your Grace." A young Wesley would have been quite as ready in repartee. What Overton says of the more famous brother. John, might be applied to Samuel also: "It was a mark of his good breeding that he was never intoxicated by being brought into contact with the great." He was to meet many more of 'the great' when he returned from Oxford to the old School. But he retained throughout life the gracious humour which tempered intellectual wit. He had no regard for the affectation and display which played on the surface of social circles in the days of Anne and the first George like the colours on the scum of a stagnant pool. It was pitiful that the ecclesiastical conditions and book-world customs of that period should have driven him to come under obligations to "patrons." He sometimes indulged in satire on these, as in his lines :

Patrons afraid of sense, but not of vice,
Elate with pride, or sunk with avarice,
Patrons by villains sought, by slaves adored,
Scorned by the generous, by the good abhorred.

And in his poem on his father at Epworth, he wrote :

His blessing far outweighs
A courtier's patronage, or critic's praise,
Or a Young's pension, or a Dryden's bays.

But he was not always in a satirical mood, and we catch a pleasant glimpse of his simple social ideals in the following portion of *A Wedding Song* :

Ope the hospitable gate,
Ope for friendship, not for state,
Friends well chosen enter here,
Equal, affable, sincere ;

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Converse cheer the sprightly guest,
Cordial welcome crown the feast ;
Envy wit with candour fraught,
Laughter genuine and unsought ;
Jest from double meaning free,
Blameless, harmless jollity ;
Mirth, that no repenting gloom
Treasures for our years to come.

For his father's and mother's "spiritual letters" we must only refer to those printed in the well known *Lives* and *Memoirs* by Whitehead, Clarke, Stevenson and Kirk. Some of the original letters are in the collection of Mr. George Stampe, whose aid we may seek for some further notes on Wesley's very sincere religious convictions. Here we can only observe that he owed much to his mother for gently chiding him when he was in danger of drifting into the too ceremonious and conventional forms of his day. In a letter of 1710, when he was a King's scholar, he addressed her as "Madam." In his next letter he changed this to "Dear Mother," and on Dec. 28th his mother writes to him :

"Dear Sammy, I am much better pleased with the beginning of your letter than with what you used to send me, for I do not love distance or ceremony ; there is more of love and tenderness in the name of *mother* than in all the complimentary titles in the world."

It is refreshing to come upon letters like this mother's, and lines like her son's just quoted, in Queen Anne's somewhat stately and stuffy age, after excursions into some of the dry-as-dust book and pamphlet stores of that day, teeming with political and ecclesiastical microbes.

[In a second paper we purpose to continue enquiry into Samuel Wesley's work and opinions as clergyman, pedagogue and poet. As to the last, there is but little to add to Mr. Butterworth's interesting article which follows in this issue on p. 32].

THOMAS E. BRIGDEN.

THE POEMS OF SAMUEL WESLEY, JUNIOR.

Though the witty and generous usher of Westminster School enjoyed the friendship of many of the literary notables of his day, and though his poems ran through at least three editions, he and his stanzas are almost unknown to-day beyond the circle of the

students of Methodist history and hymnology, Yet readers with wider purpose may turn to his pages in sure hope of finding interest and profit, his aim being, as he states in the Dedication to the Earl of Oxford, "to promote the truest interests of mankind, religion and virtue." Humour and satire so abound therein that Churchill described our poet as "the modern Juvenal." Such was his facility in lampoons that he says

'Tis more one satire to keep in
Than 'tis to make a thousand.

Much of his satire is directed against the politicians of the day, especially Sir Robert Walpole—his "pet aversion." One brief epigram may be quoted for the sake of its modern suggestion :—

Four shillings in the pound we see,
And well may rest contented,
Since war—Bob swore t' should never be—
Is happily prevented.

Be he, now absolute become,
May plunder every penny,
Then blame him not for taking some,
But thank for leaving any.

One of his most humorous pieces is entitled "The Pig—a Tale" which ends with this sober advice to husbands :—

Boast not your empire, if you prize it,
For happiest he that never tries it.
Wives unprovoked think not of sway,
Without commanding they obey.
But if your dear ones take the field,
Resolve at once to win or yield ;
For Heaven no medium ever gave
Betwixt a sovereign and a slave.

The most severe invective in the volume is fired at Dryden :—

Not cursed, like syren Dryden, to excel,
Who strew'd with flowerets fair the way to hell
With atheist doctrines loosest morals join'd
To rot the body, and to damn the mind.
Sworn foe to good, still pleading Satan's cause,
He crown'd the devils martyrs with applause.

A little later occurs the line which John Wesley quotes in his *Journal*, Dec. 28th, 1789, "That makes vice pleasing, and damnation shine." It is interesting to find that both the brothers are seen quoting from their father's "Epistle concerning Poetry,"

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and that their parent must have seen the quotation in Samuel's "Verses upon my Father."

Other poems such as "The Basket," "Mr. Bear's Cat," "Dialogue between Thomas and his Cassock," and the two longest, "The Battle of the Sexes," and a translation of Homer's "Battle of the Frogs and Mice" contain abundant wit; but these must be passed by in favour of the verses "On Forms of Prayer":—

"Form stints the spirit," Watts has said,
 And, therefore, oft is wrong;
 At best a crutch the weak to aid
 A cumbrance to the strong.
 Of human liturgies the load
 Perfection seems to bear;
 The apostles were but weak when God
 Prescribed the form of prayer.
 Old David, both in prayer and praise,
 A form for crutches brings;
 But Watts has dignified his lays,
 And furnish'd him with wings.
 Ev'n Watts a form for praise can choose,
 For prayer who throws it by;
 Crutches to walk he can refuse,
 But uses them to fly.

"On the Death of a Friend, a Dissenter from the Church of England," contains some admirable sentiments:—

She knew belief and practice well agreed,
 Nor, to observe commandments, lost her creed,
 For branches never bear without a root,
 Who tears the vine up to secure the fruit?

This recalls the letter of Lady Mary Montagu, in which she says that she has heard that a motion is to be submitted to the Houses of Parliament to take the "nots" out of the commandments and "clap them" into the creed. But the elegy on the good Dissenter is sadly marred by pitiful bigotry. After expressing his regret that he had not been the means of rescuing her from Nonconformist errors, Wesley gives thanks that death had accomplished this desired result:—

Now the true church in purity she owns,
 Nor starts at bishop-angels on their thrones!
 The one Communion void of fault describes.
 The film for ever vanish'd from her eyes;
 Now after death at least a convert made,
 Too good for those with whom on earth she stray'd!

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“To a Friend in the Country, who complained of his condition, and admired high spirits in low fortunes,” our poet says some wise things :

My mind I may to fortune bring,
Not fortune to my mind.

How seldom is our good enjoy'd,
Our ill how hardly borne,
When all our fancies are employ'd
To kick against the thorn !

But sure, ourselves aright to see,
True wisdom well may bear ;
'Tis nobly great to dare to be
No greater than we are.

Sir Herbert Powell, Bart., upon his going to travel receives this advice :—

Religion, first, be made your utmost care,
Nor drop your native faith in foreign air ;
Nor, like the fluttering triflers of the town,
Go forth with little, and come back with none.

When back return'd let not your whole discourse
Assert the privilege of travellers ;
Nor strange relations of adventures give,
Which few delight to hear, and none believe.

The following excerpt from “A Letter from a Guardian to a Young Lady,” should be of interest to-day to Red Cross workers :

And thus if we may credit fame's report,
The best and fairest in the Gallic court.

An hour sometimes in hospitals employ,
To give the dying wretch a glimpse of joy,
To attend the crowds that hopeless pangs endure
And soothe the anguish which they cannot cure.
Better import this custom out of France,
Than the last top-knot or the newest dance.¹

In one of his letters to his wife, Charles Wesley says : “I have been deeply engaged in my brother's manuscripts,” and proceeds to give one “On the Death of his Child,” but the selection of this piece was due to its suitability rather than its merit. “You will see how exactly this suits me, if you only put Patty instead of Nutty.” Much more merit belongs to the verses “Upon altering the Psalms, to apply them to a Christian state,” but only one may here find place :

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His Psalms unchanged the saints employ,
Unchanged our God applies ;
They suit the apostles in their joy,
The Saviour when he dies.

"The Parish Priest" contains some excellent sentiments, and a description of the parson's hospitality that reminds us of Goldsmith's well-known passage. The "Lines on Robert Nelson, Esq." whose famous work on the fasts and festivals of the church John Wesley read so carefully in Georgia, and the severe strictures "On Dr. Middleton," whom our Founder condemns with equal strength (see *Journal*, Jan. 29th, 1749), deserve attention. The Epithalamic is a style of composition to which our author was so addicted that he was obliged to admit :

Though wedding songs have almost drain'd my store,
That scarcely can I find one lesson more.

In sharing the bridegroom's joy he never forgets to mingle with it winsome counsels, and perhaps none wiser than the following :

Many are arm'd 'gainst fate's severest blows,
Whom every petty cross can discompose,
Each day our life must little evils meet ;
Who knows not how to bear them, makes them great.

But time is that the relation of Wesley's *Poems* to Methodist Hymnology and History should receive notice. The "Verses on Isaiah xl, 6—8, Occasioned by the Death of a Young Lady," if seldom sung, well deserve their place in our present Hymnary at the beginning of the section on Death (No. 822) ; and the "Hymn on the Sabbath" is still heard in our worship. But the graphic strains "On the Passion of our Saviour" have lost the place they had in the last edition of our hymn-book, and so it has fared with the three² in earlier editions, "A Hymn to God the Father," "A Hymn to God the Son," and "A Hymn to God the Holy Ghost,"—possibly because of their venturesome theology. It is some slight compensation to find lines of these discarded hymns were borrowed by Charles Wesley, e.g., the last verse of our Hymn 34, only altered in the second line ; the daring words "Our God contracted to a span" in our hymn 133, and the familiar passage, "Almighty to create, almighty to renew" are

1. See a very interesting passage in John Wesley's sermon "On visiting the Sick," in which he highly praises the noble ladies of France, and commends their example to the whole world. "For many years we have abundantly copied after the follies of the French. Let us for once copy after their wisdom and virtue."

2. In three of Wesley's *Sermons* there are verses from two of these hymns,

taken from our author's "Hymn to God the Son," Other lines are easily found, but only one may be quoted. In the first verse of his "Hymn on Easter-Day" is the line "To set in blood no more," and the last verse begins thus:—

In vain the stone, the watch, the seal
 Forbid an early rise.

Samuel Wesley's love of the old home at Epworth was proved by many a generous deed and by many a gracious strain. His "Verses upon my Father" pay a fine tribute to the old rector's worth, and thus begin:—

Let praise salute his ear,
 The only truth he never wish'd to hear,
 Let but a father read with favouring eyes,
 And bless me yet again before he dies.

In his "Satire against Snuff," the son makes an apology for blaming what his father liked too well, and seeming to slight "a parent's sacred name." It is remarkable that his sister Keziah, poor injured Delia, was an inveterate snuff-taker, and to her he addressed another satire on the same pernicious habit. The mock-heroic poem on Wroote is humbly inscribed to Miss Mehetabel Wesley, who also possessed poetical gifts of a high order, and this unfortunate sister, when become Mrs. Wright, received a reply to her "Invective against Marriage," which contains some pathetic stanzas. The still more unfortunate Mrs. Hall, just before her fatal union, is entreated to learn the dictates of a brother's care. "To my sister Lambert on her Marriage," is in a happier vein. Charles Wesley was honoured in two of his eldest brother's poems, as well as helped in several ways, one of the poems being "An Elegy on Mr. Charles Wesley," a smart piece of badinage on the missionary's departure to Georgia, and the other "A Poetical Epistle to my brother Charles," dated April 20, 1732, containing the following mention of the Oxford Methodists:—

Has your small squadron firm in trial stood,
 Without preciseness, singularly good?
 Safe march they on, 'twixt dangerous extremes
 Of mad profaneness and enthusiasts' dreams?

It is well known that our author corresponded with his brother John,³ but the only direct allusion to him is in the poem last quoted:

3. A large number of letters from Samuel to John are found in *Wesley's Works*, vol. xii. The *Standard Journal* has also many references to him: see *Index*, vol. viii

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Does John beyond his strength presume to go,
To his frail carcass literally foe?
Lavish of health, as if in haste to die,
And shorten time to insure eternity?

An indirect allusion to him, or his clerical helpers, seems to be intended in another place :

A parish priest—not of the pilgrim kind,
But fix'd and faithful to the post assign'd.

It is disappointing to discover that in not a single line is there a reference to his clever mother to whom the poet owed so very much in his early life ; but that the argument from silence must not be held to prove want of filial love is clear from his letters and the *Journal* of Charles Wesley, March 2nd, 1737.

All readers of John Wesley's *Journal* will remember that in the Preface is given our author's poem "On the Death of Mr. Morgan, of Christchurch, Oxford," with the omission of six lines and the slight alteration of another. This, like the other poems of our author, was read by John Wesley in Georgia. Elsewhere Samuel Wesley devotes another passage of twenty-one lines to Mr. Morgan, but of less pleasing character :—

Does Morgan weakly think his time miss-spent?
Of his best actions can he now repent? *et seq.*

To the great founder of the colony of Georgia our poet was deeply attached, as may be seen in his "Ode to James Oglethorpe, Esq., in the Country, A.D. 1728," "The Prisons Opened, occasioned by the glorious proceeding of the Committee of the House of Commons appointed to inquire into the state of the Gaols of this Kingdom, in the year 1728, humbly inscribed to James Oglethorpe, Esq., Chairman," and "An Ode to James Oglethorpe, Esq., written soon after the death of the Lady Oglethorpe, his mother," in which the statement made by her Ladyship to the poet himself concerning the death of Charles II, and repeated in John Wesley's *Journal*, December 11th, 1772, is thus given :

Sleepless she guards her sovereign's dying hour,
Nor starts a moment from his honour'd side.
Charles to no saint his dying soul commends,
Nor owns conversion to the papal sway ;
No Romish priest, no Huddleston attends,
With useless unction his expiring clay.

Though "thrown from her place" for persisting in her statement, she never wavered.

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In conclusion there are three poems by our author, not included in the volume used in the preparation of this paper, viz., "Georgia, a poem"; "Tomo-Chichi, an ode"; and a copy of verses on "Mr. Oglethorpe's Second Voyage to Georgia"; but all that the present writer knows of these is the extract given by the Rev. Thomas Jackson in his introduction to the *Journal* of Charles Wesley.

R. BUTTERWORTH.

Appended are the eight quotations from our poet to be found in John Wesley's *Journal*, but usually somewhat altered:—

From "The Cobbler, a Tale," he takes the last six lines: (Feb. 23, 1745).

Loss, disappointment, passion, strife,
Whate'er torments or troubles life,
Though groundless, grievous in its stay,
T'will shake our tenements of clay,
When past, as nothing we esteem;
And pain, like pleasure, is but dream.

From the "Battle of the Sexes," canto xxv, he quoted:

"He roared, and would have blushed, if capable of shame."
(July 13, 1761).

And from Canto xi:

"For when had youth the leisure to be wise?" (Feb. 18, 1787).

From "Verses on Isaiah, xl, 6—8," he quotes the sixth quatrain
"Let sickness blast and death devour." *et seq.* (Aug. 1, 1766)

From the lines devoted "To the Memory of the Right Rev. Francis Gastrell, D.D., are borrowed the following: (Nov. 28, 1750).

"Listening, attentive, to the wretch's cry,
The griefs low-whisper'd and the stifled sigh."

The lines "On Mr. Hobbes" supplied the quotation: (May 25,

"The smallest grain of sand, and spire of grass." 1768).

The two remaining excerpts are from our author's clever epigrams, the former being a translation from Gregory Nazianzen:

"But death hath quicker wings than love," (Nov. 10, 1749.)
and the other from "The Monument:

"If on his *specious* marble we rely,
Pity a worth like his should ever die;
If credit to his *real* life we give,
Pity a wretch like him should ever live." (Feb. 25, 1771.)

“THE WEEKLY HISTORY.”

As a contemporary chronicle of one period of the religious revival of the eighteenth century, in which George Whitefield, Howel Harris, John Cennick, Joseph Humphreys, Thomas Adams, and others, took part, *The Weekly History*, and its continuations—issued in different format and perhaps not so well known—are of considerable interest. It seems probable that Whitefield himself was responsible for the establishment of the paper, and it is certain that it enjoyed his active support and was used by him as a means of making his work known to his followers.

The first number of this paper is entitled :—

Numb. I.

The *WEEKLY HISTORY*: | OR, | An Account of the most Remarkable Parti- | culars relating to the present Progress of | the Gospel. | By the Encouragement of the Rev. Mr. WHITEFIELD. |

Printed by *J. Lewis* in *Bartholomew Close*.

The size of the paper is small folio, and each issue (excepting one) consisted of four pages, numbered [1] to 4. The first fourteen numbers are not dated, but No. 15 is dated *Saturday, July 18, 1741*, so that No. 1 would have been published on April 11th. The price, one penny, is not stated on the first, but is printed on all succeeding numbers. The only issue containing more than four pages is No. 66, July 10, 1742, which is described as “*A Double Number*.—Price Two-pence,” which has eight pages in consequence of “so much *glad Tidings of great Joy* coming from *Scotland*, hath oblig’d us to make a double Paper this Week.” In this are letters from Whitefield to “Mr. Abbot,” written from Edinburgh June 4th, and three written to John Cennick, giving accounts of his preaching at Edinburgh, Glasgow, Kilsyth and other places.

The words “By the Encouragement of the Rev. Mr. Whitefield” were omitted after No. 14. The paper evidently met with a ready sale and many numbers were reprinted. Comparison of the sets in Dr. Williams’s Library and the Memorial Hall Library shows clearly that in the latter Nos. 1-15 are re-set copies, for many of the pages in these do not correspond with the other set, lines being carried over from page to page. No. 1 in Memorial Hall is “The Second Impression.” The line “By the Encouragement,” &c., does not appear on any of these re-set copies, and there are other minor alterations. From No. 16 the

two sets examined are the same. No. 4 [May 2, 1741] in Dr. Williams's Library is "The Third Impression" (but evidently a *reprint*, for the copy in Memorial Hall was *re-set*) and must have been published after May 30th, 1741, for in it are references to the contents of succeeding numbers, including "The eighth Number (which was publish'd May 30, 1741)." In it also is the following interesting notice from the printer:—

Note. Those who think fit to take this Paper in every Week, I believe, will find many things both useful and entertaining. The Rev. Mr. *Whitefield* intends to supply me with fresh Matter every Week; and another Reverend Gentleman, well known and as well respected, does me the Favour to correct it. I purpose not to put in things of my own Head, but to submit (as a Professor ought) to my spiritual Directors. When Mr. *Whitefield* goes to *Georgia*, I shall take care (by Divine Assistance) to insert faithfully whatsoever the Lord shall direct him to send for that Purpose. And I intend to ask him to leave me Materials to supply this Paper while on his Voyage, 'till he is in capacity of sending me fresh Supplies.

Lewis had a high estimate of Whitefield's influence for in the mention of Number 8 he says it contains:—

An Account of the Success of the Rev. Mr. *Whitefield's* Labours in *New-England*; and the Respect he has there met with:—A Demonstration that God is with him of a Truth; and that he hath not sent a Man like him into the World, since the Time of that great Reformer, Dr. *Martin Luther*.

The only matter in Number 1 of *The Weekly History* is the first portion of a Sermon on Acts xi, 23, preached by Isaac Chanler, "Minister of the Gospel on Ashley-River, in the Province of South-Carolina" on July 30, 1740, and in the interval of waiting for Whitefield's letters this was continued in Nos. 2 and 3. In the following number is a letter from Whitefield written from Bristol, dated "April 25, 1740" (an evident misprint for 1741), to a friend in London, in which he describes his work in the West of England. The remainder of Chanler's Sermon fills three more issues. Many numbers of the paper contain letters written to Whitefield from friends in America and elsewhere which he sent to Lewis for publication. The latter speaks of having to defer certain communications as "so many Accounts came from the Reverend Mr. Whitefield this week."

John Cennick was a frequent contributor and sent long accounts of the persecution which he and others experienced in

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Wiltshire, in September, 1741, and at Upton St. Leonard's, near Gloucester, the year before. Many of Whitefield's letters to Cennick are also printed. Number 71, August 14th, 1742, contains a short, but interesting, obituary notice of Thomas Cole, who was for twenty-four years minister at the Southgate Street Chapel, Gloucester, and an intimate friend of Whitefield. Following this is a poem on Cole, written by John Cennick. There are altogether twenty-one letters from Whitefield printed in *The Weekly History*, dated between April 25th, 1741, and September 16th, 1742. Eleven of these are addressed to Cennick. Comparison with the Collected Edition (1771-1772) of Whitefield's *Works* shows that fourteen letters out of the twenty-one are not printed there, the majority being those written to Cennick. In the seven which are printed in the *Works* occur many changes in the wording as given in *The Weekly History*.

The last number of *The Weekly History* in this form was Number 84, November 13, 1742, which contains the following announcement :—

Note. Now this first Volume is finish'd, we purpose (by God's Leave) to begin the next Volume in a more commodious Manner; and (as we are likely to be furnished with more Materials) we intend therefore to let our Readers have more Reading for their Money every Week than they have heretofore had.—It is to be printed in a neat Pocket Volume; and to be deliver'd (*every Week, as it was at first*) at the *Tabernacle*, and at *Peoples Houses*, at the Price of *One Penny*. The large Title, which was us'd to take up so much Room, will be left out, which will make more Room for useful Reading.

In its altered form the paper was now published in duodecimo and apparently is scarce. None of the issues have been found in the British Museum, Dr. Williams's Library, or the Methodist Book-Room, and so far the only ones seen are six in the Memorial Hall Library. These, which had not been recognised as forming a continuation of the earlier paper, are bound in one volume, the title of the first number being :—

AN | ACCOUNT | Of the Most | Remarkable
Particulars | Relating to the PRESENT PROGRESS | OF THE
| GOSPEL | Vol. II. | LONDON : | Printed and Sold by
JOHN LEWIS, in | *Bartholomew-Close*, near *West-Smithfield*. |
MDCCLII.

The title is included in the pagination, the complete number containing pp. 1-84, A to G in twelves. There is no other date

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than that on the title, but it would seem that the subscribers could obtain one sheet each week, for on the verso of the title to Numb. II. Vol. III. the printer stated :—

ADVERTISEMENT. Those who take these Papers are advised to preserve them clean, for binding.—Three Numbers (which makes one complete Pocket Volume) are to be finish'd in 21 Weeks, from the Beginning.

In a few instances only do the letters and communications end on the last page of any sheet. The letters are not arranged in order, the first being dated "Oct. 20, 1742," followed by others written in the August preceding, while the latest is dated "July 19, 1743."

The numbers, dates, and pagination of the six parts seen are :

[Number I.] Vol. II. 1742. Title, one leaf, pp. [1-2]; An Account, pp. 3-83; Advertisement, p. 84.

Number II. Vol. II. 1743. Title, pp. [1-2]; Account pp. 3-81; Advertisements, pp. 82-84.

Number III. Vol. II. 1743. Title, pp. [1-2]; Account, pp. 3-75; A Table to the Second Volume, pp. 76-82.

Number I. Vol. III. 1743. Title, pp. [1-2]; Account, pp. 3-84.

Number II. Vol. III. 1743. Title, Errata, and Advertisement, pp. [1-2]; Account, pp. 3-84.

Number III. Vol. III. 1743. Title and Advertisement, [pp. 1-2]; Account, pp. 3-79; A Table to the Third Volume, pp. [80-84].

Tyerman, in his *Life of Whitefield* (ii. 107), refers to an advertisement appended to "No. 3, vol. vi., 1744" of this publication, but the volume number and date do not seem to range with those of the two above. The reference may be a misprint for vol. iv., though as no others have been seen it is not possible at present to follow the publication of this series further.

The first number of "An Account" contains a long letter from Whitefield to Mr. Willison, of Dundee, "giving his Sentiments about the Oath of Supremacy, a Catholic Spirit, &c.," which is not printed in the *Works*. The remaining letters from Whitefield's pen, seventeen in number, are all printed in the *Collected Works* though again there are numerous differences in the readings. In No. I of Vol. 3, is an interesting account covering ten pages of "*The Order of the Letter-Day at the Tabernacle, on Monday, May 30, 1743.*" The other numbers are

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almost entirely filled with copies of letters addressed to Whitefield.

The third, and last, form in which this periodical was issued is entitled :—

THE | Christian History : | Or, a GENERAL |
ACCOUNT | OF THE | PROGRESS | OF THE | GOSPEL,
| In ENGLAND, WALES, SCOTLAND, | and AMERICA : | So
far as | The Rev. Mr. WHITEFIELD, his Fellow- | Labourers,
and Assistants are concerned. | . . . Luke ii. 10. |
LONDON : | Printed and sold by JOHN LEWIS, in
Bartholomew-Close, | near West-Smithfield. 1747. | Where
may be had, All the Letters relating to the Pro- | gress of
the gospel, that have been printed since the | last arrival of
the Rev. Mr WHITEFIELD in England.

The Christian History is octavo in size, the type is smaller, and the paging is continuous throughout the one volume completed, being Title pp. [1-2], *History*, pp. 3-237, and a note on p. [238]. The paper is not numbered or dated until page 127, where "Jan. 1748" is printed on the top, followed by Feb. on p. 143, March on p. 159, April, p. 175, May, p. 191, June, p. 207, and July, p. 223, all for 1748. The first letter in the volume is dated January 17, 1746, and the last but one July 12, 1748, so that the title page seems to have been printed before the series was completed. On the last page [238] there is a note as to Whitefield's doings after his arrival in London from the Bermudas on Monday, July 3, 1748, followed by the announcement :

N.B. This is the last Number of the *Christian History* that will be now printed, so that the whole may be bound together in One Volume.

Whitefield continued to print his letters in the *Christian History*, which contains twenty-one, dated from May 2, 1746, to May 17, 1748. Of these, eight are not included in the *Collected Works*, some being those which were written from the Bermudas.

ROLAND AUSTIN.

WESLEY AND ANNE DUTTON.

The name of "Mrs. Dutton" occurs several times in Wesley's *Diary of 1739-41*. There is evidence that the entries refer to Mrs. Anne Dutton, a Calvinistic controversialist, an opponent of Wesley's teaching on Free Grace and Perfection, a writer of religious verse and of a vast number of spiritual letters

which filled twenty-five printed volumes !¹ Her biographer, the Rev. J. A. Jones, says,² "Her epistolary correspondence was most extensive, throughout England, Scotland, Wales, Holland, America, &c. ; so that after her death several sacks, full of letters, were found, which were all burnt." There is direct proof that she wrote several times to Wesley, and that he replied to her letters.

Mrs. Dutton, whose maiden name was Williams, was born about 1695 at Northampton, and was married first at the age of 22 to a Mr. Cole, and then to Mr. Benjamin Dutton, a Baptist pastor, who in 1733 settled at Great Gransden, Hunts. In 1743 Mr. Dutton went to America for the purpose of soliciting help towards the struggling cause at Gransden ; but on the return journey the ship went down, and he was drowned. Mrs. Dutton, who had already become known by her writings, continued to live at Gransden after her husband's death, and died there in 1765. She is buried in the garden of the house which was used as a meeting-house before the present chapel was built. A new stone to her memory was erected in 1887 by the late Mr. James Knight, of Southport.³ She left an endowment to the cause at Gransden, and also 200 volumes of old Puritan divinity.

Mrs. Dutton came into touch with Wesley, Whitefield, Seward, and others in the early years of the Evangelical Revival. Wesley does not refer to her by name in any of his publications, but the clue which has now been found was suggested by the following diary entries. On Oct. 25, 1739 (*Standard Journal*, ii, 299), an entry states "Writ to Mrs. Dutton." This is repeated on June 25, Aug. 22, and Dec. 23, 1740. On Dec. 4, 1740, an entry occurs, "Read Mrs. Dutton's book" ; while on Jan. 6, 1741, he writes, "Read Mrs. Dutton's letters." On Feb. 28, 1741, there is another entry, "Writ to S[ister] Dutton."

1. Lieutenant J. C. Whitebrook, a contributor to *Notes and Queries*, 1916, has sent to Mr. Brigden a reprint of the *Bibliography* of Anne Dutton, with additions, making the number of her identified publications forty-seven. Unknown to each other, Lieut. Whitebrook and Mr. Wallington have been on the same quest.

2. *A Narrative of the Wonders of Grace* : in Six Parts . . . to which is added a Poem on the Special Work of the Spirit in the Hearts of the Elect; also Sixty-one Hymns composed on Several Subjects. By Anne Dutton. A New Edition, revised, with a Preface and Collected Memoir of the Author. By J. A. Jones, Minister of the Gospel, Mitchell Street, London. 1833. There is also a portrait.

3. He also issued a volume of her *Letters*, and at his death is said to have bequeathed a nearly complete set of her works to a Baptist chapel at Southport.

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What was "Mrs. Dutton's book" which Wesley read? Mr. R. Heffer, of Saffron Walden, who possesses several volumes of her *Letters*, now very scarce, and to whom I am indebted for much information, says: "In 1735 she published

A Discourse on Walking with God, in a Letter to a Friend, together with some Hints upon Joseph's Blessing, as also a Brief Account how the Author was brought into Gospel Liberty. By A.D.

Probably this is the book Wesley refers to, as it had a wide circulation. Whitefield wrote to her concerning it: 'I bless God that I saw you at Gransden. The Lord was with us. . . Your book on *Walking with God* has been useful to me, and blessed to others in South Carolina, &c.'

The entries in the later Wesley diaries (unfortunately missing) would possibly show that further correspondence took place between Wesley and Mrs. Dutton. In 1743 she published anonymously a booklet entitled

Letters to the Reverend Mr. John Wesley against Perfection, as not attainable in this life. [Phil. iii. 12]. London: Printed by J. Hart in Poppings Court, Fleet Street, and sold by J. Lewis, in Bartholomew Close, near West Smithfield; and E. Gardner, at Milton's Head in Gracechurch Street, 1743. Price Sixpence.

This work is quoted by Rev. Richard Green (*Anti-Methodist Publications*, No. 153), but he had not seen a copy, and it is of course marked "Anon." There is a copy, however, at the Wesleyan Conference Office Library. Each of the four letters in the booklet begins by acknowledging a missive previously sent by Wesley. A few quotations will indicate Wesley's line of argument and incidentally give some of his actual words:

The first letter begins:

Rev. Sir,—Yours I received, and can't but apprehend that absolute Perfection is asserted therein as attainable, and attained by some in this life. If you, Sir, or any other have attained such Christian Liberty as to be "free, not only from Fears and Doubts, but from Deadness, Dulness and Heaviness, Wanderings in Prayer, and from every Motion and Affection which is contrary to the Law of Love," you must needs be perfect, absolutely so. . . . And that such a Perfection is attainable, or attained by any in this Life, is what I can in no wise agree to. It is certainly contrary to the Experience of all the Saints that I have been acquainted with, or heard of. . . .

In the second letter she writes :

“ Yours I received, and give you hearty thanks for that and all other testimonies of your respect to unworthy me. Indeed, Sir, I am grieved to hear you still maintain, what in my Thoughts is contrary to the Truth of God’s Word ; and to say you know more instances of it daily.

“ Dear Sir, you may remember that according to your former, the Account you gave me of Christian Liberty was this : ‘ That when we had attained it, we are then free, not only from Fears and Doubts, but also from all Faintness, Coldness, and Unevenness of Love, both towards God and our Neighbour. . . .’ And you say, ‘ I could bring many Arguments to prove this also. But I dare not ; neither is it needful.’

Indeed, Sir, I have no mind to maintain a Dispute. It is as disagreeable to me as it can be to you. . . . But I think it a little strange that you should say ‘ I dare not.’ If what you assert is the Truth of God, and part of that faith once delivered to the Saints, why should you be afraid to argue, yea, to contend earnestly for it? . . . Thus, Sir, you have my Thoughts ; judge as you can. Only take it not amiss that I have so freely imparted them. In Love I offer them to your consideration, with a desire after your Edification, if the Lord please.”

It is evident that Wesley regarded Mrs. Dutton as a sincere and influential opponent. In the next letter he described to her the pernicious effects of the doctrine of “ Stillness ” among the Moravians⁴ and also among many of his own followers. Her answer is a practical endorsement of nearly all that he had written,

‘ I am glad you express so great a regard to the sacred Oracles, and take the Weapons of your Warfare out of this Armoury in that good work you are now engaged in, viz., in contending against those Doctrines you mention, which some of late have asserted.’

In the fourth letter she replies at length to some doctrinal questions that Wesley had asked her (heading it “ Reverend and dear Brother ”), and concludes, “ Wishing you all Joy and Peace in Believing, and all Assistance, Success, and Defence in our Dear Lord’s work. I am, Sir, yours in Him for Ever, &c.”

There is no further evidence at present of any later letters passing between Wesley and Mrs. Dutton. In the previous year,

4. In 1746 Mrs. Dutton herself wrote a pamphlet, *Thoughts on some of the Mistakes of the Moravian Brethren.*

however, 1742, she had published (also anonymously)

"*A Letter to the Rev. Mr. John Wesley* in Vindication of the Doctrines of Absolute Election, Particular Redemption, Special Vocation, and Final Perseverance." [See No. 146 in Green's *A.M. Publs.* for full title.]⁵

This was advertised in the *Weekly History* for Feb. 6, 1742.

Concerning its publication, Mrs. Dutton writes :

"When I began this letter I designed to send it to him in writing ; but being enlarged beyond my expectation . . . and as I had some doubt whether he would have patience to read it, and hence some fear that it might be of little use. I spread the case before the Lord, and entreated Him to tell me if He would have me send the letter to Mr. Wesley in writing for his own use only, or in print that others might see it together with him ; and the answer I received from the Lord was this : "Bind up the testimony, seal the law among my disciples." By which I was fully satisfied that it was God's will that I should print it."

In her Autobiography, under date October, 1740, she says : "The Lord opened a door for me to write many letters to the Methodists, and likewise blessed them to many souls." One of these was William Seward,⁶ who in his *Journal of a Voyage from Savannah to Philadelphia, and from Philadelphia to England* (1740) says (p. 57) :

"Wrote several letters, particularly one to that choice servant of Christ, Mrs. Ann Dutton, of Great Gransden . . . When I had finished the letter I providentially read one I had from her in May, 1739, full of such comforts and direct answers to what I had been writing that it filled my eyes with tears of joy."

Mrs. Dutton issued at least one more tract against Wesley's doctrine : "*A Letter on Perseverance*, against Mr. Wesley, 1747." I can find no trace of this pamphlet anywhere (except in the *N. and Q. Bibliography*, see below), and it is not mentioned by Green even by name. Information about it would be welcome.

With Whitefield she was on much more friendly terms. As we have seen, he paid a visit to her at Gransden, and several of his letters to her are published in the 1771 edition of his *Works*.

5. My authority for identifying this and the previous booklet as by Mrs. D. is found in her own *Brief Account of God's Gracious Dealings with the Author* ; in three Parts : a copy of which is in the British Museum. In Part III of this she gives a list of her publications up to the year 1750. The *Letters on Perfection* are numbered No. XV ; the *Letter to the Rev. John Wesley* No. IX ; and the *Letter on Perseverance* No. XXVII.

6. Whitefield's friend and fellow-labourer, who is usually called the first Methodist martyr,

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They will be found in Vol. i, pp. 91, 250, 277 (in this letter he asks her to write to several persons whom he names), 328, 449; ii. 31, 32, 39 (?). The Calvinistic views which they both shared would of course help to continue their friendship, and after the Free Grace controversy had opened, Mrs. Dutton's books were advertised in Whitefield's paper, the *Weekly History*. There is a passing reference to her also in the *Life of the Countess of Huntingdon*, i, 63.

Another pamphlet relevant to our inquiry, issued by Mrs. Dutton, was written in 1747 in opposition to William Cudworth, who had (1746) replied to one of hers. She called this reply of his "a very sophistical performance," and issued a spirited retort. Cudworth answered this by a tract in dialogue form, and this apparently closed the controversy. This dialogue is entitled "*Truth Defended, and Cleared from Mistakes and Misrepresentations.*" Tyerman, i, 482, and following him, Green (*A.M. Publ. No. 201*) refer to this as being an answer to Wesley's *Dialogue between an Antinomian and his Friend*; but I think they are in error as to part of the booklet, for the copy before me gives the *personae* as "A.D." and "W.C."—"A.D." being of course Anne Dutton. Pages 33 to 52, however, are probably intended as an answer to Wesley, who, as we know, particularly disliked Cudworth.

Mrs. Dutton also joined in the Theron and Aspasio controversy, and issued in 1761 *Thoughts on Sandeman's Letters on Hervey's Theron and Aspasio*, besides a booklet of *Letters against Sandemanianism*.

As a hymn-writer she was given a paragraph in Julian's *Dictionary of Hymnology*, though it would be difficult to say on what grounds, except that a line of her poetry possibly inspired B. Beddome's hymn, "Faith is a precious grace." At any rate the following first verse of Hymn 42 in her *Hymns composed on Several Subjects*, which is a fair average verse, does not impress us with her talents in this direction:

"God as a Father dear
His children doth correct,
Because they're full of failings here,
That they may them inspect."

A slight biography of Mrs. Dutton (giving principally her spiritual experience) appeared in Gibbons' *Memours of Eminently Pious Women*, 1804 (vol. ii.), a work which was reprinted in three vols. in 1823, edited by Rev. Samuel Burder, M.A. In both editions there is a very good portrait. In *Notes and Queries*, Sept.-Dec., 1916, there are several interesting references, and two of the replies give a Bibliography of her works. (See *N. & Q.* Oct. 21 and Dec. 9). These mostly appeared anonymously, and are now very scarce and much sought after.

ARTHUR WALLINGTON.