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A 'MANUAL' PURCHASED BY JOHN WESLEY
 IN 1732.

ILLUSTRATION

FROM SPINCKES'S "TRUE CHURCH OF ENGLAND
MAN'S COMPANION," 1722.

In October, 1732, John Wesley records his purchase of a copy of this *Manual of Devotions* for 3/- We reproduce the frontispiece and title-page (reduced facsimile) because the finely engraved portraits are of 'eminent divines' mentioned by Mr. Harrison in his article which follows. In the original, the pale lines of our print are in red ink. The book itself is interesting to those who have copies of Wesley's first publication, his *Forms of Prayer*, which, says he, "I printed for the use of my pupils." Some of the 'forms' are from this book. The portraits and book also relate to the devotional type of Non-Jurors who, as Mr. Harrison points out, influenced Wesley in "these formative years."

T.E.B

WESLEY'S READING DURING THE
VOYAGE TO GEORGIA.

Wesley spent 3½ months on board the *Simmons* in the journey from Gravesend to Savannah. Part of the time they were held up in the Channel, in part they were driven by violent storms, but the days were filled with prayer, song, pastoral oversight of the passengers, and reading. As the whole period from 1735 to 1738 is of the greatest significance in Wesley's career, it is interesting to know what books he was reading on the voyage. They were as follows:—

Lives of *Francis Xavier*, *Gregory Lopez*, and *Second Spira*.¹

à Kempis. *Imitation of Christ*.

William Law. *Christian Perfection* and *Serious Call*.

1. For Wesley's abridgement of this see *Arm. Mag.*, 1783. Green's *Bibliog.* Clarke's *Wesley Family*.

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- Bishop Patrick. *Book of Devotions for Families and Particular Persons.*
 George Hickes. *Reformed Devotions.*
 Daniel Brevint. *Missale Romanum.*
 Jeremy Collier. *Reasons for Restoring some Prayers.*
 Thomas Deacon. *Complete Collection of Devotions.*
 Robert Nelson. *Companion for the Festivals and Fasts of the Church of England.*
 John Johnson. *The Unbloody Sacrifice.*
 William Wall. *History of Infant Baptism.*
 John Gother. *Sinner's Complaints to God.*
 Pasquier Quesnel. *The New Testament, with Moral Reflections on every Verse.*
 John Norris. *A Treatise concerning Christian Prudence.*
 August. H. Francke. *Nicodemus,—A Treatise against the Fear of Man.*
 " " *Pietas Hallensis.*
Theologia Germanica, and some German Grammar.

This seems a fairly heavy programme of reading for such a voyage, especially when parts of these books were read aloud to other passengers for their good. One notices at once that the list is entirely ecclesiastical and liturgical. Of all the 20 books it may be said, "no room for mirth or trifling here." A closer scrutiny reveals some more significant facts. Five of these writers were Non-Jurors, three were Roman Catholics, the others (with the exception of the German books) tended to the views of the Anglo-Catholic School. Even Father Quesnel's notes on the New Testament, which had been condemned by a Papal Bull, were translated by a Non-Juror, Richard Russell, who had been driven from his Sussex living in 1716, after the invasion of the Old Pretender. Two of the Non-Jurors, William Law and Dr. Deacon, were known to Wesley. He had been introduced to the latter by John Clayton, whom he had visited at Manchester before setting sail for Georgia. Clayton had told him in a letter, dated Sept. 10, 1733, that Deacon's book of Services was in the press. It appeared in 1734 and is a curious production. It is based on the Liturgies of the Early Church, and the Prayer Book of the Church of England. Of early Liturgies the Apostolical Constitutions has the place of chief importance, and the first prayer book of Edward VI is followed. In doing this Deacon treads closely in the steps of Jeremy Collier and then proceeds to go beyond him. It is clear, also, that he had been influenced by Hickes, Wall and Johnson. Indeed he quotes at the end of his book in support of

his position both Hickes and Collier along with many other divines, among whom we find Bishop Andrewes and Samuel Wesley. He believes in prayers for the dead, as do Collier and Hickes. He regards the Eucharist as a Material Sacrifice, as do Johnson and Collier. It is, however, to be noted that they deny the doctrine of Transubstantiation, and therefore it is possible that Wesley might have agreed with all these writers and at the same time have approved Brevint's *Missale Romanum*, which he was reading at the same time. Although Brevint vigorously attacked the Romish doctrine in that book, he held a high view of the Eucharist, as may be seen from his preface which Wesley afterwards put at the front of his collection of *Hymns on the Lord's Supper*. Johnson says on this subject "The Bread and the Wine are consecrated unto the Sacramental Body and Blood of Christ by the secret operation of the Holy Ghost." He wrote his book on *The Unbloody Sacrifice* because Hickes and Nelson were worn out, or too old to take up the task. He calls in to his defence Bishop Patrick, who had said in an early work, "the Bread and Wine of the Eucharist is an offering out of the stock of the whole congregation to this service, according as it was in the times of the Primitive Church." It is clear that all these writers belong to the Laud-Andrewes School, but Deacon is an extremist. He follows Collier again in declaring that the Sacrament must be reserved for the sick, "kept under a safe lock" and the remains of the elements carefully eaten and drunk." He follows Collier, too, in the admixture of water with the wine in Communion, and both put Gen. iv, 3-4, as the first of the offertory sentences. In the details of his Baptismal Service we see the influence of Wall² in his insistence on trine immersion both for children and adults. We know that Wesley accepted the same view from the references in the *Journal*. I, 167, 210, 211. Deacon here followed the first Prayer Book of Edward VI. The priest was to blow on the child's face and to exorcise the evil spirit with oil. He was to make the sign of the Cross over the water and afterwards the baptised person was to be clothed in white and given consecrated milk and honey. This latter practice symbolised the entrance into the Promised Land. Wall quotes Tertullian in defence of it. In Deacon's book of services are forms for the Consecration of the Oil and of the Milk and Honey.

Deacon established a non-juring Church on these high ecclesiastical lines in Manchester, and was very friendly with two fellow Mancunians who appear in Wesley's *Journal*, John Clayton

2. II, 381.

and Dr. Byrom. In the 1745 Rebellion three of Deacon's sons supported the Young Pretender as he himself had supported the Old Pretender 30 years before. After the failure of the revolt, one of the sons was executed and his head exhibited at the Exchange (see *Oxford Methodists* p. 46); another was transported for life and another died while awaiting trial. Deacon himself (b. 1699) died in 1753. He had been ordained by Jeremy Collier (1650-1726) who is best known in English Literature by his great attack on the Restoration stage. He was the chief of the Non-Jurors after the death of Hickee (1642-1715). Hickee himself was regarded by his co-seceders as the bishop of Thetford and in his *Reformed Devotions* issued the work of John Austin a Roman Catholic as it had been revised by a lady of quality, (Susanna Hopton). To a Wesley student the interesting part of his preface to the 1706 edition is his reference to the Religious Societies "of whose Rise and Progress, the world hath lately had an account by the Reverend Dr. Woodward, Minister of Poplar. It is to the votaries of these and such like Societies, in Colleges, Cities, or Families that I particularly recommend this Book of Devotions." We find a hymn printed for each day of the week. The matter of them is poor enough doggerel, but the metres are L.M., C.M. and 8.8.6. 8.8.6., with a few tunes printed at the end. There is no doubt that Wesley sang over these hymns to these tunes both on board ship and in Georgia. How much they influenced him in making his first collection only a student who has imitated him would be able to say. Wesley published an edition of the whole book without the tunes in 1750. Nelson (1656-1715.) was a friend of Hickee, who also supported the Religious Societies and like others of this circle was greatly interested in the formation of the S.P.C.K. and the S.P.G. He returned to the Established Church from the fold of the Non-Jurors in 1710. His clear and readable book on the *Fasts and Festivals of the Church of England* had even more editions than Hickee's *Reformed Devotions*. It reached its 36th edition in 1826. In 4½ years, from its first publication, 10,000 copies were sold.

The books of Patrick and Gother (a Roman Catholic) were similar books consisting of prayers and meditations for special people, and for special occasions and state of mind. The influence of Patrick is perhaps seen in Wesley's use of ejaculatory prayer. The Bishop of Ely gives such ejaculations "At hearing a Passing Bell," "At Candle Light," etc.

Similarly Norris on *Christian Prudence* and Francke *Against the Fear of Man* (Nicodemus) go together. Norris, (Rector of

Bemerton, 1687-1711), the English exponent of Malebranche, and the German pietist, belong to the School of the mystics rather than of the ecclesiastics. It is here that we come across the other factor that was then at work in Wesley's mind. This was strengthened by his association with the Moravians. The *Theologia Germanica*, too, marks the same influence at work. In later years Wesley found a middle course between the extremes of mysticism on the one hand and high ecclesiasticism on the other. The two methods of approach to religious truth are, of course, by no means mutually exclusive. Sacramentarianism and mysticism have often gone hand in hand. Nor can the Non-Jurors as a group be regarded as High Churchmen. As a matter of fact Jeremy Collier's book provoked a violent division of opinion in their camp. William Law, too, moved steadily in the direction of German mysticism.

We cannot assert that Wesley's own mind is completely represented at this time by the books that he was reading. Probably he never accepted all the conclusions of Dr. Deacon. At the same time it may be argued by comparing this list of books with Wesley's general procedure in these formative years, that his spiritual home at that time was with that group of High-Church Non-Jurors, with an outlook towards Halle and the German Pietists.

Eight of the books Wesley read on the voyage were republished by him in some form or other.

A. W. HARRISON.

[MARY] BOSANQUET'S LETTERS.

I have a beautiful copy bound in tooled calf with a red leather label, "Bosanquet's Letters" Within are two inscriptions in Mrs. Fletcher's autograph (1) "John Fletcher," (2) "Mary Tooth, Given her 1806." My uncle, the late Dr. Edward Riggall, has also written: "The Rev. John Fletcher's copy of his wife's (née Bosanquet) writings, presented to Miss Tooth by Mrs. Fletcher after his death."

The vol. is 12mo., and contains the following separate publications:—

1.—AN AUNT'S ADVICE TO A NIECE, in a Letter to Miss x x x x x x x x x x. Also some Account of a Correspondence with the late Rev. DR. DODD, During his Imprisonment. BY MARY

BOSANQUET. THE SECOND EDITION. * * * Leeds : Printed by J. Bowling, & Sold by J. Binns, in Briggate. 1780. pp. 75.

NOTES :

This pamphlet is probably now very rare. Our W.H.S. members may, therefore, like to note a few particulars about Miss Bosanquet's Correspondence with Dr. Dodd given on pp. 69-75. She prints her first letter to him and his last to her, prefacing thus : "Nothing was farther from my intention, at the time of writing this letter, than the making it public ; but some persons have (I scarcely know how) got copies of my first letter to the Doctor, and his last to me, from which they have drawn false inferences : Some saying I have signified he could not be saved ; others that I looked on his state as highly Christian. *Neither is true.* I will therefore, according to the advice of my friends, permit the letters to answer for themselves."

Her letter begins thus :—"Dear Sir, Let it not surprize you in this tremendous hour to be accosted by an old, perhaps forgotten, but still sympathizing Friend." It is a charming letter, in every way ; compassionate as if her Lord had dictated it, faithful and searching as the sword of the Spirit. One is tempted to re-write it in full for the mere pleasure of transcribing the glowing sentences. Miss B.—had evidently known Dr. Dodd in former years. She says : "I remember when I was about fourteen, the season in which I was favoured with your most intimate acquaintance, you once told a story which I shall never forget, concerning one of the Scotch Divines, who said on his death-bed, *If every stone, timber, and nail in this house could speak, they would bear witness to the many hours of sweet communion my soul hath spent with God therein.* O, Sir! can the beams of your house bear witness that your enjoyments have been such as eternity shall ripen? and this heavenly disposition, you must be sensible, can alone fit us for the enjoyment of the New Jerusalem. No object can give pleasure, unless it meets with a sense which suits and apprehends it. The grain of corn is more welcome to the fowl than the richest pearl. So to the soul whose treasure is yet on earth, the beauties of the lovely Jesus shine in vain."

A careful comparison of this letter with the "Account of the late Dr. Dodd," written by John Wesley, and printed in the *Arminian Magazine*, July, 1783, seems to make it very probable that Mary Bosanquet's faithful and loving correspondence was the main factor that resulted in his conversion (or re-conversion) to God.

After the letter she says : " By a series of correspondence, almost weekly from the above date [which, by the way, she does not transcribe] till within three days of his execution, I had reason to believe he felt a contrite heart, and found the sinner's Friend to be his.—June 25th, [1777] he wrote me his last farewell as follows :—

" My dear Friend, On Friday morning I am to be made *immortal!* I die with a heart truly contrite, and broken under a sense of its great & manifold offences, but comforted & sustained by a firm faith in the pardoning love of Jesus Christ. My earnest prayers to God are, that we may meet and know each other in that kingdom, towards which you have been so long and so happily travelling. I return you my most affectionate thanks for all your friendly attention to me, and have no doubt, should any opportunity offer, you will remember my *excellent*, but most afflicted partner in distress [his wife]. I do not know where to direct to worthy Mr. Parker, but beg to trouble you with my dying love & kind remembrance to him. The Lord Jesus Christ be with our spirits, *Amen.* W. Dodd."

I wish to call the special attention of my co-workers in Wesleyana research to Miss Bosanquet's closing paragraph, as follows :—

" Soon after the Doctor's death, I received from a faithful Minister of Jesus Christ, who constantly attended him, a very encourageing account in which he declares he believes him to be singing the Song of the Redeemed ; and concludes his letter with the following words : ' Thus ended the mortal, and began the never-ceasing life of your old and my new friend. And I bless God our Saviour for this new proof of his saving grace, and the power of his precious blood. The time is elapsed ; I have written more than I intended ; and yet not a tenth part of what I could. You may be comforted, as I have been richly. Your and my fears are at an end. May the God of all grace keep your and my heart in the knowledge of him, yea, cause us to grow in grace and love. This is the earnest prayer of

Your affectionate friend, and willing servant in Christ."

The question arises,—*Who wrote this letter?* I suggest either (1) John Wesley, or (2) Chas. Wesley, or (3) Rev. — Parker.

Wesley says [*Arm. Mag.*, 1783, p. 360] :—" A clergyman (Mr. P.) being desirous to see the last of him, prest on, though with much difficulty and danger, and kept near him quite to the place of Execution. One of his fellow-prisoners seemed to be in

utter despair. Dr. *Dodd* forgetting himself, laboured to comfort him and strongly applied the promises. After some time spent in prayer, he pulled his cap over his eyes, and sinking down, seemed to die in a moment. I make no doubt, but in that moment the Angels were ready to carry him into Abraham's bosom. JOHN WESLEY."

Taking the last sentence into account and the fact that the whole article was "Some Account of the late Dr. *Dodd*," I think the penultimate sentence referred to *Dodd*. The *Mr. P.* alluded to by Wesley was probably the Mr. Parker mentioned in *Dodd's* last letter to Miss Bosanquet.

For Wesley's authorship as to the letter quoted in part by Miss B., it may be argued that we know Wesley had never seen Dr. *Dodd* until he visited him in prison. See *Arm. Mag.* 1779, p. 435, also 1783, p. 358. And cf. the sentence in the letter to Miss B.: "Thus ended the mortal, & began the never-ceasing life of your old and *my new friend*." Again "Your affectionate friend, & willing servant in Christ,"—the last sentence of the letter,—quite befits the cordial friendship which we know existed between J. Wesley and Mary Bosanquet in 1777. Is there any evidence that Mr. Parker and M. B. had ever met? I know of none.

On the other hand it may, perhaps, be argued that Miss B. would lose no time in conveying Dr. *Dodd's* "dying love & kind remembrance" to Parker, and that under the stress of emotion and sympathy he may have written a long account of the execution to her and concluded in this (for him, a stranger) rather effusive style. Again, "The time is ELAPSED," and the whole of the sentence, is not quite in Wesley's usual style. (I do not remember "elapsd" in any other letter of his). And yet, it seems quite consonant with Wesley's economy of time that he should write with his watch before him!

Another point which leans towards Wesley's authorship is, that if Parker had written the letter there seems no reason why, his name having already occurred in Dr. *Dodd's* letter, Miss B. should not have given it. "A faithful Minister of Jesus Christ" well describes Wesley from her standpoint. Again, she says this faithful minister had "constantly attended him." Wesley explicitly mentions *three* visits, and there may have been even more than three. (cf. the first paragraph in his "Account," *Arm. Mag.* 1783).

Then again the writer of the letter says: "You may be comforted, as I have been richly. *Your and my fears are at an end.*" This accords with par. 3 of Wesley's "Account"; and this

fact seems of considerable argumentative force.

Another point seems to have a bearing on the question of the authorship. Dodd begins his last letter with "On Friday morning I am to be made *immortal*" [*Italics his.*] The letter-fragment we are analysing and discussing begins: "Thus ended the mortal, and began the never-ceasing life," &c.

If, as is not unlikely, Miss Bosanquet had shown Wesley Dr. Dodd's letter, he would undoubtedly have been struck with the original expression "I am to be made *immortal*," and in his consoling letter to M. B., after the close of the sad tragedy, he implicitly quotes it with a skilful literary adjustment. Of course Parker *might* have done the same. But I know nothing about his style. I could adduce other instances of Wesley's literary acumen in such matters. He was a Past Master *in re!*

Since writing my notes *supra*, I have turned up the reference to Dr. Dodd in

(1) Jackson's *Life of Charles Wesley* vol. II, pp. 309-313.

(2) Tyerman's *Life of John Wesley*, vol. III, pp. 237-241

(3) Wesley's *Journal*, vol. VI, pp. 138, 149, 157.

It seems clear that *John Wesley* did *not* witness the execution. *Did Charles?* If so, *John Wesley's* circumstantial account in his last paragraph on p. 360 of *Arm. Mag.*, 1783, was probably what his brother had told him. I still think, however, that *John* may have written the letter; but on the whole it was probably *Charles*. cf. particularly the last paragraph on p. 311, together with what follows on p. 312 of Jackson's *Life of Charles Wesley*, vol. II.

In my "slightly abridged" ed. of *Mrs. Fletcher's Life* by Moore, I find no mention of Dodd.

[p.s.—Since writing this paper I have discovered new facts for consideration in the problem of the authorship of the letter-fragment; and I insert this addition in the proof just to hand from the Editor.]

In the *Life of the Reverend William Dodd, LL.D.*, prefixed to the fourth edition of his *Thoughts in Prison*, the Newgate chaplain, Rev. Mr. Vilette, says:—"On the morning of his death I went to him with the Rev. Mr. Dobey, Chaplain of the Magdalen, whom he had desired to attend him to the place of execution. . . . As we went from his room in our way to the chapel, we were joined by his friend, who had spent the foregoing evening with him, and also by another clergyman." The friend who had been with Dodd during the foregoing evening, Thursday, June 26th, may have been Mr. Parker; or the "other clergyman" may mean Parker. *John Wesley's* last visit was on Wednesday

the 25th, and on the following Monday, June 30th, he set out for Northamptonshire. If Charles Wesley was in London at the time, *he* may have been present at the execution.

On the whole case, taking into account Mr. Vilette's statement, I think the letter-fragment under discussion was probably written by one of these persons:—1. Mr. Vilette; 2. Charles Wesley; 3. Mr. Parker; 4. John Wesley; 5. Mr. Dobey. The expression "your old and my new friend," might have been written by any one of them, though least of all, perhaps, by Mr. Dobey; unless he had very recently been appointed Chaplain of Magdalen in which Dr. Dodd had, ever since its establishment, taken such deep and practical interest.

In Dodd's *Thoughts in Prison, Week the Fifth* begins with a reference to Mary Bosanquet, whose motto (encircling a cross) was, "Devoted to Death."

"To death devote!" Thus in the vernal bloom
Of redolent youth and beauty, on the cross
Hung high her motto;—she, in name and choice
Of that far better part, like her so fam'd
In story evangelical,—sweet saint,
Friend of my soul, and soother of my grief.']

2.—Miss Bosanquet's second pamphlet in my volume is A LETTER written to *Elizabeth A . . . ws*, on Her Removal from England. Prov. viii, 32, 33. From the Press of James Bowling, on Leeds Bridge, 1170. pp. 24. It is dated from Cross-Hall, Yorkshire, Nov. 2, 1770, and signed "Your real friend, M.B."

It is a very beautiful letter; rich in thought and counsel; rich too in eloquent expression. The chapter *On the choice of Books* is interesting because of its reference to the devotional literature of the day,—especially Wesley's, and "Primitive Physick is not omitted!

3.—JESUS, *altogether lovely*: or A LETTER to some of The SINGLE WOMEN in the METHODIST SOCIETY. 2 Cor. 13, 11. SECOND EDITION. Bristol: Printed in the year 1766. pp. 12.

This is curious and interesting, and, I think copies are very seldom met with. See Green's *Wes. Bibliog.*, p. 127. Mr. Green says "I have seen it attributed, in an old catalogue, to Mrs. Fletcher." Its presence in my vol. of "Bosanquet's Letters" removes any doubt as to authorship. Mary Bosanquet would not have had it bound up with her "Letters" as a gift to "John Fletcher" and thus inscribed, if it had not been her own work. But I have just discovered another proof that she wrote it. See Henry Moore's *Life of Mrs. Mary Fletcher*, 16mo. ed. (new ed.

slightly abridged) p. 50,—“Various reproaches (she says) now began to roll upon us. It was reported that we intended to bring up these children FOR NUNS; that we were too rigid and exact to our own rules. Some objected, But the reproach that came the nearest to me was this: ‘She talks of the poverty of the holy Jesus,’ (alluding to a little book I had printed) ‘let us see her work at a trade as He did, and that would make her fortune go further.’” Now the date of this record in her “Life” tallies with the date of the Letter,—“Hoxton, March 10, 1763.” (i.e. to say the criticism provoked by her “little book” was made shortly afterwards according to the “Life.”) Nor am I surprised to learn from her own lips that the *nun*-scare flared up. The 3 sections of the “little book” are headed thus I. On Chastity. II. On Poverty. III. On Obedience. This was, *no doubt*, quite enough to scare an Ultra-Protestant! “The little book I had printed” must have been “JESUS, altogether lovely,” because on p. 6 the chapter “On Poverty” begins thus:—“We may consider this [poverty] with regard first to outward things, and secondly the temper of the soul. And here we have eminently the example of our blessed Lord, who became poor for us; and while the whole earth was his, and all the fulness of it, was nevertheless himself as a banished man, not having where to lay his head.” cf. “She talks of the poverty of the holy Jesus!”

The old catalogue attributing the little tract to Mrs. Fletcher, of which Green writes, is quite correct, except that it was written by Mary Bosanquet, before her marriage.

4.—The last pamphlet in my Vol. is A LETTER *to the Rev. Mr. John Wesley*. By a Gentlewoman, [here some one has written in pencil “Mary Bosanquet.”] O^NDON: [The Initial “L” had evidently dropped out in printing.] Sold at the Foundery, in Upper Moorfields; and at Mrs. Englefield’s, at the Bible, in West-Street near the Seven Dials. 1764, pp. 23. Dated at the commencement Laton-Stone, Nov. 8. 1764, and Signed at the end “I am, M.B.”

I don’t know whether this was ever re-printed.

On p. 20, in Mrs. Fletcher’s handwriting, there is a marginal correction of a misprint (*shall* for *shalt*) in the quotation from Proverbs ‘Thou *shall* decree a thing.’

I do not know whether Miss Bosanquet had any other collection of her “Letters” bound together in a volume.

MARMADUKE RIGGALL.

ISABELLA JOHNSON AND THE WESLEYS.

In the Trevecka collection of Letters there are copies of three Letters written to John and Charles Wesley by one Isabella Johnson. They bear no dates, but are endorsed by someone, who probably made the first attempt at cataloguing the Trevecka MSS, in the following manner:—

- No. 91. Isabella Jonson : 1st.
 " 92. " " —42: 2nd.
 " 93. Isabella Jonson —42: 3rd.

The 42 evidently means 1742, for there is a Letter—catalogued as No 236—written by Joseph Johnson from Aldgate, London, on Oct. 19, 1742 to Mr. Howell Harris at Charles Square, Hoxton; and this is endorsed by the same hand as 'Joseph Johnson Oct.—42.'

The Letters themselves are of little historical value for they are mainly composed of quotations and disjointed spiritual observations by one who was probably a convert of the Methodist Revival. The following extracts will suffice to illustrate the nature of their contents :

First Letter : "Copy of a letter to Charles Wesley.

Beloved and worthy friend,

The time is now in which we experience the words of Jer. 8, 17, for 'Behold I will send serpents, cockatrices among you which will not be charmed and they shall bite you, saith the Lord.' It is time to take up the prophet's lamentation (Jer. 18) when I would comfort myself against sorrow, my heart is faint in me. Is there no balm in Gilead; is there no physician there. Surely the enemy hath said, 'Many of the people are gone into the good land but they are weak and dwell in unwalled cities, let us go out against them.' Oh when will the prophecy of Balaam be fulfilled,—'He seeth none iniquity in Jacob' (Sunday, St. Peter's Church teachings). 'I will lead thee and bring thee into my mother's house, and he caused me to drink spiced wine and new wine of the pomgranate.' . . . (Sunday following) 'My beloved is mine and his desire is towards me.' I was carried on high on the wings of love and clearly saw this shining hieroglyphick Δ

(Sunday St. Peter's) I found him whome my soul loveth, I took hold of him and left him not . . . and there I did plead with him (hast thou not said) I love thee. Am I not thy Delilah, art thou not my Sampson. . . .

(My Lord's answer) I washt Peter's feet, Oh Holy Spirit, teach me my Master's word that I may do his will. (The answer) Wash the saints' feet. . . .

Ask wisdom that thou err not, ask patience that thou weary not. Obedience shall teach humility.

(Christ proving my soul) Return O Shullamite return. Intreat me not to leave thee, for whither thou goest I will goe and where thou lodgest I will lodge . . . O be thou my Naomi. I will now go and glean ears of corn after him in whose sight I shall find grace."

In the margin of the above letter are written the words,—
'Upon conversing with some Satan had deceived.'

Second Letter. "A Copy of my last to Mr. Jno. Wesley.

On Christ appearing to my soul as a great transparent Stone, looking to find my name written thereon, I discover'd him stained with my offences. . . . Oh lead me to thy Cross & there wash me in those streams. . . . Be Thou my living Vine and I thy fruitful branch. . . . Thus adorn'd by thee I shall in thy image shine & blazon all thy Beauty."

In the margin of this letter are written the words,—
'Heart Breathings.'

Third Letter: "Copy of my Last to Charles Wesley.

Sir, I believe you may remember I have long complain'd under a sense of ignorance, but now I am condemn'd waiting at your door. In the interim I was speaking to one of the manifold gifts and sweet assurances there was in Christ. I was carried away from a suteable conduct through the pleasure I then conceived. A person turned to me telling me my conversation was light minded, though she did not hear my words. . . . With this wounded mind I apealed to our Lord. She considered not how David danc't before the ark. Oh the amazing love! the Creator healeth what the creature woundeth. My Lord covered me with his wisdom. . . . Isaiah 35 cheer'd me too. 'And they, though fools, shall not err! Thus I drew near to the table and ventured on the cup of salvation. I am unable to speak of my agonies of mind during the following week. The parable of the Wise & Foolish virgins came to cheer

me. This is the trembling witness to my condition. Here I want instruction and distractedly cry out what must I do Sunday morning my heart was melted; I said, Surely the Lord is near, but oh, He brought me forth a monster of an unknown size, yet the Lord broke my bonds & sett me free. . . . I would remember Him as one drop does the ocean. I would drop into that ocean & be lost for ever. Isabella Johnson."

"P.S. Upon Hearing the Organ
My God, shall wood & ore resound thy praise
While I stand silent—
Make me an instrument of praise
And Jesus only touch the Keys."

Who was Isabella Johnson? The only serviceable clue we have found is the one in John Wesley's *Diary* (Standard *Journal* Vol II. p. 421). Under Febr 1, 1741, we find the words:—"1-45 at Mrs. Clark's, dinner, at S. Isabel Johnson's, prayer! visited;"

For that same Sunday (Feb 1). Wesley has the following note in his *Journal* :—"A private letter, wrote to me by Mr. Whitefield, having been printed without either his leave or mine, great numbers of copies were given to our people, both at the door and in the Foundery itself. Having procured one of them . . . I tore it in pieces before them all. Everyone who received it did the same. So that in two minutes there was not a whole copy left. Ah! poor Ahithophel!" These two extracts will help us to infer one or two things concerning Isabella Johnson. John Wesley's Sermon on Free Grace (Bristol 1739) and Charles Wesley's hymn on Universal Redemption, together with Whitefield's Letter, which was torn in pieces at the Foundery led to a split between the Arminian and the Calvinistic branches of Methodism. After that division Isabella Johnson seems to have sided with Whitefield and Howell Harris, and her letters, especially the first, is written very much after the style of Harris's letters in 1741 and 2 when he attempted to heal the breach and affect a re-union between the Wesleys and the leaders of Calvinistic Methodism. Her "last" letters to John and Charles Wesley seem to suggest that she, too, had failed to accomplish her heart's desire. The letter of Joseph Johnson shows that Howell Harris was in London in Oct. 1742 and it is but natural to infer that he, too, like John Wesley in 1741, had been "at S. Isabel Johnson's" and had secured copies of her letters to the Wesleys, three of which found their way into the Trevecka

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Collection. Are my conjectures right? I shall be grateful to the members of the Wesley Historical Society for any light on this matter.

M. H. JONES.

NOTE.—Had Isabella Johnson come under the influence of Jacob Behmen's translated writings? Her visions of light remind us of Behmen's 'first illumination.' He was thrown into a trance while gazing on the dazzling light reflected from a metal vessel as the sun's rays filled his room. He walked into the fields where the strange hues and symbols were still present and seemed to point him to the heart and secret of the universe. Isabella Johnson's "shining hieroglyphic" takes us back to mediæval Cabbalism, and allegorism, and back further to Clement who worked out an analogy between allegorism and the hieroglyphic writings. In comparatively recent times Keble defended (in his Tract 89) the mysticism and symbolism of the early Fathers. Isabella Johnson had not the brain or pen of a Clement, Behmen, or Keble, but we may in charity say of her what Henry More said of Behmen, "I do not see but that he holds firm the fundamentals of the Christian religion, and that his mind was devoutly united to the Head of the Church. . . . He is to be reckoned in the number of those whose imaginative faculty has the pre-eminence above the rational." T.E.B.

LETTER: JOHN WESLEY TO GEORGE BALDWIN.

London
Novr 5 1789

My Dear Brother,

I am glad to hear that you are

"True yokefellows by Love compell'd
To labour on the Gospel field"

Verily your labour shall not be in vain. Go in the name of the Lord, & in the power of his might. Be instant, in seasons out of season. Above all things, exhort y^e Believers to go on to perfection! When this is neglected, the whole work of GOD will languish.

So it will, without visiting from house to house,

I am,

Your Affectionate Brother,

G. Baldwin.

J. Wesley.

The original is in the possession of the Rev. Thomas Nevison who kindly allows it to be used here.

It may be assumed that it was addressed to George Baldwin who was appointed Superintendent of the Gloucestershire Circuit at the Conference of 1789.

For the couplet quoted, see Hymn 510 as printed on page 488 of the third edition of *A Collection of Hymns* for use of the people called Methodists. 1782. See also 686 in the Methodist Hymn-book of to-day.

Can any member say whether this letter has ever been published. It is indicated as being in hand for publication in the forthcoming volume of Wesley Letters. See *Standard Journal*, footnote under above date.

The letter is shakily written, and the date is not very plain, but I think the original may be taken to agree with what is said in the *Standard Journal*.

F. F. BRETHERTON.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

- 563 BARROW OR BARTON ON HUMBER? *A query on Standard Journal*, iv, 121.—Is *Barrow* correct, as given in the footnote? Will Mr. Barley, or some other Lincolnshire expert, look at it and see whether it ought not to be *Barton*.

—F. F. Bretherton.

The footnote is correct. Barrow was the head of the Circuit until 1803 (from 1796 when divided from Gainsborough) and then Winterton was the head until 1816. In 1816, Barton-on-Humber came to the premier-place. The connection of C. Delamotte with Barrow in and about the year 1779 is a matter I have not been able to trace fully. A letter from C.D. to J.W. from Barrow, 2 February, 1779, appears in the *Arminian Magazine* 1789, p. 217, and there is also a letter from J.W. to C.D. at Barrow, dated February 11. 1779. Barton Society was originally a hybrid of Independent-cum-Methodist. The Independents got their own chapel in 1806, and a new Methodist Chapel in 1816 indicates the growth of our own Society, further evidenced by Barton becoming the head of the Circuit.—B. A. Hurd Barley.

- 564 THE PANSON FAMILY, of *Westminster and Newbounds, near Tunbridge*.—An elaborate article on this family was published by the Rev. H. J. Foster in *Proceedings*, volume v.

See also many references in the *Standard Journals, Wesley Letters, Life of Charles Wesley, Proceedings*, iii, 68, Bretherton's *Chester*, p 45.

An exceedingly full and well arranged genealogy of the I'Anson family in all its branches, tracing it back to very early times, has recently been published under the auspices of the Genealogical Society. This book helps us to place Sir Thomas, whom Wesley visited, in his right place, as the fourth baronet in the I'Anson family. It also confirms the opinion that Bryan I'Anson was childless and gives further particulars about John, afterwards the seventh and last Baronet. On the other hand, there is information in Mr. Foster's article which the book has not obtained.

I shall be pleased to hear from anyone who is interested.

F. F. Bretherton.

565. THE NEW CHARTERHOUSE SCHOOL, GODALMING ; WESLEY AND BLACKSTONE LETTERS.—In *The Portsmouth Road*, published in 1895, Mr. C. J. Harper refers to the New Charterhouse, Godalming, and writes of a collection of autographs there including a very characteristic letter by *John Wesley*. The author quotes a letter from *Blackstone*, then a fellow at All Souls, Oxford.

Under date August 28th, 1744 he says :

"We were last Friday entertained at St. Mary's by a curious sermon from Wesley y^e Methodist. Among other equally modest particulars he informed us (1) that there was not one Christian among all y^e heads of houses; (2) that pride, gluttony, avarice, luxury, sensuality and drunkenness were y^e whole characteristics of all Fellows of Colleges, who were useless to proverbial uselessness; lastly, that y^e younger part of y^e University were a generation of triflers, all of them perjured, and not one of them of any religion at all. His notes were demanded by y^e Vice-Chancellor, but on mature deliberation it has been thought better to punish him by mortifying neglect."

Which is all very humorous, says Harper, and the phrase, "mortifying neglect" distinctly good, as showing that the authorities had taken Wesley's measure to a nicety and were maliciously aware that neglect would mortify a person of his essential vanity a great deal more than persecution.

Harper reproduces a photograph of which a striking *bust of Wesley* stands beside a statuette of Thackeray.

—F. F. Bretherton.

For the Blackstone letter, see facsimile and note, in Bridgen's *British Methodism* on page 601, of volume II, of Hurst's *History of Methodism*.

A portion of the Wesley letter is given on page 139 of vol. I of the same work, and a complete facsimile of it appears in *The Homes and Haunts of Wesley* (Kelly 1891).

An account of the collection at the Charterhouse appeared in *The Greyfriar*, April 1891. The bust seems to have been one of Enoch Woods.

On the diplomacy of the Vice-Chancellor, and Wesley's association with Blackstone, thirty years later, in the anti-slavery movement, see particulars in Hurst, volume II, as referred to above.

T.E.B.

566. HUGH SAUNDERSON (1768-1777).—Various problems connected with the character and work of this interesting early Methodist preacher were dealt with in an article which I contributed to the *Methodist Recorder Winter Number 1906*.

I am gratified to find that the article has been of real service to the Editor of the *Standard Journal* (see V. 503, VI. 24) and that he agrees with me that Tyerman has treated the man with less than justice. The footnote on page 503 of volume V makes it appear that Mr. Crookshank did not agree with my belief that an injustice has been done. As a matter of fact, generally, he did; what he dissented from was a tentative suggestion of mine that the character of Saunderson might be brightened at the expense of his brethren.

The adverse view which Tyerman took of Saunderson's character was founded upon the assumption that a letter from Wesley "to Mr. S . . . at Armagh" in 1769, dealing with some grievous departures from personal cleanliness and so forth, was addressed to Hugh Saunderson, and that he was personally guilty of the failings mentioned in it. Both these assumptions are open to considerable question, and even if established, would not abolish the fact that in 1773, Saunderson enjoyed Wesley's confidence. To corroborate the favourable impression obtained from Saunderson's diary upon which my article is based, it may be noted that Wesley wrote in June 1773, to Miss C . . . at Armagh, "If you love me hear Mr. Saunderson preach"; also that in 1774 he defended him against certain criticisms brought by Benson with respect to his preaching.

The Editor deals with some fulness upon the strange

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story of Wesley's arrest at Edinburgh in 1774, an incident with which Saunderson was connected, and corrects some of the points imperfectly dealt with by Tyerman. (J.W., III, 43). Apart from the question of his interpretation of Saunderson's conduct, Tyerman's statement is confused at this point by the ambiguity of the word *his* in line 3, and by the name of Mrs. Saunderson being inserted in line 8, where surely Mrs. Sutherland is intended.

The fact that the *prosecutor* should be fined and that the fine should be the large sum of £1,000, so impressed Mr. W. C. Sheldon when the *Standard Journal* was in preparation, that he communicated with a Writer to the Signet in Edinburgh who made a thorough search for contemporary records. Books in the Signet Library, the Civil Records of the Sheriff-Court, and the Edinburgh papers of the period covered were examined, but without success. The Criminal Records which would be perhaps more likely to contain the transaction, were missing. A fire long ago destroyed many records, and later, many were destroyed for lack of room.

Failing definite knowledge, however, this gentleman offered the following comment: "On the face of it the fine seems absurd, as nowadays the prosecutor could not have been fined, except by way of an action against him for wrongous arrest, or something of this sort; but in the old days funny things were done. The fine in any case could only have been £1,000 *Scots*, equivalent to £83 6s. 8d. sterling."

It is to be regretted that the note which Mr. Sheldon prepared was not used by the Editor.

This further point remains; says Mr. Sheldon:—"A bond having been given for Wesley's appearance, how did he manage to get away? He went on his way southward within four days of his arrest, and on the day of the trial, was apparently in Newcastle."

These are notes, not a biography; but it is only fair to add, that Hugh Saunderson did not long retain his position as a Methodist preacher. He desisted from travelling in 1777.

I should be glad to hear of the whereabouts of several volumes of Saunderson's diary, said to have gone astray; and of the original of the celebrated letter of 1769.

Mr. Arthur Wallington kindly contributes the following letter extracted from *Christian Correspondence*.
From Mrs. Bennis to H.S. in 1772:

My dear Friend,

Watch over your own spirit and observe your own conduct, and let nothing pass unheeded by you. Your youth, your natural propensity to gaiety and sprightliness, your unmarried state and the pride of your own heart will insensibly incline you to little fopperies in dress and little niceties about yourself. I had some objections to you in respect of these when you were here I know you will receive it from me in love . . . etc.

He considers this to show plainly that H.S. was not the kind of person to whom Wesley would address such a letter as the celebrated Mr. S. letter. He suggests Richard Steel, H.S.'s colleague in 1768-9, as the addressee.

—F. F. Bretherton.

567. GOLDSMITH (See *The Mutual Friends of Wesley and Goldsmith*, Proc. viii, 148-150).—An interesting letter from Goldsmith to Dr. Johnson has been hung in the Haymarket Theatre, to which it has been lent by Mr. Henry Dain, of the Laurels, Edgbaston. It runs :

Temple Coffee House, near Temple Bar,

October 3, 1762.

MY DEAR MR. JOHNSON.—Could you come round here this evening? I have at length concluded the play, and shall entitle it *She Stoops to Conquer*, subject to your better judgment. I should also be glad if you could advance me ten guineas until I close with Mr. Tomson, which amount shall be punctually returned.

I saw Sir Joshua last Sunday. Had an attack of gout and melancholia, but smiled when he saw me, and questioned me about that little difficulty.

Trusting to see you about seven this evening,—I am your faithful

OLIVER GOLDSMITH.

The above has been sent by *Mr. George Brownson*.

568. PRESIDENT WASHINGTON'S LIBRARY. *Who was Dr. Charles Nisbet?*—In the *Proceedings* of the W.H.S., Vol. xiii, page 4, there is a question on which I may be able to throw some light. Note 4 on the article "George Washington's Library," raises the enquiry whether Dr. Charles Nisbet was a Methodist. His sermon on "The Usefulness and Importance of Human Learning" is in the Library.

Dr. Nisbet was not a Methodist but a Scotch Presbyterian clergyman. He belonged to the "orthodox wing of the

Scotch church." In America, Dr. Nisbet was a member of the Carlisle Presbytery. *Dickinson College*, while not strictly denominational, was Presbyterian in its administration during the earlier years of its existence.

The above information concerning Dr. Nisbet is found in *The Early Schools of Methodism*, A. W. Cummings, New York, 1886; *History of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America*, E. H. Gillett, 1864; *The Life and Times of John Dickinson*, Charles J. Stille, *The Historical Society of Pennsylvania*. 1891.

Umphrey Lee, Austin, Texas.

569. WESLEY'S JOURNAL :

I. GENERAL WENTWORTH. October 10 1745. "*We were conducted to General Wentworth.*"—General Wentworth succeeded to the command of the land forces in the West Indies on the death of Lord Carthcart in 1740. In the *Gentleman's Magazine*, 1744, it is said that Wentworth went to Holland to secure 2000 Dutch in case of an invasion of England. See also *Cassell's History of England*, vol. iv, pp. 75-6.

II. PRIOR'S WILL. May 21, 1759. "*So poor Mr. Prior, speaking of his own tomb . . .*"—This section of Prior's will commences: "It is my will that I be buried privately in Westminster Abbey," etc., and the first of the eight quatrains "For my own Monument," runs:

"As doctors give physic by way of prevention,
Matt, alive and in health of his tombstone took care,
For delays are unsafe, and his pious intention,
May haply be never fulfilled by his heir."

III. WESLEY AND DR. BURNEY—a parallel. March 22-24, 1770. "*History, poetry and philosophy, I commonly read on horseback.*"—"The man [Dr. Burney] who could utilise the time spent in the saddle, in the translation of Metastasio by the aid of a dictionary, was not the man to fail in any enterprise to which he addressed himself." From *The Keeper of the Robes*, (Fanny Burney).

IV. WESLEY AND KING EDMUND: A curious parallel. June 20, 1774. "*The horses . . . stopped in a moment.*"—Thomas Fuller records: "King Edmund was in eager pursuit of a buck on the top of a steep rock, whence no descent but destruction. Down falls the deer and dogs after him, and are dashed to pieces. The King follows in full speed on unruly horse which he could not rein, and is on the brink of the precipice. Yet his prayers prove swifter than his horse.

Instantly the horse stops in full career, and his rider is preserved." Fuller's *Church History*.

V. WESLEY, CHARLES WESLEY, FANNY BURNEY. *Diary, Feb. 17, 1785.* "At Charles's Concert."—"Charles Wesley, the musician who did so much for Church music in England, had conducted the service on the organ, and afterward, by command of the King, played several of Handel's compositions. Fanny, [Burney] who seems to have had a good, everyday liking for music of a high order, . . . was so carried away by the performance that she forget her obligations, and allowed the Queen to send for her twice. *The Keeper of the Robes* (Fanny Burney).

VI. WESLEY, THE 'PROPHETS,' SHAKESPEARE. *Dec. 31, 1788.*—Wesley writes, "For near seventy years I have observed that before any war or public calamity, England abounds with prophets" . . . Shakespeare has :

"And lean-look'd prophets whisper fearful change,
Rich men look sad, and ruffians dance and leap,
The one in fear to lose what they enjoy,
The other to enjoy by rage and war."

Shakespeare's *Richard II.*

VII. REV. MR. HEY, BRISTOL. *September 25, 1790.*—In the seventh volume of the *Proceedings*, p. 167, the late Rev. H. J. Foster has an interesting note on the request of the Rev. Mr. Hey, Presbyterian Minister, for the use of the Old Room, Bristol (when the Methodists were not using it) during the re-building of Lewin's Mead Chapel. In volume eight, p. 24, "A.G." says "this request has always been a puzzle to me. At Lewin's Mead there never was a minister named Hey. It is possible that the preacher in question was doing duty temporarily in the absence of the regular ministers." The *Christians Magazine* for June 1792, contains a portrait of the "Rev. Mr. Hey, Minister of the Gospel, Bristol," but no letterpress follows. Yet there is little doubt that this is he who made the request for the use of the Old Room, and whose sermon therein Wesley so much admired.

—*Richard Butterworth.*

570. DR. JOHN WHITEHEAD.—Has any member of the *Proceedings* dealt with the character and record of Dr. John Whitehead, Wesley's favourite physician? I have wondered at the honour paid him in view of his reprehensible conduct in the matter of the Wesley manuscripts. (See Stevenson's *City Road Chapel*, p. 87 etc.) Wesley thought he would "become

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one of the most eminent physicians in Europe." This estimate may account for the fact that Wesley made him one of his personal executors. But one asks why was he chosen to preach Wesley's funeral sermon? He was but 51 years of age, had itinerated, but retired in favour of medicine; then again sought admission into the regular ranks of the ministry, which request, made more than once, Wesley "peremptorily" refused. Even after this he was chosen to write the official *Life of Wesley*, which was the ultimate cause of his expulsion from membership, and yet seven or eight years afterwards, he preaches in Wesley's pulpit, composes his inscription on Wesley's memorial tablet and was buried in Wesley's grave. Why were such honours allowed or paid to Dr. Whitehead? It would be interesting to know what were the qualities that won such distinctions. When Wesley died why was not such a man as Henry Moore or Benson or Brackenbury or Bradford or Rogers chosen to preach the sermon? And why, in 1800—after the shameful manuscript tumult and Adam Clarke and Benson were wielding the pen, was Dr. Whitehead selected to write the inscription? Perhaps some of your contributors will be able to answer my enquiry.

—*J. Cartwright Adlard.*

In the twelve volumes of the *Proceedings* no critical article on Dr. Whitehead has appeared. Will some member of the W.H.S. contribute one? References to him have been made as follows:

Proc. V 112. Letter of 1820 by Charles Wesley junr. to Richard Watson.

Proc. VI, 6. Letter 1791 by William Thomson to Richard Rodda.

Letters, 'echoes of an old controversy,' have been copied from an old circuit book of Great Yarmouth. Mr. Natrass, who found these letters will lend them to any enquirer.

Proc. xi, 181.

T.E.B.

571. **WESLEY'S OLD CHAPEL, KINGSWOOD, DEMOLISHED.**—A full and well verified account of this old Chapel, connected as it is with the work of Whitefield, Wesley, Mary Carpenter, and the later development of national Reformatory work, would be interesting. It has formed a link between the evangelistic and social enterprises to which Methodism gave an impetus. The *History of Kingswood School* by three old boys, A. H. L. Hastling, W. Addington Willis and W. P. Workman, (1898)

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contains the most reliable information, with its plans, dates, and references to original authorities. The late Rev. H. J. Foster's notes in the *W.H.S. Proceedings* add much of value. The Revs. John S. Pawlyn and G. Eayrs have written interesting handbooks to Bristol and Kingswood, and some of the facts were well stated and illustrated in the *Methodist Recorder*, during the year of the Wesley Centenary celebration. The following notes by Mr. Eayrs have appeared in several newspapers, and summarise the report of the demolition of the 'colliers' Chapel.—*T.E.B.*

The Kingswood Wesleyan Methodist Chapel, replaced the old building for purposes of Wesleyan worship and sacramental services in 1844. The Kingswood boys' school was removed to Lansdown, Bath, where it flourishes. The old buildings they had left, and the colliers' chapel were bought by the Committee of the Kingswood Reformatory School for their work. The old school buildings were replaced by others more suitable in 1894, but the colliers' chapel was allowed to remain, because of its Wesley associations. It was used for their services until 1919, when the site was required by the Home Office authorities for the erection of an engineering shop for the lads. It is intended to place an iron tablet on the new building, to tell of the famous one which stood there for 180 years,

Lieut. Col. J. B. Butler, V.D., of Bristol and Kingswood, a member of the Kingswood Reformatory Committee, has been unceasing in his efforts to avoid the demolition of the old chapel.—*George Eayrs.*

DELAYED NOTES AND ARTICLES—In order to print a number of Notes and Queries circulating in the *M.S. Journal* we have been compelled to reserve some valuable papers by Dr. E. H. Sugden, Mr. D. B. Bradshaw, Rev. R. Butterworth and other. These will appear in September.

NOTICE OF ANNUAL MEETING, W.H.S.

The Annual Meeting of the Wesley Historical Society will be held as usual in connection with the forthcoming Conference at Middlesbrough. The use of the Stationing Committee Room has kindly been allowed for Friday, July 15th, at 2 p.m.