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BUST OF WESLEY BY ROUBILIAC.

Date uncertain ; 1750—1760. The above was taken from a porcelain copy of the original marble. The copy is in the possession of Rev. R. Green.

ROUBILIAC'S BUST OF WESLEY.

In the *Wes. Meth. Mag.* for July, 1870, an article appeared on "A New Bust of Wesley." It speaks of the use of "Parian," which it describes as "a composition so called because of its resemblance, in respect of its hardness and creamy or wax tint, to the celebrated marble found in the island of Paros." As the Conference in that year assembled in the Potteries for the first time, it was thought such an event would receive "some recognition from the artistic successors of Wedgwood." And it goes on to say, "Accordingly, to the busts and full-length statuettes of Wesley, Coke, Clarke, Hannah, and other eminent ministers, which already adorn Methodist homes, a new one has just been added by Messrs. John Adams & Co., of Hanley, which is inferior to none that we have hitherto seen. It is a bust of Mr. Wesley, in statuary porcelain, reduced to about half life-size, from a marble original executed in his life-time by Roubiliac, the eminent French sculptor, and, until recently, in the possession of Messrs. Graves & Son, the well-known art-publishers of Pall-Mall.¹ The original, we are informed, has been purchased by Her Majesty's Government for one of the national collections. The copy is an elegant production of fictile art. The celebrated series of busts of distinguished men in Trinity College, Cambridge, amply establishes Roubiliac's high rank in that branch of his profession. In this of Wesley, he has given us what is both a likeness and an artistic achievement. The features generally are a little more attenuated than is usual in portraits of our Founder, but the entire expression is elevated and pleasing; the profile is beautiful and striking."

It is singular that there is no bust of Wesley in any of the national collections that is attributed to Roubiliac. In the National Portrait Gallery is a fine marble one (No. 271) which was purchased by the Trustees in December, 1868, but the name of

1. Said to have been purchased by them from Messrs. G. & H. Watson, 31, Duke Street.

the sculptor is "unknown." Whether it is Roubiliac's, or not, cannot yet be determined. It bears a striking resemblance to the coloured porcelain one named below, but it is larger and fuller. Perhaps the porcelain shrinks a little in drying and burning.

I have the following information from Mr. Thursfield Smith : Sir Henry Rawlinson, who owned the Roubiliac marble bust, visited the Potteries in the year 1856 or 57 in order to hold an inquiry respecting the Incorporation of Hanley. Whilst there he was induced to lend the marble bust to Messrs. Adams and Bromley of Shelton, who made therefrom a number of copies in white "parian"; also three copies in coloured porcelain. One of these copies was for Sir Henry, and the other two were ordered by a Mr. Hewett, who was afraid to speculate further, as the cost of each was 4 guineas. This information Mr. Smith obtained from Mr. Hewett, when he purchased one of the two coloured copies. The other copy passed into the hands of a Mr. Gunn, a friend of Mr. Hewett's, from whom it was purchased by Rev. Thomas Brackenbury, who sold it also to Mr. Smith. This copy is now in the Garrett Institute, America; the other copy, the only one that can now be found in this country, is in my possession. Of it a photogravure is given in the present number of the *Proceedings*.

The bust of Wesley exhibited at the Conference referred to above is said to have been of "statuary porcelain." This is a different substance from "parian" ware. The "statuettes" named are in yet another material, called "biscuit china." Messrs. Thursfield Smith, J. G. Wright and George Stampe have each a copy of the white "parian" reproduction. These are somewhat smaller than my coloured porcelain one, as the "parian" ware shrinks considerably (one-sixth of its bulk) in drying.

The bust which in the Magazine article is said to have been purchased of Messrs. Graves is probably the one now in the National Portrait Gallery, the artist of which is said to be unknown. The year 1750 is given as the date of the execution of Roubiliac's bust. Judging from the appearance of the bust I should have thought a later date more probable. Roubiliac died in 1762.

R. GREEN.

[For further notes on busts of Wesley see *Proceedings*, III, pp. 85, 173].



The Penitentiary, etc.

[Mr. W. Scribner, Jr.]

THE BRADFORD DUNGEON: THE PLACE OF JOHN NELSON'S CONFINEMENT.

NOTTINGHAM METHODIST NOTES.

I. JOHN WESLEY AND THE NOTTINGHAM GENERAL HOSPITAL.

The Rev. George Lester, chairman of the Nottingham and Derby Wesleyan Synod, sent to the *Nottingham Guardian*, 27 Jan., 1906, the following interesting information:—

In view of Hospital Sunday, it will interest many of our readers to know that the General Hospital received the praise and the practical assistance of John Wesley. The hospital was opened on September 28th, 1782, and in his *Journals* under date Thursday, February 5th, 1784, Wesley writes: "I went down to Nottingham and preached a charity sermon for the General Hospital. The next day I returned to London." It was in the "new chapel," Hockley, which Wesley had opened on April 4th, 1783, that this sermon was preached. The records of the period, which are carefully preserved at the General Hospital, report the amount of the collection as £7 9s. 1½d.

In the course of a preaching tour in the Midlands in 1786, Wesley came to Nottingham, and records a visit to the hospital on Saturday, July 8th: "I walked through the General Hospital. I never saw one so well ordered. Neatness, decency, and common sense, shine through the whole. I do not wonder that many of the patients recover. I prayed with two of them. One of them, a notorious sinner, seemed to be cut to the heart. The case of the other was quite peculiar. Both her breasts had been cut off, and many pins taken out of them, as well as out of her flesh in various parts. 'Twelve,' the apothecary said, 'were taken out of her yesterday, and five more to-day.'" The case to which Wesley here refers was that of an Arnold girl named Kitty Hudson, who, it appears, was several times received as a patient, and who, having been discharged as cured, eventually married, and became the mother of 19 children. For several years she walked twice a day from Arnold into Nottingham and back, carrying letters, and became known as the "Arnold Post."

Under date Friday, November 9th, 1787, Wesley writes : "A friend offering to bear my expenses, I set out in the evening, and on Saturday, 10th, dined at Nottingham. . . . Sunday, 11th,—I preached a charity sermon for the infirmary, which was the design of my coming. This is not a county infirmary, but is open to all England ; yea, to all the world ; and everything about it is so neat, so convenient, and so well ordered, that I have seen none like it in the three kingdoms. Monday, 12th.—In the afternoon we took coach again, and on Tuesday returned to London."

It is said by the late Mr. G. H. Harwood, *Hist. of W. Meth. in Nottingham*, p. 61, that on this occasion John Wesley was the guest of Mr. Thos. Tatham, a prominent Methodist of the time, who resided in Postern-place, Middle Pavement, where he carried on business as a grocer. It was again in Hockley Chapel that Wesley preached, his text being I. Cor., xiii, 1-3, "Though I speak with the tongues of men and of angels, and have not charity, I am become as sounding brass, or a tinkling cymbal." The collection realized £14 6s. 10³/₄d. This sermon may be found in Wesley's *Works*, vol. vii, p. 45. In its concluding sentences the following occurs : "We conclude from the whole (and it can never be too much inculcated, because all the world votes on the other side), that true religion, in the very essence of it, is nothing short of holy tempers. Consequently all other religion, whatever name it bears, whether Pagan, Mahometan, Jewish, or Christian, and whether Popish or Protestant, Lutheran or Reformed ; without these, is lighter than vanity itself."

In 1788 Wesley visited Derby, where he preached on Friday, July 11th, and made a collection on behalf of the Nottingham General Hospital, amounting to £5, which amount he paid in at the hospital next day.

[Harwood gives fuller details of Kitty Hudson's case, pp. 59, 60].

II. EARLY PREACHING PLACES.

It is remarkable that Wesley should not mention in his *Journal* the opening of so considerable a chapel as that in

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Hockley, in so important a town as Nottingham.¹ Yet it marked a great advance. Thomas Taylor (*E.M.P.*, V. 57) says: "I had a comfortable time at Nottingham. The people seemed to drink in the word. O it is a pleasing task to preach to a judicious lively people. Such the people at Nottingham seem to be. I do not wonder that their chapel [The Octagon] is too small, and that they are engaged in building one larger, and in a more convenient part of the town [i.e., Hockley] which I hope will prove a blessing to many that are yet unborn." The Octagon, or Tabernacle, had been so modest a building that its cost was only £128 2s. 7d. Hockley was a substantial structure, capable of accommodating 1,000 persons. Wesley (*Journal*, 10 Nov., 1784) speaks of it as "one of the most elegant in England."

Mr. Harwood writes (p. 55): "1783, On April 4th, the new chapel in Hockley was opened for divine worship by Rev. John Wesley and the Rev. Dr. Coke, both of them appearing in the usual vestments of clergymen of the Established Church. In the morning Dr. Coke read the service from the Book of Common Prayer, and Mr. Wesley preached from the Epistle for the day, Heb. IX, 11, 12. The Sacrament of the Lord's Supper was afterwards administered. At five o'clock, Dr. Coke read the evening service, and Mr. Wesley preached from Isaiah IV, 6, 7. On both occasions the place was excessively crowded. It is somewhat surprising that above a twelve month should have been allowed to elapse before the edifice was registered as a place of worship. Bailey in his *Annals* says: 'On the 22nd May [1784] a building called the New Chapel in Goose Gate was registered for religious worship, the person certifying was Matthew Bagshaw, well known for many years in Nottingham as a leading

1. He dismisses several days in a brief sentence: "*Tues.* April 1st, &c. [1783] I went through several of the societies till I reached Holyhead, on *Friday*, 11." The letter to Charles W., printed below, fills up the gap with some details; besides adding to the brief entry in the *Journal*, 25 March, 1783, many vivifying touches which let us see the man and his friends. In point of fact, when he opened Hockley chapel, and on the same day wrote to his brother, Wesley was ill. He caught cold in the preceding December. In March the cough had brought him very low by the time he reached Bristol. It was his trouble of 1775 returning; he felt himself not far from death; and as he afterwards, upon his death-bed, told Elizabeth Ritchie, he could only say: "I the chief of sinners am, But Jesus died for me." But the determined spirit, at the first release from the grip of the fever, took coach, and toiled on through March and April. Dublin was reached on 13 April, but, as Mr. Crookshank says, he could get no further, and the "three weeks, spent with much satisfaction in my usual employments," were passed quietly at the house of Mr. Henry Brooke.

man amongst the Methodists.'” The venerable Thomas Hanby, who died whilst stationed at Nottingham, was buried in Hockley chapel.

“Hockley chapel,” says Mr. Lester, “was taken from the Conference and the Connexion during Kilham’s agitation, 1797, but was restored in 1818, upon the award of Lord Denman. In the meantime (the old) Halifax-Place chapel had been built in 1798, and enlarged in 1804. The present Halifax-Place dates from 1847.” Halifax-Place, or Lane, had been known earlier as Jack Nuttall’s Lane. The case of Hockley chapel was an example of the difficulties Wesley found in connection with trust deeds. A bond was given in July, 1782, to convey the premises to the uses and trusts mentioned in the deed printed in the Large Minutes, as soon as the premises should be exonerated and discharged from the debt incurred in building. Harwood conjectures with much probability that this settlement was arrived at when Wesley was visiting the town on 2 July, 1782. In order to sustain a continuous assertion of the legal claim of the Connexion to the Hockley Chapel, the entry in the Stations in the *Minutes*, from 1810 to 1816, ran thus: “Nottingham Circuit, and our chapel at Hockley, Nottingham.” The successful end of the long litigation was in sight in the latter year, and the special mention of the chapel was felt to be no longer necessary. Hockley was sold to the Primitive Methodists in 1839, when Wesley Chapel was built, to accommodate 1927 persons. (Harwood, p. 170.)

In reply to an inquiry, Mr. Lester says: “So far as I can find out, John Wesley never preached either in St. Mary’s Church or in the churchyard. The registers contain no hint of anything of the sort. Bishop Hamilton Baynes, the present vicar, assures me that there is no tradition even. The only reference to St. Mary’s is under 27 Nov., 1743: ‘I went thither again from St. Mary’s,’ that is, to the Market Cross, after having attended the church service.”

Mr. G. H. Harwood, whose *History* has been several times referred to, and the Rev. Samuel Dunn, who published a *Life* of his friend Thomas Tatham, both wrote whilst tradition was still abundant and clear, and from the two volumes a few notes may be gathered for the Methodist antiquary who visits Nottingham, and desires to find the localities of its earliest Methodism.

The Methodists of Nottingham held their first meetings at the house of a man named James. His residence was a spacious one, and stood on the south side, near the top, of Girdlesmith Gate, now Pelham Street. Here it is believed, Harwood says,

that Wesley preached his first sermon in Nottingham. The preaching was afterwards removed to Matthew Bagshaw's, whom we have just seen as living to register Hockley Chapel for worship. He had his house in what long ago became one of the slums of the town, Narrow Marsh. It stood opposite the bottom of Long Stairs, on the right hand side of Crossland Yard. He converted this into an occasional meeting-house by making an aperture in the chamber floor; and the women being below, and the men above his head, which was just above the floor, enabled the voice of the preacher to be heard in two rooms at the same time. (Harwood, 10; Dunn, 16, 17). Writing in 1847, Dunn adds: "The house is at present occupied by Mr. George Philips, locksmith, and the ceiling and chamber floor bear the marks of the opening. When the preaching was removed,—he continues,—from Mr. Bagshaw's, it was held in a large upper room, on the very site where Sion Chapel now stands, at the corner of Fletcher-gate and Bottle-lane." (Cf. *Journal*, 19 July, 1757). Sion Chapel has now disappeared.

If Mr. Harwood is right as to the place of the first sermon preached by Wesley in the town, then "Mr. Howe's Society", which welcomed Wesley on 11 June 1741, and received Charles Wesley as gladly on 25 May, 1743, was meeting, at all events at the earlier date, in James' house. Mr. Howe had "introduced Methodism" into Nottingham and had begun preaching in the Market Place, in 1740 (Harwood, 9.) Apparently Howe had met Wesley in London, and brought "one of our Hymn-books" down with him on—may we guess?—returning to the north. Wesley's complaint that this and the Bible were already supplanted by a Moravian hymn-book and a volume of Zinzendorf's sermons, indicates that Howe and his Society were rather Moravian than Methodist. It would only be after the analogy of, for example, Bedford and Fetter Lane, if it were originally an ordinary "Religious Society" which was becoming Moravianized, until the nine Methodists of whom Charles Wesley formed a new Society on 24 June following, were compelled to withdraw, and to meet in complete independence. In the following October he found that "the Germans" of Mr. Howe's Society had followed up one simple soul amongst these Methodist seceders, and to her grievous distress and unsettlement had pressed upon her their "stillness." Yet Mr. Howe himself was still true to the "bigotry" of attending the church prayers, and accompanied C. W. to St. Mary's. But we can hardly hesitate to identify him with the "John How, Nottingham" who was on the roll of Married Brethren when the first Congregation was constituted at the new-built Fulneck, 1 May, 1746 (*Memoirs*

of James Hutton, 231 n.) The Rev. Jacob Rogers, the ex-curate of St. Paul's, Bedford, would seem to have visited Nottingham. His "misconduct" (C. W., 20 Oct., 1743) was, of course, only his "leaving the Church" (cf. 25 May, 1743). It seems pretty certain that Matthew Bagshaw housed the first definitely *Methodist* Society. In the next year Charles Wesley found his way to a Brother Sant's house just when its master had with difficulty struggled home after violent and cruel handling by the Nottingham mob. A year later Charles confesses that his horse knew the way to Sant's residence better than he himself did! It is not clear whether it has ever been located. One Mary White sheltered Nelson, when he came in 1746. Her house stood in Chapel Court, Byard Lane, now Dining Hall Street, where, Mr. Harwood adds (p. 28), she for several years gave shelter to the Methodist preachers.

The fine Market Place, one of the glories of Nottingham, has always been a rare "pitch" for open-air work, political or religious. But John and Charles Wesley, Nelson, and many a successor in the work, frequently mention the Malt Cross, as specially the spot from whose steps they proclaimed their message.¹ It stood in the Market Place, half way between Market Street,—then the much narrower Sheep Lane,—and St. James' Street. "Its base was four feet high, upon which rested six pillars, covered with a tiled roof, and the whole surmounted with six sun-dials and a vane. Within this cross, and around, sat those on market days who sold china and earthenware; and it was from this structure that all proclamations, or declarations of war or peace, were read in the face of a full market; it was also the usual resort of labourers waiting for employment." Not by any means an inappropriate place for an evangelist and his message.

The removal from Bagshaw's house to the rented room at the top of Bottle Lane, was necessitated by the increase of the congregation, for which Matthew's so ingeniously, though so amusingly, adapted premises could no longer provide. But at length in 1766, the Methodists of the town felt themselves strong enough to build a chapel. They launched out, and "near what is now (1870?) called Octagon Place, between Boot Lane, now named Milton Street, and Mount East Street, erected their first chapel, the Tabernacle." In popular speech it was oftener called The Octagon, from its shape, so greatly affected by Wesley. He

1. John Wesley once calls it, with a readily understood inexactness, "The High Cross" (27 Nov., 1744). Charles puts in the slight touch, that it stood "just by the mayor's" (7 Feb., 1744).

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preached in it for the first time on 20 March, 1766. It served the needs of the Nottingham Society until Hockley was built in 1787, as already stated; whereupon it was sold to the General Baptists. When the trustees of Hockley, sympathising with Kilham, refused Hockley to the preachers and people in connexion with the Conference, the Baptists placed the Octagon at the service of its former owners, until Beck Barn could be fitted up for temporary use. Dunn, writing in 1847 (p. 24), thus completes the story of The Octagon: "It has since been taken down, and houses built upon the site." The carved work in front of the pulpit found its way to Radford Grove, and when Harwood wrote, was ornamenting the interior of an arbour. Beck Barn was near Beck Lane, the eastward boundary of the plot on which Wesley Chapel was erected in 1839.

The purpose of our *Proceedings* is to preserve historical rather than devotional material. But no member of our W.H.S. can read unmoved the wonderful story told by Mr. Thomas Tatham, of the mighty faith of Bramwell's prayer, and of the chapter of "accident" and "mistake," by which, after long and fruitless effort, the site of Halifax Place Chapel was in a few hours secured. It may be read in Dunn's *Life of Tatham*, or in Sigston's *Life of Bramwell*, vol. i, pp. 166-170.

III. LETTER WRITTEN AT NOTTINGHAM.

[The Rev. G. Stringer Rowe inserts in our MS. Journal the following interesting and important letter referred to above, p. 165 n.]

From the Rev. John Wesley, addressed

"Rev^d. Mr. C. Wesley
Marybone,
London."

Nottingham,

April 4th, 1783.

Dear Brother,

Yesterday my second disorder left me, & I seem now to be recovering strength. On Monday next I hope to be at Darby:

on Tuesday at Newcastle under Line, on Wednesday at Chester, and at Holyhead as soon as God permits. I have no desire to stay above three weeks in Ireland, & hope to be in England again before the end of May.

On the day appointed, March 25, I went from Birmingham to Hilton Park. A little before we reached the Park gate, Miss Freeman met us in Sir Philip Gibbes' chaise. After staring a while, she came into my chaise, & she was convinced y^t I was alive.

That afternoon & the next day I gathered strength apace. The place was agreeable, and much more the Company. Lady Gibbes put me in mind of one of Queen Elizabeth's Dames of Honour. Her daughters are exceeding sensible, but sink under Miss Freeman's superior sense. She has been of great service to them, & hies (?) at them day & night to shew them what is Real Religion. On Wednesday night they were much struck; the younger sister c^d not contain herself, but burst out into a passion of tears. M. F. herself seems to be utterly disconcerted, seeking rest but finding none. If Sally is not hurt by Her, she (Sally) will help her much. She now feels her want of help.

I wish King George (like Lewis the Fourteenth) would be his own Prime Minister. The Nation would soon feel the difference. All these things will work together for good. Let us work while the day is! I take no thought for the morrow.

Peace be with you all. Adieu.

[For Miss Freeman see: 28 May, 1757, Letter to Blackwell, CXXIX, (J. W. is "out of sight out of mind with Miss F."); 18 April, 1760 (? "Miss F—," with whom W. went to see the French prisoners in Dublin); 26 April, 1760, Letter to Blackwell ("Whether Miss Freeman use Lough-Neagh or Lough Leighs"); 16 July, 1761, to Blackwell, (Where is she? She is in debt for a letter); 16 May, 1771, Letter of C. W. (Wife just coming to London. Bring Miss Freeman's books); 25 March, 1783, (at Hilton Park with Lady Gibbes. Has known her from a child); 17 July, 1783, letter of C. W., (Miss Freeman is at Bath, ill. Water does not suit her. In P.S. She is come to London with Mrs. C. W.) Miss Freeman is "cozen" to Blackwell; he lends her fifteen guineas to pay "when she is able" (*Grasshopper in Lombard Street*). His second child,—by his second wife,—is Mary Elizabeth Shepherd Freeman Blackwell. The Freemans of Dublin were also close friends of Wesley. Is any connection with Blackwell's relative ascertained? (See *Proc.*, II, 8, 212; Crookshank, *Hist.*, vol. I *passim*.) Another fragment of fact may be added. Whitefield writes to Zinzendorf in 1753: "Mr. Freeman, Mr. Thomas and Grace found that bills had been drawn in their name unknown to them, to the value of forty-eight thousand pounds." Rev. M. Riggall inquired (*N. & Q.* 159; III, 3, 85) for any information about Miss Mary Freeman Shepherd, beyond what is given in J. B. B. Clarke's *Life* of his father, Dr. A. Clarke, ii, 231-247.]

BRADFORD METHODIST TOPOGRAPHY.

“ On Bradford likewise look thou down,
where Satan keeps his seat ;
Come by the power LORD him dithrone,
for thou art very great.”

—William Darney, *Collection of Hymns.*

Leedes. Printed by James Lister. 1751. 12mo. pp. 296. (Hymn No. 1.)

Mr. J. Norton Dickons of Bradford, has printed privately and in an expanded form, a paper read by him before The Bradford Antiquarian and Historical Society. He makes full acknowledgment of his obligations to Rev. W. W. Stamp's *Historical Notices of Wesleyan Methodism in Bradford and its vicinity*, 1841. But his own research in municipal and other records, have made his large pamphlet a work of abundantly original worth. He has reproduced maps and drawings of localities, some of them for the first time ; and though his subject is formally only Kirkgate Chapel and its associations with Wesleyan Methodism, he has written again, and more fully than hitherto has been done, or has been possible, the story of our church in the town ; besides bringing up to date all points of sites and localities, as the many sweeping changes of the last few years may have made necessary. The careful records of early Methodist localities in (*e.g.*) John James' *History and Topography of Bradford*, 1841, belong in some cases to topographical conditions now greatly modified.

But not only points of locality. For example, when Mr. Stamp wrote, he reported that there was kept at the Old Parish Church of Bradford a Bible, which had formerly been used in the reading-desk, and which contained a form of Covenant with God, written and signed by William Grimshaw, of Haworth, on 4 Aug., 1754. Mr. Dickons has made enquiry of Mr. Collins, one of the churchwardens, only to learn that Mr. Collins has searched for the so interesting volume without success. The Methodist visitor will not now see the interesting relic.

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The explorer readily finds his way to the point where Westgate, Kirkgate and Ivegate meet. When James and Stamp wrote, the dungeon close by, in which John Nelson was shut up for the night, was still to be seen. The former says (p. 240): "Nelson's dungeon was the common 'black hole' of the town. It is about two stories beneath the surface of the ground, and under the northernmost of the two houses which stand at the bottom and face direct up Westgate. The entrance to it is in Ivegate yet." He explains a little more fully (p. 29) that the building was the Ancient Toll Booth of the town. From the Court Rolls of the Manor it is certain that about 1600 the entrance to the Court House was in Ivegate, and it may therefore be presumed, he says, that the Court Baron and Court Leet were held over the Toll House. The place was also undoubtedly the Hall of Pleas comprised in the grant of the manor by Charles I. Underneath this was the Town's Dungeon.

Mr. Stamp not only recorded with minute exactness the condition of things in 1841, but procured for his *History* a careful drawing by Mr. J. Wilson. But all is now gone. "The old Toll-booth was taken down in 1868," says Mr. Dickons, "and the dungeon filled up." Mr. W. Scruton, of Baildon, author of *Pen and Pencil Pictures of Old Bradford*, Bradford, 1889, kindly permits us to reproduce a drawing of the old dungeon, which, except for the introduction of John Nelson and his fellow-prisoner, is not a "fancy" picture, but a careful sketch by Mr. John Sowdon, made just before the demolition. Mr. Dickons' picture of the dungeon-door brings vividly up the heroic wife of Nelson, who, in critical health, trudged over from Birstal, and, at four o'clock in the morning, called to her husband through the door: "Fear not, the cause is God's . . . and he will plead it himself. Therefore be not concerned for me and the children: he that feeds the ravens will be mindful of us." The drawing does not show the "hole" in the door, through which she spoke. But we can see the group standing before it: Nelson's pregnant wife, his brother Joseph, Hannah Schofield and Martha Cowling, all from Birstal; John Murgatroyd of Gildersome; Betty Firth of Great Horton, who, when she removed the next year to Low Moor, took Methodism with her and planted it there. So late as 1868 the site of an ancient cross might be discovered in the old market place at the bottom of Westgate, not far from the top of Ivegate. Nelson mentions the cross. "All that is left of this time-worn relic has for some time past had a peaceful resting-place in a secluded corner of Peel Park" (W. Scruton, *Old Bradford*, p. 120, where

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an illustration is given).

"The earliest record of any house or room being used by the Methodists as a place of religious worship in Bradford is in the year 1756, when the second floor of a large building in 'Turles Green,' an open space behind the spot where the Commercial Inn now stands, was taken by the Society.¹ The building has long since disappeared, but it stood at the spot near the junction of the present Bond Street with Aldermanbury, somewhere about the site of the warehouse now or late belonging to Mr. Enoch Aykroyd. The annexed sketch shows the building and the steps from which Wesley is said to have addressed his outdoor hearers." (Dickons, p. 30.) It was standing in Mr. Stamp's time, but as the later writer says, the centre of Bradford has changed so much since 1756 that it is not easy to identify the site of the Cockpit, near which the rented preaching-house premises stood; unless indeed the upper room used for preaching was itself the Cockpit.

"During the period between Wesley's visits to Bradford in 1759 and 1761, the floor of the room at the Cockpit building gave way, whilst the congregation were assembled for worship, though no one was injured. The room being deemed no longer safe, was given up, and the congregation removed to the 'laith' or barn behind the Paper Hall in High Street, in the occupation of Mr. James Garnett, piece maker, and there for a season the services were regularly held." (Dickons, p. 35.) An old Society account book, apparently in Mr. Stamp's time in the Kirkgate Chapel safe, but now missing, confirms, or is the foundation for, Mr. James' statement (*History*, p. 241) that after a time the Methodists returned to the Cockpit, and worshipped there until 1766, when their first chapel, the Octagon, in Great Horton Lane, "on the site of which Grove House now (i.e. 1841) stands," was built.

Mr. Dickons gives more of detail. "In 1765 the Methodist Society had so much increased in numbers and importance that the members determined (following the example of Birstal) to have a permanent place of worship of their own. The site fixed upon was a plot of land in Great Horton Road. The aspect of the district is so changed that it is not easy to point out with precision the exact place of the first Methodist Chapel in

1. James, *History and Topogr.*, p. 241, says that it had been vacated in 1755 by the Baptists under the leadership of Mr. Crabtree, the "Anabaptist teacher" to whose disturbing activity amongst Wesley's people reference is made in *Journal*, 15 July, 1761.

Bradford. So far as can be made out, it was near Randall Well Street, where the Empire Theatre (late Alexandra Hotel) now stands. Randall Well Street is of recent date, not being shown on the Ordnance Survey of 1848. Mr. Scruton, who has paid much attention to Bradford antiquities, . . . is rather inclined to think that the chapel formed part of, or adjoined upon, a close of land called 'Randall Well,' which formerly belonged to James Sagar, of Allerton in Bradford-dale, yeoman." (p. 38.)

When this was superseded in 1810 by Kirkgate, the purchaser, Mr. Richard Fawcett, pulled it down, and upon the site and the close built a house called Mount Pleasant. This in the course of years became the residence of the superintendent of Eastbrook. Wesley's description, and commendation of the Octagon will be found under 26 July, 1766.

AN EXAMINATION OF THE FRAGMENTS OF DEVOTIONAL VERSE QUOTED IN THE JOURNAL OF JOHN WESLEY.

The Hymn references, when not otherwise denoted, are to the Wesleyan Hymn Book; and when two are given, the first is to that of 1875, and the second, in brackets, to that of 1904.

Two Works have been of great help in this examination: (1) Dr. Osborn's *Wesley Poetry*, 13 volumes; (2) Stevenson's *Methodist Hymn Book Illustrated*. Dr. Julian's *Dictionary of Hymnology* has also been of great use.

For brevity, "O" is put for Dr. Osborn's Work. Other abbreviations explain themselves. The edition of the *Journal* is that of Thomas Jackson, 8vo, 1829-31.

VOLUME I.

P. 159, Thy mercy is above all things, &c.
Sept. 26, 1738. —From the Old Version of Psalm XXXVI,
vv. 7, 8, 9, 10.

"Most sure" in v. 9 is probably a slip of J. W.'s. The original (Oxford ed., 1814) has "full sure." In my copy of the edition of 1621, this verse reads thus:

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*For why? the well of life so rare
Doth ever flow from Thee,
And in Thy light we are full sure
The lasting light to see.*

J. W. says: "the words of Thos. Sternhold." But in Julian the version of this Psalm is assigned to John Hopkins, by initials "J. H." See *Dict. of Hymnology*, 865, ii.

P. 198, Arm of the Lord, awake, awake!
June 3, 1789, and Thine own immortal strength put on!
P. 235, —Hy., 386, 1 (219), C.W., *Hys. and Sacred*
Oct. 23, 1739. *Poems*, 1749. O, IV, p. 302.
Taken from a very long poem in 4 parts; a paraphrase of Isaiah LI.

P. 237, Praise God, from whom all blessings flow.
Oct. 27, 1739. —Ken's familiar Doxology.
See Julian, pp. 618-621. For C.W.'s variation, see *Journal*, I, 510; II, 292.

P. 238, Why do these cares my soul divide,
Oct. 31, 1739. If Thou indeed hast set me free?
Why am I thus, if God hath died,
If God hath died to purchase me?
Around me clouds of darkness roll;
In deepest night I still walk on;
Heavily moves my damnèd soul—
[My comfort and my God are gone.]

—C.W., *Hys. and S. P.*, 1739. O, I, p. 131.

The 2nd and 3rd stanzas (with one line wanting, which is here supplied) of a striking poem entitled "In Desertion or Temptation."

J. W.'s reading, "damnèd soul," is remarkable. In O it is "*fainting* soul," as found in the editions of 1743 and 1756. The first ed. had "*fainting*." Osborn's text is not conclusive, for I have found that he now and then alters original readings he does not like. "Why am I thus?" is from Gen. XXV, 22; cf. Hy. 146, 3; omitted 1904.

From this poem comes the beautiful and valuable hymn, "Fondly my foolish heart essays"; no. 291; omitted, 1904.

P. 342, Be Thou his strength and righteousness,
Oct. 22, 1741. His Jesus, and his all.
—Varied intentionally from Hy. 786, 5 (269);
by Watts, *Hys.*, II, no. 90.

The verse as Watts wrote it reads thus:

"A guilty, weak, and helpless worm
On Thy kind arms I fall;
Be Thou my strength and righteousness,
My Jesus, and my all."

In his "Charles-Town" Hy. Bk., 1736,—the very first—J. W. alters "on Thy kind arms" to "into Thy hands."

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The verse is quoted in C. W.'s *Journal*, 19 July, 1738, with "life" for "strength." Later, "Jesus" became "Saviour," as in the Hy. Bk. But the old reading was the favourite one: "Say 'Jesus,' not 'Saviour,' said the expiring saint."—(*Stevenson*, p. 454.)

The 1904 Hy. Bk. has changed "guilty" to "sinful," a change necessitated by the alteration of "spotted" to "guilty" in the verse immediately preceding.

The first line of this hymn by Watts is borrowed by Charles Wesley for that of two of his own hymns:—

"How sad our state by nature is!"

See O, VI, p. 413, and XI, p. 436.

Hearken to the solemn voice,
 P. 364, The awful midnight cry!
 Apr. 9, 1742. Waiting souls rejoice, rejoice,
 And feel the Bridegroom nigh!
 —Hy. 54, 1 (839). C.W., *Hys. and S. P.*, 1742. O, II, p. 191.
 "A Midnight Hymn."

Of six stanzas, one of which, addressed to the "Perfected in love," was happily left out by J.W. in 1780.

The correct reading is "And *see, &c.*," as in O, and the Hy. Bk.

Jesus, Thou hast bid us pray,
 P. 411, Pray always, and not faint,
 Jan. 13, 1743. With the word a power convey
 To utter our complaint.

—Hy. 299, 1.

Omitted, 1904. C.W., *Hys. and S. P.*, 1742. O, II, p. 255. "Avenge me of my adversary" (Luke xviii, 3). The Hy. Bk. dropped the sixth and ninth of ten stanzas in the original.

When passing through the watery deep,
 P. 432, I ask in faith His promised aid;
 Sep. 12, 1743. The waves an awful distance keep,
 And shrink from my devoted head;
 Fearless their violence I dare:
 They cannot harm,—for God is there.

—Hy. 272, 2 (467). C.W., *Hys. and S. P.*, 1739. O, I, p. 135.
 Isaiah XLIII, 1-3.

The 1904 Book (rightly) puts a comma at "when," and consequently also at "aid." In lines three and four we have echoes of Pope and Prior respectively:—"Around, at *awful distance*, wait the rest."—Pope, *Thebais*, v. 616. "Round *our devoted heads* the billows roll,"—Prior, *Solomon*, II, 543.

Even now the Lord doth pour
 P. 508. The blessing from above,
 A kindly gracious shower
 Of heart-reviving love.
 —Hy. 630, 6 (683, 4). "Our Lord," rightly.

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C. W., *Select Psalms*; O, VIII, 250. Fish, 2nd ed., p. 258. An allegorical, and in some parts fantastic, paraphrase of Ps. 133, of eleven stanzas. All appear in the 1830 Hy. Bk. Three were wisely dropt in 1875. The 1904 Hy. Bk. omits two more. See II, 408; IV, 459.

P. 510, Praise God from whom pure blessings flow.
Aug. 12, 1745. —So II, 292.

Not merely a variation of Ken's line, but the first line of a distinct Doxology, by C. W., based on Ken's.

"Praise God from whom pure blessings flow,
Whose bowels yearn on all below,
Who would not have one sinner lost;
Praise Father, Son, and Holy Ghost."

From *Gloria Patri, or Hys. to the Trinity*, no. 33. O, III, 100, *Hymns on God's Everlasting Love*.

We should not now substitute this for Ken's time-honoured close to his Morning and Evening Hymns. But it was doubtless welcome to the early Methodists, both from its more distinctly evangelical tone, and from its virtual protest against the Calvinistic doctrine of Reprobation.

Ibid. Christ hath the foundation laid,
And Christ shall build me up;
Surely I shall soon be made
Partaker of my hope;
Author of my faith He is;
He its finisher shall be;
Perfect love shall seal me His
To all eternity.

—Hy. 382-5 (1875). Of this "Zerubbabel" hymn, both parts are now (1904) gone.

C. W., *Hys. and S. P.*, 1742. O, II, 290. The two last lines are significant, as embodying a notion at one time held by the Wesleys, that those "perfected in love" could not afterwards fall away. (See O, II, 97, note.)

VOLUME II.

P. 18. Who shall tell me if the strife
In heaven or hell shall end?
— C. W., *Hys. on God's Everlasting Love*.

O, III, 14.

From a hymn of 15 stanzas. It is of a polemical nature, directed, like so many others by C. W., against the "horrible decree" of Reprobation. The whole verse reads thus:

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“ Yet I *may* be saved, I know,
 I feel Thy Spirit strive :
 Whether I repent, or no,
 I *may* repent, and live.
 I have choice of death or life, (Jer. xxi, 8.)
 They both on *instant now* depend ;
 Who shall tell me, if the strife
 In heaven or hell shall end ?”

With the peculiar wording of line 6, common in the hymns of the Wesleys, cf. Prior, *Solomon*, III, 686 :

“ From now, from *instant now*, great Sire, dispel, &c.”
 This suggests that the proper punctuation (if punctuated at all) of the first line of Hy. 83, 7 (old book) would be, “ I must, this instant now, begin,” and not “ I must, this instant, now, begin,” as might naturally be supposed. The phrase represents the Latin “ *instans tempus*,” “ now ” being here substantival. See note, *Classical Quot.*, *Proc.*, V, 25 ; *Journal*, I, 94.

P. 30,
 Sep. 10, 1746. My soul, don't delay, Christ calls thee away ;
 Rise, follow thy Saviour, and bless the glad
 day !

No mortal doth know what he can bestow,
 What peace, love, and comfort ;—Go after
 Him, go !

(“ Light, strength, and comfort,” is the correct reading.) We have here the 4th and 5th verses of a remarkable hymn of 14 stanzas, popular among the early Methodists and others, and, in one instance at least, coming down to our own times. The first lines are, “ O tell me no more Of this world's vain store ”; with a variation of “ Ah ! ” for “ O,” which, in research, may cause it to be overlooked. It does not seem to be in the *Dict. of Hymnology*.

I have found it, or centos of it, in the following collections :—

(1)	The Moravian Hy. Bk. of	...	...	1754	...	14 vv.
(2)	“	“	“	...	...	1809 ... 10 “
(3)	“	“	“	...	...	1886 .. 11 “
(4)	R. Spence's Pocket Hy. Bk., 6th ed.	...	...	1786	...	12 “
(5)	John Wesley's Pocket Hy. Bk., 17th ed.	...	...	1809	...	8 “
(6)	Lady Huntingdon's Hy. Bk.	...	...	1774?	...	8 “
(7)	Hys. for Xtns. of all Denoms., Dublin	...	...	1792	...	5 “
(8)	Madan's Ps. and Hys., 4th ed.	...	...	1765	...	8 “

The Moravian Hy. Bk. of 1886 attributes the hymn to John Gambold, and it is found on p. 199 of his *Works*, 2nd ed., 1823, in fourteen stanzas. But Tyerman (*Oxf. Meth.*) doubts whether the “ doggerel ” can be really Gambold's ; and it does in fact seem unworthy of the author of that fine poem, *The Mystery of Life*.

The hymn, poor as it is, contains lines that have a very familiar ring : e.g.,

“ But this I do find, We two are so joined,
 He'll not live in glory and leave me behind.”

And the line preceding this,

“ For Jesus hath loved me, I cannot say why,”

must have more than a chance connexion with Charles Wesley's in Hy. 808, 3 (64, 2) :

PROCEEDINGS.

“He hath loved, He hath loved us, we cannot tell why.”

There is a German hymn with a somewhat similar beginning :—“Ach sagt mir nicht von Gold und Schätzen.” See Julian, 1007, i.

P. 85,
Feb. 21, 1748. Ye mountains and vales, In praises abound ;
Ye hills and ye dales Continue the sound ;
Break forth into singing, Ye trees of the wood ;
For Jesus is bringing Lost sinners to God.

—C. W., *Hys. and S. P.*, 1749. O, IV., p. 298. From the Second Part of a Paraphrase of Isaiah XLIV, of which it is v. 6.

This, in various forms, is a favourite quotation of J. W.'s. It recurs III, 399, where the first line only is given, altered thus :

“The mountain and vales His praises rebound.”

And again III, 434, first line only, with yet another variation :

“The hills and the dales With praises resound.”

It is just possible that these various readings might be those of C.W. himself in the process of composition, exhibited on some MS. to which J. W. had access. If not, we must suppose either a slip of memory on J. W.'s part, or a carelessness about strict accuracy, rather than, in this case, a deliberate alteration. [See in Thomas Jackson's *Recollections*, p. 115, an amusing anecdote of Wesley's days of declining strength, told by Joseph Taylor, in connection with this verse.—H.J.F.]

P. 125,
Nov. 13, 1748. Lamb of God, whose bleeding love We still
recall to mind,
Send the answer from above, And let us
mercy find ;
Think on us who think on Thee, And every
struggling soul release ;

O remember Calvary, And let us go in peace.
—Hy. 900, 1 (731), where we have “now” for “still,” and “bid” for “let.” The original had “thus” and “bid.” See O, III, 228.

C. W., *Hys. on the Lord's Supper*, no. 20. The 1904 Book drops the last verse of the hymn.

P. 234,
June 1, 1751. Come, let us join our cheerful songs.
—Hy. 678, (97). Recurs, III, 393.
First line of Watts's familiar hymn, Bk. I, no. 62,
with 5 stanzas, the 4th of which is omitted in the Wesleyan Hy. Bks.

P. 242,
Sept. 1, 1751. A solemn reverence checked our songs,
And praise sat silent on our tongues.
—Hy. 316 (5).

One of Watts's finest hymns, found in his *Horæ Lyricæ*, p. 141 of the 6th ed. : “God exalted above all praise.” It has 6 stanzas.

J. W. made two or three alterations, one of which is “solemn” for “sacred.”

With the change of tense in the quotation cf. that found at IV, 159.

- O happy, happy day, That calls the exiles
home !
P. 266,
June 15, 1752. —Hy. 536, 5 (793, with this v. and two others
dropped). C.W., *Redemption Hys.*, no. 48.
- O, IV, 272.
“*Thy exiles*” in O, as in original, and Hy. Bk.
- Ibid. I cannot fear, I cannot doubt, I feel the
sprinkled blood ;
Let every soul with me cry out, Thou art my
Lord, my God.
—C. W., *Hys. and S. P.*, 1749, II, no. 239.
- O, V, 470.
From this poem comes Hy. 486 (790), “See, Jesus, Thy disciples see.”
The verse quoted is the last, which, with the preceding one, is not included in
the Hymn.
- P. 267,
June 15, 1752. My God is reconciled, His pardoning voice I
hear :
He owns me for His child, I can no longer
fear.
—Hy. 202, 5 (363). C.W., *Hys. and S. P.*, 1742, O, II, 323,
“Behold the Man !”
This is a hymn that defies emendation ; J.W. made no alteration.
Rekurs, IV, 32.
- Ibid. O when shall I sweetly remove, O when shall
I enter my rest !
Return to the Zion above, The mother of
spirits distressed !
Opening of an exquisite hymn, 946 (1876) ; omitted, (1904).
C.W., *Funeral Hys.*, O, VI, 196, The original had 6 vv., of which
the 3rd and 6th are omitted in the Hy. Bk. In the quotation, the plural
becomes singular to suit the case.
- P. 291,
June 2, 1753. Come, Holy Spirit, heavenly Dove,
With all Thy quickening powers.
—Hy. 763, 1 (246, with v. 3 dropped).
Watts, *Hymns*, II, 34 ; originally in 5 stanzas, the 2nd of which was
left out in the Hy. Bk.
- P. 292,
June 2, 1753. Praise God from whom pure blessings flow.
See notes, I, 237, 510.
- P. 326,
Ap. 8, 1755. Abba, Father, hear my cry !
C.W., *Hys. and S. P.*, 1740. O, I, 322. “The
Backslider’s Confession.”

PROCEEDINGS.

Abba, Father ! hear my cry,
 Look upon Thy weeping child ;
 Weeping at Thy feet I lie,
 Kiss me, and be reconciled ; &c.

See Dr. Osborn's note.

P. 330. Names, and sects, and parties fall ;
 Thou, O Christ, art all in all.

—Hy. 518 (689 with the omission of 3 stanzas).

C.W., *Hys. and S. P.*, 1740. O, I, 362.

Part of a very long poem on "The Communion of Saints," from which also were taken nos. 515, 516, and 517.

P. 340, Dart into all the melting flame
 Aug. 28, 1755. Of love, and make the mountains flow.

Rekurs, IV, 420, with "power" for "flame."

[Source wanted].

P. 372, Bold I approach the eternal throne,
 June 12, 1726. And claim the crown through Christ my own.

—Hy. 201, 5 (360). C.W., *Hys. and S. P.*,

1739. O, I, 105. 6 stanzas, the 5th omitted.

Stevenson's notes on this hymn are full of interest.

P. 393, Ye now afflicted are, And hated for His name,
 Feb. 22, 1757. And in your bodies bear The tokens of the
 Lamb.

—C.W. *Redemption Hys.*, no. 8. O, IV, 218.

The sixth verse, —without the refrain, —of a hymn in 10 vv. beginning,
 "Ye tempted souls, that feel."

The refrain to each stanza is :

Lift up your heads, the signs appear,
 Look up, and see your Saviour near.

P. 408, The former and the latter rain,
 May 22, 1757. The love of God, and love of man.
 This completes the quotation, I, 508, where see note.

P. 485, O for one drop of the blood of Christ !
 May 28, 1759.

Not a quotation, but an allusion either to a line in the
 W. Hys. (174, v. 4 ; omitted, 1904,) or to the notion it embodies.

The hymn is a beautiful and powerful composition.

The last verse of this hymn reads thus :—

I sink [i.e. into hell] if Thou longer delay
 Thy pardoning mercy to show ;
 Come quickly, and kindly display
 The power of Thy passion below !
 By all Thou hast done for my sake,
 One drop of Thy blood I implore ;
 Now, now let it touch me and make
 The sinner a sinner no more !

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—C.W., *Hys. and S.P.*, 1749. O, IV, 419.

The remarkable expression "one drop of Thy blood" is not peculiar to C.W., and has a certain quasi-theological significance. With this force, it appears frequently in his sacred poetry. Hy. 184, 1 (now omitted) originally ran—

My God, my God, to Thee I cry,
Thee only would I know ;
One drop of blood on me let fall
And wash me white as snow.

See O, I, 326. For other instances see O, II, 221 ; IV, 349, 364 ; VI, 302 ; VII, 27. We may connect it with the "sprinkling of the blood" in I Pet., I, 2, and *Hys. passim*.

The somewhat extravagant idea of the efficacy of a *single drop* of "the precious blood" is a sort of theological fiction.

"Even *one drop* of the blood of Christ would have been sufficient to expiate the guilt of mankind" is quoted as the language of Pope Clement VI. in his Jubilee Bull of 1343. See Ullmann's *Reformers*, &c., I, p. 237. And this notion was perverted by Rome to the theory of a "reservoir" of merit stored up in the Church, to be dispensed on occasion.

Now and then in our older poets we find allusions to this strange idea, with which we may perhaps compare the hyperbole in Hy. 190, 5 (370, 4). In Marlowe's *Faust*, near the end, we read :

See, see, where Christ's blood streams in the firmament !
One drop would save my soul, *half* a drop ! ah, my Christ !

Donne writes, in *Miracles and Resurrection* :

One rosy drop from David's seed
Was worlds of seas to quench Thine ire.

And he elsewhere extends the thought :

Though *one* blood drop, which thence did fall
Accepted, would have served, yet He shed *all*,
which virtually attributes to our Lord a work of supererogation.

Willmott, in his *Sacred Poets*, says of Francis Quarles, that it was among his dying words, "What virtue there was in the *least drop* of His precious blood."

VOLUME III.

P. 17,
Sept. 14, 1760. Thou dost the raging sea control,
And smooth the prospect of the deep ;
Thou mak'st the sleeping billows roll,
Thou mak'st the rolling billows sleep.

Altered from Brady and Tate's version of Psalm LXXXIX, 9 : "Thou rulest the raging of the sea ; when the waves thereof arise, Thou stillest them."

J. W. has substituted "raging" for "lawless," and "smooth" for "change."

PROCEEDINGS.

Watts, in his version, utilizes that of B. and T. :

“Thy words the raging wind control,
And rule the boisterous deep ;
*Thou mak'st the sleeping billows roll,
The rolling billows sleep.*”

The antithesis is not in the original, where the two members of the Hebrew parallelism simply express, as usual, the same thought in varied form. It is probably due to a reminiscence of a well-known passage in Virgil, *Æn.* I, 65, 66.

“Æole, namque tibi divum pater atque hominum rex
Et *mulcere* dedit fluctus, et *tollere* vento,”

the second line of which Dryden thus renders :

“And *smooth* the waves, or *swell* the troubled main ;”

And this may have suggested “smooth” to J. W. In Hy. 226, 9 (49, 6) also by Watts, we have a similar antithesis.

P. 32,
Dec. 20, 1760.

O that He would Himself impart,
And fix His Eden in my heart,
The sense of sin forgiven !
How would I then throw off my load,
And walk delightfully with God,
And follow Christ to heaven.

—C.W., *Hys. for a Family.* O, VII, 180.

This is the last verse of a hymn of 6 stanzas, beginning : “Hence, lying world, with all thy care.” In O, as in the original, the readings are, “*O would He now,*” “*the Eden,*” and “*should I then.*”

Ibid.

Of Him that did salvation bring,
I could for ever think and sing.

The first two lines of a hymn popular in the time of the Wesleys. I have found it in these :

- (1) John Wesley's Pocket Hy. Bk., 17th ed., 1809, 5 verses.
- (2) Spence's Pocket Hy. Bk., 6th ed., 1786, 5 verses.
- (3) Dublin Hy. Bk. for Christians of all Denominations, 1792, 5 verses.
- (4) Whitefield's Collection, 6th ed., 1757, 3 verses.
- (5) Madan's Collection, 4th ed., 1765, 3 verses.
- (6) Biddulph's Psalms and Hys., 4th ed., 1810, 3 verses.
- (7) Collection of Psalms and Hys., pub. by J. Wesley, ed. 9 verses.
- (8) Methodist Episcopal Hy. Bk., 1849, 5 verses.

To the last of these I was guided by the *Dict. of Hymnology*, which adds another American Hymnal as late as 1874.

Dr. Julian classes the hymn with the English translations, through the German, of the old Latin hymn, “*Jesu, dulcis memoria.*” Comparing it with Trench's selection, the resemblance is very slight ; but as, according to him, the entire Latin poem had nearly 50 quatrains, this comparison is not decisive.

I have no satisfactory clue to the authorship. Creamer, in his *Methodist Hymnology* (1848), and the *Meth. Episc. Hy. Bk.* of 1849, both ascribe it to Charles Wesley ; but Dr. Osborn does not include it in his Collection.

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In my copy, however, of the 11th ed. of J. and C. W.'s *Collection of Psalms and Hys.*, 1789, in which is inscribed as the owner's name "W. Sugden," Dec., 1861 (probably the joint editor with West of the *Westminster Tune Book*, and the joint compiler of the Index to Dr. Osborn's Work). I find written at the foot of the hymn—"C. Wesley, *Psalmodia Germanica*, p. 17. (D.C.) (G. Osborn.)" This seems to give Dr. Osborn as an authority for attributing the hymn to C. W. D.C. no doubt stands for Daniel Creamer, above referred to.

Two stanzas of this singular hymn may here be given, as containing each a "conceit" reminding of Donne and his school :

"Ye hearts of stone, come melt to see,
This He endured for you and me ;
He suffered : all our guilt's forgiven ;
And on His blood we swim to heaven."

"*To shame our sins He blushed in blood,*
He closed His eyes to show us God ;
Let all the world fall down and know
That none but God such love could show."

Among various readings are the following :

"Lord, may we ever think and sing !"

"I *would* for ever think and sing."

"To purge our sins Christ shed His blood,
He died to bring us near to God."

Points of contact are discerned with the W. hys.

"Ask, and He turns your hell to heaven ;"

cf. Hy. 37, 2 (98), "It turns their hell to heaven."

"When Thou art nailed, I feel the smart."

cf. Hy. 552, 4 (1830, Hy. Bk.).

"O my God, He dies for *me* ! I feel the mortal smart !"

C. LAWRENCE FORD.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

317. MICHAEL FENWICK IN OLD AGE.—[Extracted from the Diary kept by Henry Wormal, while a prisoner with seven others, in York Castle, 1795, at the Suit of George Markham, Vicar of Carlton, for Tithes.]

“There also came an aged Man, I believe nearly on purpose to visit us, about thirty miles, a Methodist preacher (I thought him to be) his name is Michael Fennick, he has a grave and pleasant Countenance, & he desired that we would all come together, & he did speak several sentences, very pertinent, (as I did think) to our present situation, & when he departed he said, Trust in the Lord & he will help you, we have heard since, that he hath £12 per year to live upon & gives most of it to the poor, rises early in the morning & is 80 years of age, I thought him about 60.”

“Came again Michael Fennick before mentioned, & requested we would all come together, & he express'd several good sentences, part of which were scripture, & very pertinent to such a visit, I think his last words were, they that trust in the Lord, shall be as Mount Zion, that cannot be removed.”

“We were visited again a third time by Michael Fennick . . . he shook hands with all of us that were present, when he went away & said we should be released in a little time.”

“A few days ago it came in the News paper an account of the sudden death of Michael Fennick, the Methodist Preacher, before mentioned. He was suddenly Killed in a Mill, where he had gone for fear of the Thunder or lightning, by which he was struck dead instantly.”—*Mr. Norman Penney*, editor of *Journal of Friends' Histor. Soc.*

There can be no doubt that this is Michael Fenwick, for whose abilities as a preacher Charles Wesley had such a special contempt, and who has found a place in the *Journal*,—by no means such a one as he coveted,—under 25 July, 1759. Charles advised Michael to give up preaching and to go home. But Atmore's amusing account of Michael's career (*Memorial*, 123-5) clears for us the later references to him by John Wesley. A letter of the latter to Duncan Wright,

9 Jan., 1788, shows Michael to be preaching in Scotland with just such a degree of recognition by Wesley as Atmore describes. Michael's chattering tongue contributed to the fatal illness of poor Thomas Walsh, according to Melville Horne. (*Early Meth. Pr.*, iii, 286). Yet Michael had a sort of popularity: Wesley remarks sarcastically, (21 May, 1780), "I am not a preacher for the people of Edinburgh. Hugh Sanderson and Michael Fenwick are more to their taste." Myles is too precise when in his list of the "second race" of preachers he enters Michael as beginning to travel in 1771. Michael does not appear on the *Minutes* then or afterwards. Atmore says that the old preacher was maintained by a gentleman near Bridlington, and tells in some detail the story of his death in the mill. Michael, in true Methodist fashion, "died well." The glimpse of his old age in Mr. Penney's interesting fragment, is beautiful.—*F.*

318. THE LAST OF THE OLD KEELMEN.—I thought the last of the old Tyneside keelmen had shuffled off this mortal coil long ago, but it was something of a revelation to me, to come across, the other day, a living representative of the old craft, who verily believes he is the very last of his tribe. I should think he must be. His name is Robert Brown, and he lives at 13, Pipewellgate, Gateshead. He was born in 1819, and is therefore now 87 years of age. He was bred and born in Pipewellgate, and has lived there during the whole of his long life. Having been a sober man all his days, the veteran managed to save what "bought him a bit property," in the place of his birth, but I gathered from the old man that he is now in some little trouble with the local authorities over this property aforesaid. It may, perhaps, be deemed "unfit for human habitation," though the old man has actually lived in it up to the ripe age of 87. When the veteran Robert Brown commenced his career, doubtless as the "little pee-dee" of a Tyneside keel, the old race of keelmen were noteworthy figures in the local song and local anecdote literature of the district. They held an important place in the industrial life of the river. With the advent of the steam engine there came modern improvements which cut them off, root and branch, and their memory lingers as little more than a tradition. There was the keelman proper, whose flat-bottomed craft had the "keel o' coals" teemed into it by the teemers at the staithes of the up-river coal pit; and who then proceeded to navigate his vessel to Shields harbour, where

the coals were put on board the sea-going sailing collier-ship. This process was in the hands of the "casters," who "cast" in the coal from the keel through a port-hole in the ship's hull, into the hold. The coal was then taken in hand by the "trimmers," who occupied the interior of the hold, and "trimmed" the coal to an even surface in order that the ship might hold as much as possible and yet remain seaworthy. Contrast all this with the celerity with which a big steamer is now loaded up, coming in on one tide and going out on the next—nay, sometimes on the same, tide.—*Newcastle Daily Chronicle*, 7 April, 1906.

319. 'PARSON' SLATER OF SHOTTLE, DERBYSHIRE.—The pioneer of Methodism in many towns and villages of Derbyshire and the borders of the surrounding counties, was Thomas Slater, a farmer, of Shottle, near Belper, and a local preacher from 1770 to 1821. See *M. Magazine*, 1825; *Countess of Huntingdon, Memoirs*, ii, 279; *M. Recorder*, Winter No., 1899; *Records of Belper Circuit*, 1903. Recently his great grandson, Mr. Humphrey Cooper, told the writer a new story of those early days—"In my early youth (say 1840) I was engaged to drive a lady from Ripley to Ashbourne. After passing Shottle, when a village church came in sight, I told the lady, "It is said my great grandfather, a Methodist local preacher, once preached there." The lady at once replied, "You need not say, 'It is said,' for I was present at the service, and am the daughter of the clergyman of that day. My father invited Mr. Slater to preach, out of respect for his sterling christian character." She then described something of the sermon and added, "But what struck me most was his humility, and self-effacement in his message." My informant, who had long left this neighbourhood, had forgotten the name of the village. It struck me, however, as being even more remarkable than such a proceeding would be in these days.—*G. Arthur Fletcher*.
320. METHODISM IN THE LIGHT OF THE ENGLISH LITERATURE OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.—The ninth volume of the "Munich Contributions to Romanic and English Philology," edited by H. Breymann and E. Koepfel, and published by Deichert, Erlangen, 1895, consists of an interesting monograph on the subject indicated in the title, written by Dr. J. Albert Swallow. The author has laboriously waded through the literature of the eighteenth century, in search of allusions to Methodism, and has tabulated his finds under the headings of Drama, Poetry, Magazine Articles, Essays, Published

Letters, and Novels. Biography, and Religious and Controversial Literature do not enter into Dr. Swallow's purview, and are only incidentally mentioned. Tempting as the subject is, I am precluded from quoting the observations of a living author, and must confine myself to a mere enumeration of the works from which he gives annotated extracts.

I. DRAMA. FOOTE: *The Minor, Act III; The Lyar, Act I; The Orators, Act II; The Mayor of Garratt, Act I; The Devil upon two Sticks, Act III; The Maid of Bath, Act I; The Nabob, Act III; A Trip to Calais, Act III; The Author, Act II.* BICKERSTAFFE: *The Hypocrite.* FIELDING: *Miss Lucy in Town.* R. HILL: *The Gospel Shop.* POTTINGER: *The Methodist.*

II. POETRY. POPE: *The Dunciad, Book II, v. 258.* BYROM: (throughout). J. G. COOPER: *Epistles to the Great, Ep. IV.* CHURCHILL: *The Cock Lane Ghost.* R. LLOYD: *A Tale: The Cobbler of Tessington's Letter.* E. LLOYD: *The Methodist.* CHATTERTON: *Apostate Will; Journal, for 30 Sept. 1769; The Defence; The Methodist; Fragments.* LOVIBOND: *To Laura, on her receiving a Mysterious Letter from a Methodist Divine.* COWPER: (various). "PETER PARAGRAPH": *The Methodist Mimick, 1761.* ANON: *Methodism Triumphant, or the Decisive Battle between the Old Serpent and the Modern Saint, 1767.* [See Green, *Anti-M. Bibliog., 387*]. ANSTEY: *The New Bath Guide.* CRABBE: *The Borough, IV; Tales in Verse. No. 15.*

Magazine articles are too numerous to be inserted here.—*Charles A. Federer.*

321. THE TURVIN COINERS (*Journal, 26 August, 1778*).—Wesley writes: "Understanding there was great need of it, I preached on *Render unto Cæsar, &c.* I spoke with all plainness, and yet did not hear that anyone was offended." This was at Halifax, but Uriah Walker, the historian of Halifax Methodism, writing in 1838, confesses himself unable to unravel the secret of the reference in Wesley's words. Our member, Mr. C. A. Federer, has recently published a pamphlet,—No. 5 of the *Yorkshire Pamphlet Series*,—which sets the matter in full and clear light. A walk from Mytholmroyd station by way of Crag Vale brings the traveller into the Turvin Valley and within a short distance also of Erringden Park. This portion of country is difficult of access even at the present day. But 150 years ago it was absolutely impenetrable to a stranger. "The King's writ did not run" in the Erringden Valley. In

the latter half of the eighteenth century, in Erringden and Crag Vale, David Hartley, a native of Turvin, was the head of a famous and daring gang who followed the industry of clipping the king's money and coining the clippings. The trade was a lucrative one, and the gang kept their accounts in a systematic and business-like manner. Hartley was "King David" amongst them. "Great Tom," alias "Conjurer Tom," a prosperous woollen manufacturer, was his right hand man in disposing of the clipped and debased coin. David Greenwood, of Hill Top Farm, was "treasurer" to the enterprise. The men and their illegal practices were well known in Halifax and the neighbourhood, but found influential and well-to-do people interested enough to screen them, and to render the agents of the law helpless. Not until the winter of 1769 could arrests be made, and those not in Turvin, but in Halifax, where also at length Hartley himself was arrested at the Old Castle in Southgate, and was executed at York in 1770. But the evil went on almost unchecked. Convictions were difficult to secure; the commercial centre of the business was from time to time shifted from Halifax, to Sowerby and other places, and the coiners did not stop short at the murder of informers. Public opinion in Halifax and the neighbourhood was at the least not against the culprits and their crime, nor could justice reach even the murderers until a younger Hartley saved his own life by informing upon two others, who were hanged at York in 1774 and 1775 respectively, and their bodies gibbeted on Beacon Hill in Halifax. The Turvin band was thus broken up, but the coining trade still persisted in the valley of the Calder; and it was a long time before public opinion had so changed as no longer to need teaching like Wesley's plain words of 1778.

322. GLIMPSES OF THE LIVING WESLEY.—(I.) In a lecture on *Old Otley*, by Mr. C. Walker, n.d., the lecturer relates that Rev. Joshua Hart, vicar of Otley, an earlier lecturer on the history of the town, said: "About 1836 I first went through Menston, and there met a healthy old man who, when he found I was the new vicar said, 'Sir, I remember John Wesley preaching in your pulpit. It was when I was a boy, and my father took me. I don't remember the text, but I do remember his quiet look and the squeeze he gave me at the church gates, and his two cropped horses,—little black 'uns they were, sir. He had preached the year before at Cross Green and the people had pelted him.'"

(II.) Mr. H. W. Ball, Barton on Humber, inserts in one of our MS. *Journals* the following extract from *Fifty Years' Recollections, literary and personal*, by Cyrus Redding. 3 vols. 1858. It gives a vivid personal touch for our portrait of Wesley. "I have a perfect recollection of John Wesley when [I was] a mere child. He stood preaching upon a heap of Norway timber on the quay at Falmouth. A servant taking me out for a walk, I saw him in a black gown, his long white hair over his shoulders, as in his portraits, at which I stared as at something wonderful. Children were clambering on timbers close to where I stood. On a sudden he stopped in his discourse, turned round towards them, and called out in a clear loud tone, "Come down you boys, or be quiet." The crowd, not great, seemed to hear him with attention."—p. 5.

(III.) "Dave" Hirst was a musical "character" of the latter half of the 18th century at Morley, near Leeds. "When a boy Hirst had the fortune on two occasions to be selected to hold the horse of John Wesley, when that distinguished minister visited Morley. He well remembered the yellow-painted old fashioned chaise in which sat Wesley with his fine head of hair and his venerable countenance."—Smith, *Hist. and Antiquities of Morley*, p. 86.

323. JOHN TREGORTHA, PREACHER AND PRINTER. — This extract from *Notes and Queries* may be of interest.—(the late) *Francis M. Jackson*.

"JOHN TREGORTHA, OF BURSLEM (10th S. ii. 289).—MR. GREGORY GRUSELIER is referred to 'Bibliotheca Staffordiensis,' a work issued in 1894 under exceptionally great disadvantages by one whom I am proud to call my personal friend—Mr. Rupert Simms, of Newcastle-under-Lyme. This monumental bibliography of Staffordshire (which was noticed at 8th S. vi. 520) contains more than five columns of references to works published by John Tregortha, and gives also a brief account of his career. He was born in Cornwall (no date or place given), and was a Wesleyan minister up to 1795, being stationed at Burslem in 1787. He became a printer and bookseller in 1796, continuing the business till his death, which took place on 9 January, 1821.

"According to Mr. Simms's list, Mr. Tregortha's first publication was issued in 1796, and was entitled 'The Christian's Guide to Holiness.' Mr. Simms states that a portrait of Tregortha may be found in the *Arminian*

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Magazine for 1790, p. 505 [? 169], and credits his namesake son with the composition of 'Verses on the late Mr. John Tregortha, of Burslem, Staffordshire, who died on 9 January, 1821,' 12mo, pp. 4. Mr. Simms says he has 'no other trace of him,' and asks ('*Bibliotheca Staffordiensis*,' p. 465) 'whether issued before name was changed, as I find in 1834 Charles Gorst Tregortha (a son of the printer) in business in Swan Square, Burslem.'

"Of this Charles Gorst Tregortha, Mr. Simms says he was in business as a printer and dealer in books at Swan Square, Burslem, and afterwards at Waterloo Road, quoting from White's '*Staffordshire*,' 1834 edition.

"I am now able to quote from the 1828 edition of Pigot & Co.'s Directory, which states that John and Charles Tregortha were in business as printers in the Market Place, Burslem, in that year. The 1835 edition of the same work mentions only Charles Gorst, giving the address as of Swan Square. I have several other directories of Staffordshire of much later date than this, but the name does not occur after 1835 in any of them.

Mr. Simms begins his list of Tregortha's works with the following quatrain:—

Now old Tregortha's dead and gone,
We ne'er shall see him more;
He used to wear an old grey coat
All buttoned down before.

The last two lines to be repeated.

Baltimore House, Bradford. CHAS. F. FORSHAW, LL.D.

MR. GEORGE STAMPE adds: "This John Tregortha began to travel in 1786; in 1788 went to Macclesfield; in 1789 to Liverpool; after which he had no appointment, but the Minutes do not say when he desisted from travelling. His name does not occur in Dr. Osborn's *Outlines of Wesleyan Bibliography*."

MR. R. THURSFIELD SMITH writes:— In reference to J. Tregortha, Burslem, it would be well to have his history cleared up. In my early days I used to hear a good deal about him, as Whitchurch is only about 20 miles from Burslem. He was always spoken highly of, and did much preaching in this part of the country amongst the Wesleyans. His portrait (aged 23) appears in the *Methodist Magazine*, February, 1790 (April in some copies), so I do not think for a moment that he was expelled. In those early hard times

numbers of worthy men had to desist from travelling. I have seen many Methodist books printed and published by Tregortha, some not very good specimens, but some very well executed. I have just met with a copy of *Hervey's Meditations, &c., Life, &c.*, pp. 371, which is a credit to the Burslem Press, and has a very fine portrait of Hervey. At foot of title page is: Burslem, Printed by J. Tregortha, 1820.

Mr. Smith adds:—Since writing the above I have found an old Record of Methodist “beginnings” in this locality: “The latter end of 1790 missionaries came at different times and preached on the borders of Wales and Shropshire, on the Commons, in the open air. During that period there was one John Tregortha, from Staffordshire, preached about the country.”

324. AN *UNPUBLISHED* LETTER OF JOHN WESLEY.—For the following letter of John Wesley's we are indebted to the Rev. R. J. Jones, M.A., of Aberdare. The letter is addressed to “Mr. Tho. Mason, Shopkeeper in Limerick.”

It is interesting as an instance of the intimate oversight that Wesley exercised over his people.

“Castlebar, May 30, 1771.

“DEAR TOMMY,

“A conversation I had yesterday with C. Proctor determined me to write immediately. The person at Birr will not do: not only as she is far too young; little more than a child; but as she has only little, if any, Christian experience. You want a woman of middle age, well tried, of good sense and of deep experience. Such an one in every respect is Molly Pennington; but whether she is willing to marry or no, I cannot tell. If she is, I hardly know her fellow in the kingdom. If I meet with any I will send you word.

“I hope you speak to Jonathan How with all freedom, and tell him whatever you think amiss in him. Especially encouraging him to press all believers to go to perfection, and to expect it now! Peace with all your spirits!

“I am, dear Tommy, your affectionate brother,

“J. WESLEY.”

Mr. Jones adds a note that Mr. Mason did not marry Molly Pennington. The letter is now in the possession of some great-great-nieces of his, resident in Aberdare.

Thomas Mason and Jonathan How were probably leaders or local-preachers. They were not travelling preachers.—*B.G.*