



Selina Hastings
the Countess of Huntingdon



Selina Hastings, the Countess of Huntingdon

CURATED BY WANDA WILLARD SMITH

4 FEBRUARY–19 APRIL 1997

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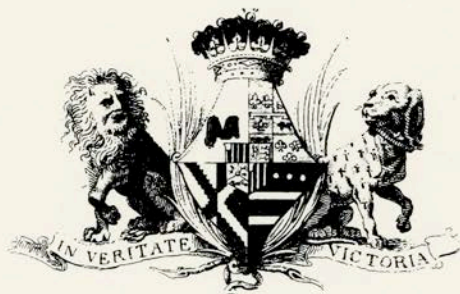
I am Your Affectionate Brother JWesley. Curated by Page A. Thomas. With essay by Frederick E. Maser. Edited by Valerie R. Hotchkiss. Bridwell Library, 1994.

The Reformation of the Bible / The Bible of the Reformation. Curated by Jaroslav Pelikan. Catalog of the exhibition by Valerie R. Hotchkiss and David Price. Yale University Press and Bridwell Library, 1996.

Selina Hastings, the Countess of Huntingdon. Curated by Wanda Willard Smith. Bridwell Library, 1997.

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FOREWORD

Founder of an evangelical movement, aristocrat, philanthropist, friend of the Wesleys, educator, reformer—and a woman. Although the inequities of history make the final descriptor the most surprising, the subject of this exhibition and catalogue is a remarkable person in many ways. Selina Hastings, the Countess of Huntingdon (1707-91), was a leading figure in eighteenth-century England, second in importance only to John Wesley for the organization of Methodist societies, and yet she is almost unknown. This exhibition, inspired by Bridwell Library's extensive holdings of manuscript letters by the Countess, seeks to reveal her life, works, and personality through contemporary sources and her own voluminous correspondence.

Bridwell Library is committed to an ambitious exhibition program that not only displays but also interprets our special collections in meaningful ways. We have endeavored to engage curators with the expertise and scholarly background to explore new topics and to look at intellectual history in new ways, with the aim of enlightening and inspiring students and professors, as well as the broader public.

I was very fortunate in being able to interest Wanda Willard Smith in curating the exhibition. Ms. Smith, who for almost thirty years has worked on the Wesley Works Project, first with Albert Outler and then with Richard P. Heitzenrater, has meticulously studied the sources and surviving documents of Selina, the Countess of Huntingdon. She has provided a reliable overview of Selina's accomplishments and has judiciously selected items for display that illumine our understanding of this eighteenth-century figure and document her remarkable commitment to Methodism. Working with Ms. Smith, Jon Speck, Exhibitions Manager, has designed this catalogue and installed the exhibition in the Elizabeth Perkins Prothro Galleries.

This exhibition represents a collaboration with the Divinity School Library, Duke University, and the Methodist Archives and History

Center, Drew University. After opening at Bridwell Library (4 February to 19 April 1997), the exhibition will travel to Drew University (15 May to 15 September 1997) and to Duke University (1 October to 23 November 1997). We have shared resources to assemble this exhibition and have, I believe, strengthened the bonds between our seminaries and our libraries in the process.

Each exhibition of Bridwell's Special Collections materials gives us fresh cause to express our deep gratitude for the life of Joseph Sterling Bridwell, whose vision and support allowed Bridwell Library to build such magnificent collections over the past fifty years. The unbounded and ongoing benevolence of the J.S. Bridwell Foundation under the leadership of Herbert Story has enabled us to continue the great project of J.S. Bridwell to build one of the finest rare book collections in the country.

We also express our heartfelt thanks to Evie Jo Wilson, who has established an endowment that helps fund an exhibition at Bridwell Library every few years. The decision to use the endowment income for this exhibition is particularly apt, we think, since the Countess of Huntingdon and Evie Jo Wilson share many virtues. Both are women of distinction and acumen, both have served Methodism with piety and devotion, and both have used their resources to further religious education. We are grateful for the support of Mrs. Wilson, which has made the publication of this catalogue possible.

Valerie R. Hotchkiss

J. S. Bridwell Foundation Endowed Librarian
Associate Professor of Medieval Studies

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The efforts of many people went into making this exhibition a reality, and my debt of gratitude to all of them is enormous. In particular, I express my profound thanks and appreciation to the following persons at Bridwell Library: Valerie R. Hotchkiss, Director, whose idea it was to mount this exhibition, and who supported me at every turn with her enthusiasm, encouragement, and editorial skills; Page A. Thomas, Director of the Center for Methodist Studies at Bridwell Library, long-time colleague and friend, who often put aside his own duties to assist me in one crisis or another; Jon Speck, Exhibitions Manager, for his exquisite talents in designing the catalogue and the exhibition; Jan Sobota, Director of Conservation, for preparing many of the items for display; James Powell, Interlibrary Loans, Laura Randall, Reference Librarian, David Lawrence, Administrative Assistant, and other members of the staff whose intellectual and moral support was always evident and deeply valued.

Several institutions and individuals have provided loans and assistance for this exhibition. I thank especially Janet E. Tollington, Cheshunt Foundation, Cambridge; Meirion W. Davies, The National Library of Wales; Gareth Lloyd, John Rylands Library; and John A. Vickers, Emsworth, Great Britain; Tamara Johnson, Interpretive Programs Office, and the Photoduplication Service, Library of Congress, Washington, D. C.; Earl A. Powell, III, Alan Shestack, and Lisa Mariam, National Gallery of Art, Washington, D. C.; David Tribble, Bethesda Home for Boys, Savannah, Georgia; Kenneth E. Rowe, Methodist Archives and History Center, Drew University; Linda McCurdy, Special Collections Library, and Roger Loyd, Divinity School Library, Duke University; M. Patrick Graham, Pitts Theology Library, Emory University; Devertt Bickston, Science and Engineering Library, Southern Methodist University.

Last, but by no means least, special appreciation is expressed to others who read early drafts of my essay on Lady Huntingdon and responded with helpful comments and suggestions: Richard P. Heitzenrater,

Duke University, who is my supervisor in the Wesley Works Project, mentor, and friend; Edwin Welch, a specialist in Lady Huntingdon and her times; my son, Richard R. Smith, IV, Mary Ann Marshall, Ann Johnson, Connie Gorman, and Joan Little.

Resurrecting an eighteenth-century countess who wished to remain obscure has not been an easy task. Our hope is that she would not be displeased to be showcased in this manner if those of us in the late twentieth century might gain some insight into her deep commitment to the work of God and the salvation of souls to which she devoted her life and her fortune.

Wanda Willard Smith
Bridwell Library

SELINA HASTINGS, THE COUNTESS OF HUNTINGDON A BRIEF OVERVIEW OF HER LIFE AND WORK

Wanda Willard Smith

SELINA SHIRLEY HASTINGS, the Countess of Huntingdon, was the most prominent noblewoman in evangelical circles in England in the eighteenth century.¹ She was a friend of John and Charles Wesley, patroness of George Whitefield, builder of chapels, founder of Trefecca² College in Wales and of "The Countess of Huntingdon's Connexion," yet she is little known today, especially in this country. Since she never sought personal publicity, this lack of notoriety would not displease her.

Unlike many of her contemporaries, she kept no diary and wrote no journal or memoir. Even in her will, she specified that no biography be written after her death and that no one should publish or permit publication of her "letters, private correspondence or other papers"³—and her wish was honored for almost fifty years.⁴ This disinclination for public recognition did not keep Selina from expressing her inmost thoughts in private letters. Throughout a long life which spanned most of the eighteenth century, she carried on a voluminous correspondence, a small part of which is the impetus for this exhibition.

Although Selina's later years are well documented, very little is known about her early life. Her baptismal record has never been found, but the

¹ There were, of course, other women of the aristocracy who played important roles in the evangelical revival in the eighteenth century. Willielma Campbell, Viscountess Glenorchy, is a notable example. Considerably younger than the Countess of Huntingdon, she began her work in the 1770s, and used part of her fortune to build chapels and support schools in both England and Scotland.

² This spelling is the form given on the Ordnance Survey Map, although the official Welsh spelling has only one "c"; the English version is Trevecca.

³ "Will and Codicils of the Right Honourable Selina, Countess Dowager of Huntingdon Deceased," in *Deeds of Trust and Like Documents Relating to the Countess of Huntingdon's Connexion* (London: James Sears, 1874), p. 9 (quoted in Brown, p. 10).

⁴ Until A. C. H. Seymour published his two-volume biography in 1839 and 1840.

date of her birth, 24 August 1707, has been determined from other evidence. Various sources have differed on the place of her birth, but tradition favors Astwell House (now Astwell Castle), one of the Shirley family estates, southwest of Wappenham in Northamptonshire.

Selina was the second of three daughters born to Washington Shirley and Mary Levinge. Her father, the second Earl Ferrers, had appropriated large estates in England and Ireland from his deceased father, and for many years these were entangled in multitudinous litigations which left his family virtually penniless, forced to live on "a soldier's pay and the charity of relatives."⁵ Indeed, Washington Shirley was not able even to provide dowries for his daughters when they reached marriageable age—except to convey mortgages to his future sons-in-law.⁶ When Selina's parents separated, sometime after 1712, she chose to remain with her father while her mother and her younger sister went to live in France.⁷

MARRIAGE AND FAMILY

Although never described as a raving beauty, Selina Shirley was not without her attractions. Large eyes set above expressive lips and a slightly aquiline nose combined to give her a pleasing countenance. Tall and slender, she carried herself, as her station in life would suggest, with dignity and grace. Her manner was elegant and refined, her conversation animated, persuasive, instructive. In her later years, she was described as "noble and commanding."⁸ She could also be authoritarian and formidable. She reminded George Whitefield of "an archbishop with his chaplains around him."⁹ John Berridge compared her to a pope.¹⁰

⁵ Welch, p. 1.

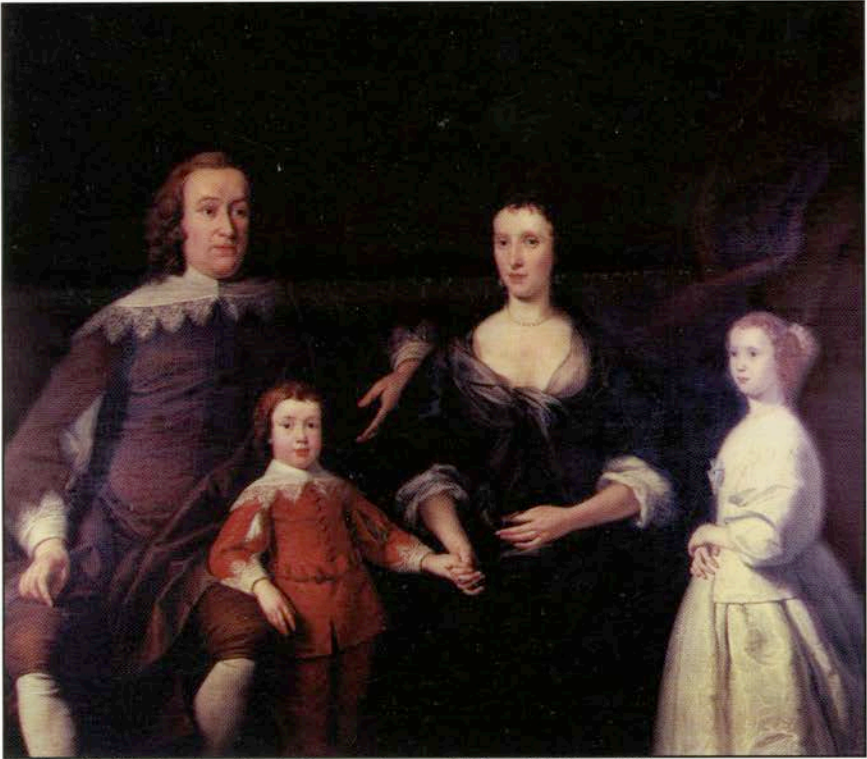
⁶ Selina's dowry was not settled until 1810, twenty years after her death! Welch, p. 13.

⁷ Welch, p. 15.

⁸ New, p. 4.

⁹ See George Whitefield's letter "To the Countess D—," 11 October 1750, in his *Works*, 2:380–81.

¹⁰ Berridge, the vicar of Everton, had been importuned by Selina to travel to Brighton to preach at her chapel there. Not as susceptible to Selina's persuasive powers as some could be,



Andrea Soldi, *Lord and Lady Huntingdon with Their Children*. Oil on canvas, ca. 1743. Courtesy of the Cheshunt Foundation, Cambridge, Great Britain. Exhibit 3.

In her late teens Selina received the courtesy title of Lady Selina Shirley, and at the age of twenty she married, on 3 June 1728, Theophilus Hastings, the ninth Earl of Huntingdon. Theo Hastings was born on 12 November 1696, at Donington Park, his illustrious family's estate in Leicestershire. Well educated at Oxford and abroad, he was a quiet, retiring man. Although certain public duties and responsibilities at court and in society were demanded of him, he much preferred the private enjoyments of his home and family.

Berridge declined. But he could not forego a parting shot: "You threaten me, Madam, like a Pope, not like a Mother in Israel." He then likened her inducement to the promulgation of a "*Vatican Bull*"! Berridge's letter, dated 16 November 1762, is quoted in New, pp. 162–63.

Lord and Lady Huntingdon were extremely fortunate in their life together. Not only did they share a profound mutual regard and respect, they also loved each other devotedly. When it was necessary for them to be parted, each missed the other, as frequent letters testify.¹¹ Until his death, 13 October 1746, he remained an attentive and affectionate husband and father.¹²

With her marriage Selina assumed a multitude of duties in the oversight and management of her husband's households and estates as well as the servants and retainers such properties required. Her abilities for organization and efficiency were soon apparent. Not only did she bring order, she also exhibited a deep concern for the welfare of those under her care and for whom she was accountable—not just their physical well-being but also their spiritual state. She had been introduced to society through her aunt, Lady Fanny Shirley, and had many associations with the rich and famous of her day who frequented her drawing rooms, but these did not cause her to neglect the lower classes who crowded the servants' quarters of her various houses. In every neighborhood where her influence was felt, she soon began to be referred to as "Lady Bountiful."¹³

Selina was plagued with health problems throughout her life. During her childbearing years, her gynecological afflictions were many. Seven children were born into the Huntingdon household between 1729–1739: four sons and three daughters. Only three survived to adulthood and only one outlived both parents. In addition to physical ailments she suffered the traumatizing deaths of her children (two of her young sons died of

¹¹ See, for example, two of her letters from Bath early in 1732: 14 February, "Saturday's post brought me my Dearest Life's most tender and affectionate Letter which almost overcame me with Joy to find my absence from you had not rendered me less fortunate in that esteem which is more valuable than any satisfaction I have on earth"; and 19 February, "To tell my dearest life how impatient I am to see him is I am perswaid'd more easie for me to feel than to express. . . . I ever loved you to an excess of Passtion." Methodist Archives and History Center, Drew University, Madison, NJ.

¹² New, p. 5.

¹³ New, p. 7.

smallpox within a few months of each other) and the loss of her much-loved husband and other close family members. Each bereavement brought her intense grief and anguish. In her later years, gout, gallstones, "spasms" in her throat, headaches, "unceasing thirst," and "constant opposition to all nourishment" were her companions.¹⁴ She sought medical advice from prominent physicians,¹⁵ and she "took the waters" at Bath and Hotwells (near Bristol) and other popular spas of the day. As did many of her contemporaries, she took snuff.¹⁶ And, to relieve her chronic pains, she used laudanum (opium).¹⁷ In the face of her long years of suffering, she still exhibited enormous fortitude, energy, and unflagging zeal to champion her cause of winning souls to Christ.

¹⁴ See her letters to Thomas Haweis and his wife, 13 April 1790 ("The gout in my head & all over me & the spasms in my throat render my days filled with weariness & painfulness. Nothing does me any good. Fourscore & four has no reliefs till the blessed & final dismissal comes"); 17 April 1790 ("The spasm in my throat & a gall stone in the passage renders the old pilgrim the present subject of weariness & painfulness"); and 27 May 1790 ("Such a poor worm so near the grave as my very many suffering hours produce both from the increasing misery of the spasms, stone & unceasing thirst & sickness & the constant opposition to all nourishment & this while quite a specter of bones only. . . . My support is only to go through these poor unprofitable little services now near fifty years engaged in [i.e., since 1740] with the dearest & best of Lords and Masters"); Bridwell Library (hereafter BL), Letters 122, 105, 124.

¹⁵ Notably, Dr. George Cheyne; see his *Letters*.

¹⁶ In a letter to Charles Wesley in August 1756 she asked him to order "a pound of Scotch snuff of Mr. Bennet in the churchyard at Bath—the same [as] Mr. Grigg has from him and to send by Lady Gertrude's horses when they come up on Sunday next to fetch her. I will give Lady Gertrude [Hotham] the money to pay for it when they send me what it is a pound"; Methodist Archives, John Rylands University Library, Manchester, England (hereafter JRL).

¹⁷ BL, Letter 126, 13 July 1790, to Mr. and Mrs. Thomas Haweis. Welch (p. 4) surmised that her illnesses in later life followed bouts of depression and were probably psychosomatic. But another diagnosis would indicate that many of the symptoms she complained of were those of opium addiction. It is not known why she first started using this drug, but it would appear that the cure was worse than the disease. There seems to be no doubt that laudanum contributed to the illegibility and incoherence of many of her letters.

RELIGIOUS CONVERSION

It has been said that Selina's religious inclinations first became apparent with the death of a childhood playmate when she was nine years old. This loss had a profound effect, leaving her with a serious turn of mind that fostered prayer and meditation even when very young. After her marriage into the Huntingdon family, she formed very close attachments to her sisters-in-law, the Ladies Anne, Frances, and Margaret Hastings, and their elder half-sister, Lady Betty, who resided at another of the Hastings' estates, Ledston Hall in Yorkshire. All were well known for their devotion to religion.

Edwin Welch dates Selina's religious conversion to July 1739¹⁸ when Lord and Lady Huntingdon made a short visit to Ledston. Benjamin Ingham, a Yorkshireman from Ossett and one of the Oxford Methodists, along with other itinerants, had been preaching in the vicinity. They were invited to Ledston to hold services and engage in prayer and earnest conversations with the Huntingdons and the Hastings sisters. It was at this time that Lady Margaret spoke to Selina about the happiness her own conversion had brought her.¹⁹ From family letters which followed the Huntingdons' return to Donington Park, it appears that both Lord and Lady Huntingdon had resolved to take up "the life of religion."²⁰ Selina, with her serious temperament, was anxious to increase her knowledge of God and the things of God and from that time forward sought out the company of those who could enlighten and inspire her.

When it was learned that Selina had "turned Methodist," many of her fashionable friends were dismayed. Some of them prevailed on Lord Huntingdon to remonstrate with her. But he only recommended that she consult with the Bishop of Gloucester, who had been his tutor at Oxford. When the meeting came to naught, Lord Huntingdon said no more about it.²¹ While he may not have shared his wife's religious fervor, there is no

¹⁸ Welch, p. 41.

¹⁹ In 1741 Lady Margaret Hastings married Benjamin Ingham.

²⁰ Welch, p. 42.

²¹ *Dictionary of National Biography*, 9:133.

reason to think he was opposed to her convictions. He attended the preaching services held in his homes and was oftentimes the host to the ministers who were guests there.²²

THE METHODISTS: JOHN AND CHARLES WESLEY

It is not known when or how Selina first became acquainted with John and Charles Wesley, but one could assume Lord and Lady Huntingdon knew something of the Wesleys as early as 1737 through Lady Betty Hastings.²³ Some have claimed that the Countess was a member of the first Methodist society at Fetter Lane and then went with John Wesley to the Foundry, but there is no evidence to support this. It is quite likely, however, that in the fall of 1740 while the Huntingdons were in residence in London she attended preaching services at the Foundry.²⁴ She, herself, dated their meeting to 1740, when in one of her letters to Charles Wesley written 28 June 1775, she mentioned their having known each other "five and thirty years."²⁵ But she offered no details as to the place or circumstances of their first meeting.

²² It was a grave disappointment to Selina that none of her children shared her religious convictions. Her anguish was voiced in a 1758 letter to Charles Wesley written before her son's death. She wrote, "My poor son's eyes are very bad but his heart & spirit conquered by grace is my one wish about him here. O! could this be given him my heart would rejoice in the midst of my present grief about him"; JRL.

²³ Lady Betty Hastings had an intense interest in mission work in America. In 1737, after Charles Wesley had returned to England from a stint in Georgia as secretary to General Oglethorpe, Lady Betty wrote to him about the spiritual needs of the new colony; see Welch, p. 41.

²⁴ Lady Huntingdon knew and greatly approved of Thomas Maxfield who was one of the lay helpers at the Foundry; see her letter to John Wesley, 31 January 1741/42, in Wesley, *Works*, 26:73. Wesley had left the Fetter Lane society on 20 July 1740, after a festering disagreement with the Moravians over the "stillness" question, and moved his center of operations to the Foundry; see *Works*, 19:161-62, 427.

²⁵ JRL. She pinpointed the same date in later letters to Thomas Haweis; see BL, Letter 121, 8 April 1790, where she speaks of "our early days now fifty years ago"; and Letter 124, 27 May 1790, "... now nearly fifty years. ..."

John Wesley's first mention of Lady Huntingdon in his extant diary is 15 April 1741, when he set out to visit her at Enfield Chase, north of London. He preached there, had dinner and religious talk with her and Lord Huntingdon, and returned to London that afternoon.²⁶ Over several months following, John recorded in his diary seven visits with the Countess. She championed his cause and sought his advice.²⁷ On more than one occasion, he consulted with her about the publication of his *Journal*. She was invariably encouraging.²⁸ She had lamented not having a collection of "chaste" English poems. Wishing to fill this void, Wesley began selecting and revising pieces he thought would be appropriate. When he finally published them in 1744, as his *Collection of Moral and Sacred Poems*, in three volumes, he dedicated them to her.²⁹ And when the first Methodist Conference convened at the Foundery, 25–30 June 1744, Lady Huntingdon entertained members of the Conference in her home, where John Wesley also preached.³⁰

²⁶ In his published *Journal* Wesley makes no mention whatsoever of this visit, commenting only about his evening preaching at Greyhound Lane. See John Wesley, *An Extract of the Reverend Mr. John Wesley's Journal, from November 1, 1739, to September 3, 1741* (London: Strahan, 1744), p. 79; see also, *Works*, 19:190.

²⁷ Writing to him 29 April 1742, she said, "Nothing less do I look for from you than making our sinner, apostate Church the footstool of Christ. For this end was you born, for this end came you and your brother into the world." She continued, "I am going . . . to take some of the most extreme poor that are simple of heart under my care and have them come twice a week. . . . May I explain the Scriptures? Or how will you direct me? When they are fit I shall put them in band. May I venture upon such an office? Speak plainly"; see Wesley, *Works*, 26:76.

²⁸ See her letters to him of 15 March and 19 April 1742: "I do not find one thing I would have altered in the Journals"; "The manner in which you speak of yourself [in the Journal] cannot be mended, supposing you have done justice to the grace you have received"; Wesley, *Works*, 26:74–75.

²⁹ One of the works included in this *Collection* was a considerable part of Edward Young's long poem, *Night Thoughts*. Robert Dodsley owned the publishing rights, however, and he sued. Wesley acknowledged the piracy and agreed to pay £50–£20 by a bank note and £30 by check; see Curnock, 3:147n, 162n.

³⁰ Curnock, 3:143n.

Selina formed a particularly close attachment to Charles Wesley (they were born in the same year) and his family, especially to his wife, Sarah. On one occasion Selina hurried to Sarah's bedside to nurse her through smallpox. Even during those periods when her relationship with John became strained, Selina's friendship with Charles remained strong. Their letters to each other are numerous—hers filled with warm affection and concern, his with deference and respect.³¹

THE METHODISTS: GEORGE WHITEFIELD

Younger than the Wesleys, George Whitefield was also a graduate of Oxford. While a student there, he had seen the Methodists and the persecution to which they were subjected because of their beliefs and practices—and he longed to be a part of them. When an occasion to meet Charles Wesley finally presented itself, Whitefield wrote, "I thankfully embraced the opportunity. . . . It was one of the most profitable visits I ever made in my life," and he soon joined the "despised Methodists."³² Gifted and charismatic, he became a spellbinding orator. His presence and preaching style attracted enormous crowds wherever he went. His passion was to spread the gospel at home and abroad anywhere and everywhere a pulpit could be found whether indoors or out. It was Whitefield who, in April 1739, finally broke down John Wesley's aversion to field-preaching which opened the way to the Methodist Revival.

As with the Wesleys, it is quite likely Selina knew about George Whitefield long before they actually met. While still a student at Oxford, Whitefield (along with other students) had received financial aid through the benevolence of Lady Betty Hastings, which he acknowledged with gratitude, calling her "that elect lady."³³ The same Bishop Benson who had been Lord Huntingdon's tutor at Oxford had ordained Whitefield as

³¹ Many of these letters are in JRL.

³² Whitefield gave an account of his first knowledge of and acquaintance with Charles Wesley in *A Short Account of God's Dealings with the Reverend Mr. George Whitefield*, pp. 12–13.

³³ *George Whitefield's Journals* (London, 1960), p. 78.

priest in January 1739, and subsequently wrote Lord Huntingdon about it.³⁴ Already by this time, at the age of only twenty-four, Whitefield had made something of a name for himself: preaching in London, Bristol, and Bath, celebrated in verse in the *Gentleman's Magazine*,³⁵ and just recently returned from his first voyage to America.

The eight months following his ordination found him in a whirlwind of activity, preaching, traveling, writing sermons. The Trustees of the Colony of Georgia gave him the Georgia "living" and a grant of five hundred acres of land for an Orphan House (which, when he took possession of it in January 1740, he named *Bethesda*). In August 1739 he embarked on another trip to America that would last eighteen months and take him from Savannah to Boston and many points in between. Back in England in 1741 he married and continued his preaching tours in England, Scotland, and Wales.

Sometime, probably toward the middle of February 1743, George Whitefield and the Countess met in Gloucester face to face. Whitefield challenged her about her allegiance to Wesley and the doctrine of Christian perfection. She reported this to Wesley in a letter dated, 19 February 1743: "I charged him with some severity about his conduct to you."³⁶ This is the first we hear about George Whitefield from Selina's pen. The immediate effect of this correspondence on the relationship between Wesley and Whitefield, if any, is unknown. However, she would have had further opportunities to hear Whitefield preach before he departed once again for America in August 1744.

³⁴ Benson wrote, "Though mistaken on some points, I think him [Whitefield] a very pious, well-meaning young man, with good abilities and great zeal. . . . I pray God grant him great success in all his undertakings for the good of mankind, and the revival of true religion and holiness among us in these degenerate days; in which prayer, I am sure your Lordship and my kind good Lady Huntingdon will most heartily join"; Seymour, 1:196. Benson had also ordained Whitefield deacon in 1736.

³⁵ See "To the Rev. Mr. Whitfield [sic], on his Design for Georgia," *Gentleman's Magazine* 7 (November 1737):697.

³⁶ See Wesley's *Works*, 26:636; Frank Baker lists this letter but does not transcribe it. The original is in JRL.

FROM ARMINIAN TO CALVINISTIC METHODISM

Sometime before George Whitefield returned from America in 1748, Selina had made a major transition from Arminian to Calvinistic Methodism. How and when this came about is not evident in correspondence or records of the time. The 1743 letter to Wesley is the only indication we have that she felt one way or the other about the doctrinal differences that stood between Wesley and Whitefield—and at that time, she came down on Wesley's side.

We do know that in August 1743, at her home in Downing Street, London, she was introduced by Charles Wesley to Howell Harris, the Calvinistic Methodist lay preacher from Wales.³⁷ Harris was often in London, preaching at Whitefield's Tabernacle in his absence, and he soon became a friend of the Countess.³⁸ There were others in her circle of friends, both clergy and lay, with Calvinistic sentiments, but what part, if any, these played in Selina's new orientation is not mentioned in extant records.³⁹

Still, she remained on friendly terms with both the Wesleys, especially with Charles. And, despite doctrinal differences that surfaced from time to time, John and Charles Wesley maintained a warm friendship with Whitefield. Whitefield was a Calvinist who believed God foreordained (predestined) salvation for some but not all. John Wesley, on the other

³⁷ Although Harris had been refused ordination by the Church of England, he was nonetheless one of the outstanding Calvinistic Methodists in Wales; see Beynon, p. 50.

³⁸ Harris in later years would be instrumental in the establishment of Selina's college at Trefecca.

³⁹ In taking a long view of Selina's casting her lot with Whitefield instead of remaining with Wesley, one cannot help but wonder if more than just doctrinal differences were at work. Selina and John Wesley were much alike in many respects. Both were energetic, strong-willed, authoritative, brooking no dissent. John never allowed anyone else to impinge on his authority—either over himself or his preachers. Selina reserved the same prerogative. Whitefield and Charles Wesley were considerably younger than John, more agreeable in temperament, and both maintained a long and close friendship with her.

hand, believed all persons could be saved—which was the Arminian position. These differences strained the relationship from time to time and caused rifts at some periods of their lives. Even so, the Wesleys loved George Whitefield and he them, and the warmth and depth of their affection for each other eventually overrode the disagreements.⁴⁰ These disputes, when they did occur, always grieved the Countess and she frequently lamented that these gifted men of God could not remain on friendly terms.

LADY HUNTINGDON'S "CALL"

Selina had always fulfilled the responsibilities that her position in society demanded of her. In addition, she had long been involved in charitable enterprises wherever she happened to be residing. She had a deep concern for her neighbors and dependents and especially for the coal miners in Leicestershire, Derbyshire, and Staffordshire.⁴¹ In addition to explaining the Scriptures to them, her benevolence also provided books and medical supplies to various societies and chapels.

Selina never felt that she had a personal call to preach publicly—as she explained in a letter to one of her chaplains, Thomas Haweis, and his wife. When someone had asked her why she had not preached, given her zeal, knowledge, and abilities, she said, "I did not see it scriptural, . . . our Saviour's general commission was only given to men except in two instances—to the woman of Samaria and to Mary Magdalen".⁴² Instead, she believed her calling was to *enable others* to preach the gospel, to bring

⁴⁰ Shortly before Whitefield's untimely death at Newburyport, MA, 30 September 1770, he requested that John Wesley preach his funeral sermon back home, which Wesley did on 18 November. See John Wesley, *A Sermon on the Death of the Rev. Mr. George Whitefield: Preached at the Chapel in Tottenham-Court-Road and at the Tabernacle near Moorfields on Sunday, November 18, 1770*. London: Printed by J. & W. Oliver, 1770. See also Sermon 53 in *Works*, 2:324-47.

⁴¹ Welch, p. 48 and n., mentions various references to Selina's efforts on behalf of the miners though few details have been preserved.

⁴² BL, Letter 86, 7 October, 1775.

the glad tidings of salvation to perishing souls. And it was to this mission that she dedicated her life and her fortune. She spelled this out plainly, according to a report by John Eyre, one of her preachers. When asked why she did not relieve the wants of a family in deep distress, she replied,

I can do for them but very little. I am obliged to be a spectator of miseries which I pity, but cannot relieve. For when I gave myself up to the Lord, I likewise devoted to him all my fortune; with this reserve, that I would take with a sparing hand what might be necessary for my food and raiment, and for the support of my children, should they live to be reduced. I was led to this from a consideration, that *there were many benevolent persons who had no religion, who would feel for the temporal miseries of others, and help them; but few, even among the religious, who had a proper concern for the awful condition of ignorant and perishing souls.* What, therefore, I can save for awhile, out of my necessities, I will give them; but more I dare not take without being guilty of sacrilege.⁴³

Selina had always been drawn to the evangelical clergy within the Church of England (the Established Church) and along with the Wesleys, Whitefield, and many others advocated a renewal of the Church from within. Many of these evangelicals had no churches of their own but preached on occasion and by invitation in the churches served by clergymen of the Established Church. Their strong evangelical preaching often offended the ministers of these churches, and they soon found themselves unwelcome and often expelled from their pulpits. No longer able to proclaim the gospel in the regular churches, they preached wherever a crowd could gather—on street corners, in courtyards, in the fields. In doing so they crossed over parish lines which brought further censure—and at times persecution—upon them.

⁴³ Quoted in New, pp. 151–52; italics added.

In opening her houses to these preachers, Selina not only provided them a place to expound the Scriptures and preach the gospel but also gave them protection. As a peeress of the realm, she had the right to appoint personal chaplains, a prerogative which for some could number as many as six and in her case two, a number she soon exceeded.⁴⁴

In order to offer protection to more of the clergy than she had been able to afford heretofore and to expand her field of operations, Selina began to lease buildings which she remodeled into chapels. So that she could claim these as her private chapels, she also had her personal living quarters attached. These chapels were soon filled with new congregations and supplied by preachers appointed and supported financially by her. Although each of these places served as her residence only a few weeks in the year, they functioned as well when she was away as when she was present.⁴⁵ She was constantly increasing the number of her ministerial friends and found employment for them all.⁴⁶

LADY HUNTINGDON'S CONNEXION

In 1748 Selina had been a widow for two years. While she still carried heavy responsibilities toward her children, their inheritances, the family properties, and even her sisters-in-law, for the first time in her life she was free to do whatever she wanted with her life and her fortune. With her enormous energy, zeal, and organizational skills, she was ready to assume a role for which she seems to have been born. At last, she had a venue in which to exercise her "calling." She was just embarking on the second half of her life.

In July of that year, she and Howell Harris had returned to London from Wales, and Whitefield's ship from America was expected any day. When it docked on 5 July, Harris, at Selina's request, met Whitefield as soon as he came ashore and took him to the Countess's home in Chelsea

⁴⁴ Welch, p. 151-52.

⁴⁵ Brown, p. 32.

⁴⁶ New, p. 157.

where he preached twice. Impressed more than ever by his "spirit-stirring eloquence," Selina shortly thereafter appointed him her chaplain—and Whitefield graciously accepted her patronage.⁴⁷

It would seem that the Countess and George Whitefield had been made for each other. Unlike John Wesley, whose societies were spread from one end of England to the other, Whitefield had none—and wanted none. He did not want to be hampered by administrative duties and tied down by responsibilities of overseeing societies. Instead, he wanted to be free to travel and preach the gospel. As he explained in a letter to John Wesley,

My attachment to America will not permit me to abide very long in England; consequently, I should but weave a Penelope's web, if I formed societies; and if I should form them, I have not proper assistants to take care of them. I intend therefore to go about preaching the gospel to every creature. You, I suppose, are for settling societies everywhere.⁴⁸

So, what George Whitefield did not want to do, Selina now took upon herself. Having a very high opinion of the Countess's wisdom and talents, Whitefield came more and more to depend on her judgment. Certainly, no one doubted the purity of her motives.⁴⁹

Selina began to form societies, build chapels, and appoint ministers. She held annual conferences. The preachers whom she stationed were known as "Lady Huntingdon's preachers"; the Methodist connexion she formed was known as "Lady Huntingdon's Connexion"—a completely separate entity from that formed by John Wesley—and it eventually spread out over most of England and Wales. She held the same relation to her preachers as Wesley did to his; her authority was supreme. Luke Tyerman

⁴⁷ Seymour, 1:89–92.

⁴⁸ Letter, 1 September 1748, Whitefield, *Works*, 2:169–70.

⁴⁹ See New, p. 81; and Tyerman, 2:21.

called her the "Empress of her new connexion and Whitefield was her prime minister."⁵⁰

While Selina had leased properties for her chapels for some time, these were buildings always owned by someone else.⁵¹ It was not until 1760 that she built her first chapel, which was located at Brighton. Chapels in other locations followed: Ote Hall (Oat Hall) in Sussex,⁵² Bath (where Charles Wesley usually served as her chaplain while she was in residence there—as well as at Clifton).⁵³ and Tunbridge Wells, were all built during the 1760s. The only other chapel built entirely at her expense was at Swansea in 1789. Shortly before her death her chapels numbered sixty-three.⁵⁴

Selina long remained a loyal member of the Church of England with a warm attachment to its liturgy, which was a distinguishing feature in all her chapels. She always considered herself, her ministers, and congregations, members of the Established Church.⁵⁵ It was understood that all the services held in Selina's chapels were meant to be in addition to, not in place of, the regular stated services in the Church of England. Everyone was expected to attend their own parish churches and observe all the requirements of such membership.⁵⁶

In the late 1770s, however, a complex series of circumstances surrounding Spa Fields Chapel in London eventually forced Selina and her connexion into dissent from the Church of England. It was a difficult and painful decision for her. Located in the parish of St. James, Clerkenwell, this property had once been a place of entertainment known as the

⁵⁰ Tyerman, 2:21.

⁵¹ Welch, pp. 99–100.

⁵² Oat Hall appears on *Cary's New Map of England and Wales . . .* (1794), plate 16, just south of Wivelsfield and to the west of Chailey. On the Ordnance Survey Map #198, TQ 3320, it appears as "Great Ote Hall." Selina said it was just three miles from Chailey. Even as the crow flies, it is closer to 4 miles.

⁵³ New, p. 157.

⁵⁴ Welch, p. 100, 190.

⁵⁵ New, p. 150.

⁵⁶ Welch, p. 100.

Pantheon. When it closed due to financial difficulties, Selina considered purchasing the building for a chapel but was dissuaded by friends as being too great an economic risk. Instead, another group of Calvinistic Methodists rented the property, remodeled it into a place of worship, and renamed it Northampton Chapel. Although it was registered as a Dissenting meeting house under the Toleration Act, it was supplied by ordained Anglican preachers, albeit evangelicals. The preaching services drew enormous and enthusiastic congregations.

Problems arose because Northampton Chapel was within the boundaries of a parish served by William Sellon, the curate of St. James, Clerkenwell. Sellon did not look kindly on this unconventional activity in his parish. Not only did the large contributions and subscriptions at Northampton have an adverse effect on his own coffers, he was also jealous of his authority, insisting that it was his right to preach in the chapel whenever he wanted and to choose any others who preached there. When satisfaction was not forthcoming from the Northampton preachers and proprietors, Sellon brought legal action in the consistory court. No defense was offered, and the judge ruled that services could no longer be held in Northampton Chapel without Sellon's permission.

Selina, who had followed the case closely, was in Bath when the judgment came down. She set out for London immediately, intending to take matters into her own hands. On arrival she wrote a letter to the bishop, "deploring the registration of the building as a dissenting chapel and seeking an interview to explain her plans,"⁵⁷ which included taking Northampton Chapel and those who preached there under her protection. While the bishop responded to her letter, he offered no encouragement that her protection would be to any avail.

Undaunted, she closed the chapel for two Sundays, undertook remodeling which included a passageway linking the chapel to her house (thereby making it her private chapel), canceled the registration as a dissenting meeting house, and renamed it Spa Fields Chapel. She appointed

⁵⁷ Welch, p. 154.

Thomas Haweis and Cradock Glascott, ordained clergymen of the Church of England, as her chaplains and the opening service was held on Sunday, 28 March 1779.

But Sellon was not to be outdone and immediately brought charges against Haweis for exercising his ministerial office in a building not consecrated or dedicated to divine worship. Similar charges were brought against Glascott. Both were summoned before the consistory court, severely admonished by the judge, and forbidden either to preach or read prayers at Spa Fields Chapel. Other ministers at Spa Fields were placed under the same ban.

This action placed the Countess on the horns of a dilemma. Not only was Spa Fields in question but the status of all of her chapels: "If her Chapels were still to be regarded as belonging to the Church, then the laws of the Church must be obeyed. If not, and they were to be sheltered under the Toleration Act, they must be registered as Dissenting places of worship."⁵⁸ She felt her only alternative was the latter and so reluctantly she went into dissent. In 1782 her connexion ceased to be a society within the Church of England and became a separate denomination. Some of her preachers had no objection to this action. Others, including one of her favorite and longtime chaplains, Thomas Haweis, could not comply and returned to the fold of the Established Church, where he remained for the next eight years.⁵⁹

TREFECCA COLLEGE

In March 1768, when six students at St. Edmund's Hall, Oxford, were expelled from the university for "holding Methodistical tenets, and taking upon themselves to pray, read or expound the Scriptures, and sing

⁵⁸ Overton and Relton, p. 88.

⁵⁹ The Spa Fields case went through many courts—the Consistory (London), the Arches (Canterbury), the Delegates, as well as the civil courts. Much of the information in this section on Selina's decision to secede from the Church of England is based on Welch, pp. 148–161; Brown, pp. 76–91; and Wood, pp. 155–158.

hymns in private houses . . . ,"⁶⁰ a way was opened for Selina to embark on one of the most important ventures of her life: the establishment of a college at Trefecca, a small village in the parish of Talgarth, Wales, for the purpose of educating preachers in her connexion.⁶¹ She was sixty years old.

Selina had first been introduced to Wales twenty years before, when she, her daughters, and the Ladies Anne and Frances Hastings, made a fifteen day trip through Wales, accompanied by four Welsh evangelicals who preached in the villages along the way. One of these four was Howell Harris,⁶² and Selina maintained close ties with him through the ensuing years.

She had long hoped to provide a school for educating evangelical clergy apart from Oxford or Cambridge, and while she did not engage in the controversy surrounding the dismissal of the students from St. Edmund's, her interest was aroused and encouraged by Howell Harris.⁶³ Trefecca was opened on the Countess's birthday, 24 August 1768. All the Methodist clergy were invited to attend. George Whitefield preached the opening sermon. John Wesley accepted the invitation on condition that "if nothing pressing calls me another way, I shall be glad to wait upon your Ladyship at Trefecca."⁶⁴ Apparently Cornwall was more pressing, for on that day he set off for Launceston. However, he did attend the first anniversary celebration and wrote an account of it in his *Journal*:

I went to Trevecca. Here we found a concourse of people from all parts, come to celebrate the Countess of Huntingdon's birthday, and the anniversary of her school, which was opened on August 24 of last year. I preached, in the evening, to as

⁶⁰ *London Magazine*, 1768, p. 125.

⁶¹ Cf. Tyerman, 3:34–35.

⁶² New, pp. 60f.

⁶³ Welch, pp. 112–13.

⁶⁴ Letter, 9 August 1768, in Cheshunt Archives, Cambridge University, Cambridge, Great Britain, and quoted in Welch, p. 116, n. 26.

many as her chapel could well contain; which is extremely neat, or rather elegant; as is the dining room, the school, and all the house. About nine Howell Harris desired me to give a short exhortation to his family. I did so; and then went back to my Lady's, and laid me down in peace.⁶⁵

John Fletcher of Madeley had been chosen as the first president and Joseph Benson the second headmaster (after the first, a Mr. Williams, had been dismissed as being "too young" and "deficient in the point of Christian experience"),⁶⁶ but both Fletcher and Benson soon left due to differences with the Countess over doctrine.⁶⁷ Wesley was never closely associated with Trefecca and his connections ceased altogether after Joseph Benson was dismissed in 1770.⁶⁸ The quality of instruction was never up to Wesley's standards, and he made more than one stinging comment about Lady Huntingdon's preachers in his *Journal* calling them "raw, pert young men, . . . (vulgarly, though very improperly called 'students')" and "those who styled themselves 'my Lady's Preachers,' who screamed and railed and threatened to swallow us up. . . . I cannot learn that they have made one convert—a plain proof that God did not send them."⁶⁹

The Countess lavished her care and attention on her college and was its sole financial support—from building, to staff, to students. The students came to her by recommendation from evangelical clergymen or laymen. She rigorously questioned them as to their religious experience. If she deemed them acceptable, they were admitted as probationers for a three-month period and then received as students.⁷⁰ They never numbered more than twenty at any one time. Their studies consisted of Latin, Greek, and some theology, and they listened to sermons preached by their

⁶⁵ Wesley, *Works*, 22:200.

⁶⁶ Welch, pp. 118–19.

⁶⁷ Tyerman, 3:34–35.

⁶⁸ Wesley, *Works*, 22:200, n. 60.

⁶⁹ See 7 December 1772, and 28 August 1778, in *Works*, 22:354; 23:103–4.

⁷⁰ Welch, p. 127.

tutor, by visiting clergy, and by one another. Oftentimes, they were sent out by the Countess to preach in the outlying areas, some long before they were adequately prepared.⁷¹ And their inadequate training eventually set up difficulties with the hierarchy of the Established Church, who refused to ordain many of them even before Lady Huntingdon's break with the church in 1782.

Even so, Trefecca flourished, despite frequent changes of masters and tutors. Selina began to spend much of the year there in order to be close at hand. As was often the case, there were disagreements and misunderstandings. Howell Harris complained that she "could not bear contradiction" and denounced her for her "autocratic ways."⁷² He was not the only one to be stung by her imperiousness. But Selina had a real gift for mending strained relationships, and friendships were usually restored, at least to some degree.

Trefecca was the only college for the education of evangelical preachers for which students paid nothing for their instruction. In time, supporting such an endeavor became a great financial burden to the Countess, but the college continued as a seminary for the training of Calvinistic ministers for the remainder of her life. In 1792, it moved to Cheshunt in Hertfordshire⁷³ and survives today as Cheshunt College, Westminster College, Cambridge University.

BETHESDA ORPHAN HOUSE

The idea of an orphanage in the Colony of Georgia had come to George Whitefield by way of Charles Wesley. In 1737, after Charles had returned to England, the Trustees of the Colony asked him to "draw up a scheme for an orphan-house."⁷⁴ But Charles never went back to Georgia, and it was Whitefield who set about to execute the plan. The Trustees

⁷¹ Welch, p. 129.

⁷² Welch, p. 125n.

⁷³ Tyerman, 3:34-35.

⁷⁴ Charles Wesley, 1:79.

gave him a grant of 500 acres of land near Savannah, and building began in January 1740. Whitefield brought some two dozen orphans from England and, until the building could be completed, he housed them in temporary quarters in Savannah. The idea was that the orphans would be taught Latin, arithmetic, writing, and reading, along with the skills of carding and spinning, which would allow them to be self-supporting. With a schoolmaster and a spiritual advisor in place, Whitefield began long years of traveling to raise funds for his new venture. In spite of his efforts, Bethesda was never financially sound, and Whitefield was even accused of diverting funds to his own use.

Although Selina supported this endeavor as she did many of Whitefield's causes, she had few connections to Georgia or to Bethesda. Nevertheless, at his death in 1770, Whitefield bequeathed Bethesda to her. Selina was sixty-three years old. Passing such a heavy responsibility to someone who had never been on these shores and who lived more than three thousand miles away was another mark of Whitefield's confidence in the Countess. She may also have been the only person he knew and trusted who had the financial resources to assume such a task. One of her biographers called Bethesda "her biggest problem and her worst failure."⁷⁵

Characteristically, Selina threw herself into the venture as the sacred trust she felt it to be. A general call went out to all the ministers and students in her connexion to meet her at Trefecca for the purpose of forming a mission to America. "As Lady Huntingdon supposes this the most important event of her whole life, so all that bear her any regard, in connexion with her, she must entreat to be present."⁷⁶ The meeting was held, and on 27 October 1772, the missionaries embarked for Georgia and duly arrived at the Orphan House. Soon they were traveling about the country preaching "among serious Christians of different denominations."⁷⁷ Selina's response to this new opportunity seems incredibly naive:

⁷⁵ Welch, p. 135. Indeed, Welch's whole chapter on Bethesda should be consulted; see Chapter 8, pp. 131–147.

⁷⁶ Quoted in Seymour, 2:257n.

⁷⁷ Seymour, 2:262.

America is honoured by the mission sent over. The province of Georgia have made proposals to build a church at their own expense, and present me with it, that the College of Georgia may have their ministry in that part honoured. The invitations I have for our ministry in various parts of America are so kind and affectionate, that it looks as if we were to have our way free through the whole continent. . . . My last letters from America inform me, our way appears to be made to the Cherokee Indians; and in all the back settlements we are assured the people will joyfully build us churches at their own expense, and present them to us, to settle perpetually for our use. Some great, very great work is intended by the Lord among the heathen. Should this appear I should be rejoiced to go myself to establish a College for the Indian nations.⁷⁸

But Selina soon encountered difficulties that even she could not resolve. With Bethesda, she had inherited slaves at a time when there was developing opposition to the practice in England,⁷⁹ and her friends and acquaintances urged her to release them in a humane way. Her view toward slavery was similar to most evangelicals: rather than approach the problem directly, she endeavored to take care of their temporal needs and prepare them for the life hereafter. In the midst of the slavery problem, Bethesda suffered a major fire which brought huge monetary losses. There were continual financial and personnel problems, but the major blow against her was the outbreak of hostilities between the American colonies and Great Britain that brought communications between Selina and Bethesda to a standstill.⁸⁰

⁷⁸ Quoted in Seymour, 2:262–3. Edwin Welch, in a personal note to the author, stated his belief that this letter in this form was not written by Selina but was in fact “manufactured” by Seymour.

⁷⁹ Welch, p. 144.

⁸⁰ Welch, p. 4.

After the war, conditions worsened. Some of the slaves were sold to meet expenses; persons in charge deserted and eventually returned to England, including William Piercy (the clergyman chosen by Selina to head the mission). Over the next several years, Piercy was the cause of numerous legal difficulties for Selina. Although she had funded the whole operation, Piercy demanded payment from her "for the years he had spent in North America," as well as for other expenses. He proposed arbitration to settle the matter and then threatened to sue her for her "most unjust cruel and dishonourable conduct." She replied, "If I have wronged any man I am willing to restore him fourfold."⁸¹ She knew Piercy had been guilty of "wasting assets and not accounting for his receipts,"⁸² and she engaged legal counsel. But Piercy was a wily one. With his arbitrators in the mix, the affair rocked along for several years and was never brought to a conclusion as far as records show.

Toward the end of her life Selina sent John Johnson, one of her students, to Georgia to look into the miserable state of affairs at Bethesda. She had high hopes for his success and wrote Thomas Haweis, "He is quite the man for me."⁸³ Johnson arrived in Georgia early in 1791 and worked diligently to bring some order to the tangled legal problems surrounding the institution. But news of the Countess's death reached him before much was accomplished. Local officials were then attempting to take over the property and were not pleased when they learned that Lady Huntingdon had left Bethesda in trust to several Englishmen. An act was passed by the Georgia state legislature on 20 December 1791, appointing thirteen trustees to establish Bethesda College. Johnson was officially notified that possession had taken place and that he was not to remove any of the property without permission. In defense, he wrote letters that no one would print; he tried to bring legal action, but no lawyer would take the case. He attempted a siege of the property and was arrested for

⁸¹ Welch, p. 166.

⁸² Welch, p. 168.

⁸³ BL, Letter 127, 7 August 1790, to Thomas Haweis.

his pains, though eventually released.⁸⁴ Johnson published a long poem in which he compared the take over of Bethesda to the destruction of Troy, the burning of the library at Alexandria, the sacking of Rome, the eruption of Vesuvius, and other great catastrophes.⁸⁵ But none of his efforts met with success. In the end, Bethesda, for which the Countess had such great plans and in which she had invested so much, came to very little.

MISSIONARY WORK IN AMERICA

Selina's commitment to missionary work in America went beyond her efforts in Georgia. In 1782, she began a correspondence with General George Washington, a distant cousin, about the possibilities of a foundation in America for the purpose of establishing "a college as a mission to the Indian nations." She proposed to appoint Washington as one of her executors in the endeavor. While her first two letters have not survived, Washington's reply to her second letter reveals that she intended to "establish colonies of immigrants in North Carolina, Virginia, Pennsylvania, and New York" to live among the Indians and become centers of civilizing and educational influence among the native population.⁸⁶

While Washington did not agree to become her executor, he was encouraging about the possibilities of her plan. He suggested that when the treaty between Congress and the Indians had been signed, she might be able to obtain grants in some of the western lands. On 8 April 1784, she sent to him a six-page "Address to . . . America,"⁸⁷ in which she outlined her hopes and intentions. Washington's reply is dated from Mount Vernon, 30 June 1785. He reported that her proposal had been duly presented to the Congress by Patrick Henry, the Governor of Virginia, "in a full and ample manner, but it was his [Henry's] private opinion . . . that

⁸⁴ Welch, pp. 174–75.

⁸⁵ John Johnson, *The Rape of Bethesda or the Georgia Orphan House Destroyed*. Charleston: Markland & M'Iver, 1792.

⁸⁶ Welch, p. 169.

⁸⁷ In the George Washington Papers, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.

under the pressure of debt to which this fund was to be appropriated; and the diversity of sentiment respecting the mode of applying it that no determination would, or indeed could, be made in favor of emigrants of any description whatsoever." Washington enclosed the resolutions and ordinance which were the result of Congress's "long and painful deliberation on the mode of disposing of the Western Lands." These "will give the terms and shew your Ladyship the mode, by which the lands belonging to the Union are to be obtained:—in other words, how difficult it must be for foreigners to know when or where to apply for them."⁸⁸

No further correspondence on the matter is extant. Six years later, in late June 1791, Robert Bowyer, Miniature Painter to the King, sent a letter to Washington, who was then President of the United States, informing him of Selina's death on 17 June 1791. Bowyer wrote that the Countess had sat for her picture a few months before her death, and he "was particularly fortunate with the likeness." An engraving was made of the painting, and Bowyer enclosed a copy of it with his letter. Washington acknowledged receipt of both the letter and the engraving the following 8 January 1792. He wrote, "Although I had not the satisfaction of knowing the late Countess personally; yet having been honored with her correspondence, and learning from others, the amiable and benevolent character which she sustained, I have respected her virtues."⁸⁹

LAST DAYS

It was said that over the last half of her life, Selina spent £100,000—building her chapels, her college, supporting her chaplains, students, and other evangelical interests—that is, her entire fortune except for her personal expenses.⁹⁰ These charities were rarely made public, being

⁸⁸ In George Washington's Letterbook, p. 130, in the Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.

⁸⁹ George Washington's Letterbook, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.

⁹⁰ Cf. New, p. 58; see also *Gentleman's Magazine* 61/1 (1791): 589.



Benjamin West. *Countess of Huntingdon*. ca. late 1780s–91.
National Gallery of Art. Exhibit 57.

principally distributed through her chaplains, but £100,000 was a vast amount of money for the time.⁹¹

Toward the end of her life, Selina rarely left London, but she continued her work unceasingly, and her devotion and commitment to her cause were undiminished. Accounts of her final days speak of her conversations with her ministers, her secretary, and her companion, Lady Anne Erskine. Thomas Haweis reported that her last illness began in

⁹¹ To convert this sum into current U.S. dollars is virtually impossible. An average of Consumer Price Indexes for Great Britain for the last forty years of Selina's life compared to that of 1991 yields a ratio of about fifty-seven to one, or £5,700,000. Converted into U.S. currency, this figure exceeds ten million dollars. But such a sum today would scarcely cover a small part of what was accomplished by the Countess.

November 1790, when "a blood vessel broke," but she was not confined to her bed until a short time before her death on 17 June the following year.⁹² Her last thoughts were about whether one of her ministers would arrive in time to supply Spa Fields Chapel. When assured that he would, she died peacefully. She was eighty-four years old.

Her funeral cortege left Spa Fields on 27 June 1791, bound for Ashby de la Zouch in Leicestershire. Here, as requested in her will, she was buried in an unmarked grave beside her husband, "as privately as decency will admit of."⁹³ Numerous funeral sermons were preached not only in her own chapels but also in churches of other denominations. The sermon at Spa Fields, where she was residing at her death, was preached on 3 July 1791, by David Jones of Llangan, South Wales.

Selina Hastings, the Countess of Huntingdon, led a remarkable life by any standard, but for a woman in the eighteenth century, her accomplishments make her extraordinary to say the least. Motivated by faithfulness to her call, her devotion to the work of God was exemplary. She used her wealth and influence to bring about a spiritual renewal within the church of her day. Her chapels and societies spread throughout England and Wales, second only to John Wesley's own connexion. To the end of her long life, she supported theological education, evangelical worship, and foreign missions with an uncommon zeal. Her desire was ever to strive toward the goal set by her friend Charles Wesley to "unite the pair so long disjoined, knowledge and vital piety."⁹⁴

⁹² Haweis, p. 7.

⁹³ Quoted in Welch, p. 210.

⁹⁴ "Come, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost," st. 3, *Methodist Hymnal* (1966), p. 344.

A CATALOGUE OF THE EXHIBITION

1. Astwell, Northamptonshire.

Site of Astwell Castle, seat of the Earl Ferrers, and birthplace of Selina Shirley Hastings, the Countess of Huntingdon, located south of Towcester, in Northamptonshire.

Map in John Morton (1671?-1726), *The Natural History of Northamptonshire, with Some Account of the Antiquities*. . . London: Printed for R. Knaplock and R. Wilkin, 1712.

Science and Engineering Library, SMU. Exhibited at Bridwell.

2. Old Mansion House at Donington Park. The Huntingdon estate in Leicestershire.

Theophilus Hastings, the ninth Earl of Huntingdon, was born here on 12 November 1696, and it was to this estate that he brought his bride, Lady Selina Shirley, after their marriage, 3 June 1728. Although the Huntingdons had other estates throughout England in which they resided at different seasons of the year, this old mansion served as their principal country residence until Lord Huntingdon's death in 1746.

"The Old Mansion-House, 1794." Engraving by Malcolm. John Nichols, *History and Antiquities of the County of Leicester*. Vol. III, pt. 2. London: Printed by and for J. Nichols, 1804.

Special Collections Library, Duke University. Exhibited at Bridwell and Duke.

3. Andrea Soldi's portrait of Lord and Lady Huntingdon and children.

Displayed in facsimile, the original painting of Lord and Lady Huntingdon with their children, Selina and Henry, was painted *ca.* 1743 by Florentine painter Andrea Soldi (1703-1771). Soldi was a successful portraitist in England for a time but was destitute at his death; Sir Joshua Reynolds paid his funeral expenses.

Portrait of Lord and Lady Huntingdon with Their Children. Oil on canvas by Andrea Soldi, *ca.* 1743. Size of original: 80.5 by 71.25 inches.

Courtesy of the Cheshunt Foundation, Cambridge, Great Britain.

4. Letter from Lady Huntingdon to her husband, 14 February 1731/32.

Lord and Lady Huntingdon loved each other devotedly, and each missed the other when it was necessary for them to be apart. During these times, they wrote frequently, if not by every post. Many of these letters survive as testimony to their great love:

Saturdays post brought me my D^{rst} [Dearest] Life's most tender & affectionate Letter which almost overcame me with Joy to find my absence from you had not rendered me less fortunate in that esteem which is more valuable than any satisfaction I have on earth. . . .

Letter to Theophilus Hastings, posted from Bath.

Methodist Archives and History Center, Drew University.

5. Letter from Lady Huntingdon to her husband, 19 February 1731/32.

To tell my D^{rst} life how impatient I am to see him is I am perswaid'd more easie for me to feel than to express. I find my self the most lost Creature living & numberless sighes & tears upon the reflection of his absence daily attends him & I am quite resolved not health its self an other time shall part me from what I hold most dear on this side the grave. I ever loved you to an excess of Passtion but since my absence from you I have felt greater pains than I even thought that Capable of giving & hope in god I shall return to my D^{rst} of lives by the first week in April. . . .

Letter to Theophilus Hastings, posted from Bath.

Methodist Archives and History Center, Drew University.

6. Lord Huntingdon's obituary.

Lord Huntingdon's death from apoplexy, on 13 October 1746, exactly a month shy of his fiftieth birthday, was a severe blow to the Countess who had lost two young sons from smallpox only two years before. At thirty-nine, she found herself a widow with four surviving children.

The obituary was fulsome with praise of him:

... in every relation [he] acted up to the strictest principles of honour and virtue. Never was there a better father, a kinder brother, a more tender husband, or a more indulgent master. ... [His] taste [was] as elegant, and [his] judgment as sound, as perhaps any man in Europe. He was thoroughly acquainted with the history and constitution of his own country and [had] his modesty and love of retirement ... permitted him to engage in [politics] ... none would have appear'd ... with more wisdom or with more fortitude. His birth eminent, as it was, reflected much less honour upon his abilities, than his abilities did upon his birth; for his natural and acquir'd talents were such, as might have rais'd him to the highest rank of men, had fortune at first plac'd him in the lowest.

Gentleman's Magazine 16 (1746):558, 667 & 668.
Bridwell Library Special Collections.

7. Ashby de la Zouch, Leicestershire.

Lord and Lady Huntingdon are buried here in the parish church near their estate. As requested in her will, Selina was buried in an unmarked grave beside her husband.

Map of England. Drawn and Engraved for Thomson's *New General Atlas*, 1817.
Private collection. Exhibited at Bridwell.

THE METHODISTS: JOHN WESLEY AND CHARLES WESLEY

8. John Wesley (1703-1791).

Selina was introduced into Methodist circles sometime in 1739 or 1740 and soon became associated with both John and Charles Wesley. They visited her in her various homes, she sought their advice, they sought hers, and she attended their preaching services in London, Bristol, and Bath.

"John Wesley," engraving by W. Holl after a painting by John Jackson (1778-1831).

Leete Collection, Bridwell Library.

9. Charles Wesley (1707-1788).

Selina formed a particularly close relationship with Charles Wesley and his family which endured even during the periods of time when she and John Wesley became estranged over doctrinal differences. On occasion Charles served as her chaplain when she was in residence in Bath.

"Rev. Charles Wesley," engraving.

Leete Collection, Bridwell Library.

10. The Foundry in Moorfields, John Wesley's London headquarters.

This property had once been a royal foundry for the manufacture of cannon but had been dismantled and by 1739 was in ruins. John Wesley purchased the property and adapted it for Methodist purposes after he and the Moravians had parted company at Fetter Lane. Wesley remodeled the building to include his private apartments, living space for family, preachers, etc., a preaching house, schoolroom, bandroom, stables, coach house and yard. Lady Huntingdon attended the preaching services here in the 1740s when she was in residence in London.

"The Foundry," lithograph by Gardner.

Methodist Archives and History Center, Drew University.

11. Letter from Lady Huntingdon to Thomas Haweis, 8 April 1790.

While Lady Huntingdon left no contemporary accounts of her first meeting with the Wesleys and the early Methodists or her conversion, she did pinpoint the time long afterward as 1740: "... our early days now fifty years ago. . . ."

Letter 121.

Leete Collection, Bridwell Library.

12. Letter from Lady Huntingdon to Thomas Haweis, 27 May 1790.

Reference to her early associations with the Methodists, "now nearly fifty years engaged in."

Letter 124

Leete Collection, Bridwell Library.

13. John Wesley. Poems dedicated to Lady Huntingdon.

Lady Huntingdon had lamented to John Wesley that she had no collection of "chaste" English poems. Wishing to fill this void, Wesley began to select and revise pieces he thought would be appropriate. Eventually they filled three volumes, and when he published them in 1744, he dedicated them to her.

John Wesley, *A Collection of Moral and Sacred Poems from the Most Celebrated English Authors*. 3 vols. Bristol: Farley, 1744.

Bridwell Library Special Collections.

14. John Wesley's Journal.

On more than one occasion, John Wesley consulted Lady Huntingdon on the publication of his *Journal*. She was invariably encouraging. Writing him on 15 March and 19 April 1742, she said, "I do not find one thing I would have altered in the Journals" and "The manner in which you speak of yourself cannot be mended, supposing you have done justice to the grace you have received."

John Wesley, *An Extract of the Revd Mr. John Wesley's Journal, from November 1, 1739, to September 3, 1741*. London: Strahan, 1744.

Bridwell Library Special Collections.

THE CALVINISTIC METHODISTS: GEORGE WHITEFIELD**15. George Whitefield (1714-1770).**

Selina did not meet George Whitefield until after her early association with the Wesleys. Even at her first meeting with the younger evangelist in 1743, her loyalties remained with the Wesleys. This was to change, however, as Selina moved from the Arminian Methodism of the Wesleys to the Calvinistic Methodism of George Whitefield. By 1748 she appointed the young charismatic Whitefield as her chaplain, the beginning of a long and close relationship that ended only with Whitefield's untimely death in 1770.

"Rev. George Whitefield," engraving.

Leete Collection, Bridwell Library.

16. George Whitefield and the Wesleys.

Younger than John and Charles Wesley, Whitefield was a student at Oxford while the Wesleys were there. He heard about the "despised Methodists" and felt a particular affinity for them because of the persecution heaped upon them. He longed to be part of their group, and later wrote an account of his first acquaintance with Charles Wesley.

George Whitefield, *A Short Account of God's Dealings with the Reverend Mr. George Whitefield* 5th ed. Whitby: Printed by C. Plummer, at the Printing-Office near the End of the Bridge [1743?].

Bridwell Library Special Collections.

17. George Whitefield's Tabernacle in Moorfields.

With his exquisite voice and spellbinding oratory, Whitefield's preaching attracted much attention. However, his enthusiasm was not acceptable to the clergy of the Established Church, and Whitefield soon found himself unwelcome in their churches and no longer permitted to preach in their pulpits. On 17 February 1739, he began his open-air preaching at Rose Green, near Bristol, still wearing his clerical robes. His first open-air sermon in London was preached on the following 29 April, in a wooded park known as Moorfields, not far from Wesley's Foundery. Then, in order to provide a sheltered preaching place in London, a group of Whitefield's friends purchased this site and, in April 1741, erected a wooden shed known as the Tabernacle, which became the headquarters of Whitefield's London work. On 10 June 1753, a brick building, shown here, replaced the old wooden structure.

"View of the Tabernacle, Moorfields," drawn by J. Cullum.

Leete Collection, Bridwell Library.

18. George Whitefield's hymnbook.

Whitefield's personal copy of the hymnbook used by his congregation at the Tabernacle in London.

A Collection of Hymns for Social Worship. More Particularly Design'd for the Use of the Tabernacle Congregation in London. 9th ed. London: Printed by William Strahan, 1760.

Bridwell Library Special Collections.

19. Letter of George Whitefield to John Wesley, from London, 1 September 1748.

Whitefield was an itinerant preacher of the first order. He felt strongly that his call was to preach the gospel to every creature, any and everywhere he could gather a crowd. He traveled incessantly in England and Wales and extended his field of operations to America just as the Wesleys returned from Georgia. As close as Whitefield and the Wesleys were at the beginning, differences began to surface. John Wesley was an organizer par excellence and soon had a network of religious societies throughout England. Whitefield, on the other hand, did not want to be tied down with administrative responsibilities; he had none—and wanted none. He stated his case quite clearly in this letter.

George Whitefield, *The Works of the Reverend George Whitefield, M.A.* London: Printed for Edward and Charles Dilly, 1771-72, Vol. 2.

Bridwell Library Special Collections.

20. George Whitefield's Tottenham Court Chapel, London.

In order to enlarge his ministry in the west end of London, Whitefield decided to build Tottenham Court Chapel, which opened in early November 1756. He had hoped to put his new chapel under the protection of Lady Huntingdon. But, not being a private place of worship, this was not allowed. However, Lady Huntingdon made liberal contributions and brought her friends from the upper ranks of society to the services. Tottenham Court Chapel remained a prominent fixture in Calvinistic Methodism for many years. It was destroyed during World War II.

"Tottenham Court Chapel," engraving by C. Rivers after a drawing by J. Wilman, *ca.* 1756.

Leete Collection, Bridwell Library.

21. George Whitefield. A farewell sermon preached before embarking on his final voyage to America.

Whitefield's printed sermons do little to explain his reputation as a great orator. He preached over eighteen thousand sermons in his lifetime but published only sixty-three of them. This sermon on "Jacob's Ladder" was preached at the Tottenham Court Chapel, London, Sunday, 17 August 1769. In it he says, "I am now going for the thirteenth time to cross

the Atlantic: when I came from America last, I took my leave of all the continent . . . without the least design of returning there again, my health was so bad." This was to be his last voyage.

In *Eighteen Sermons Preached by the Late Rev. George Whitefield, A.M.* Printed at Newburyport[, MA], by Edmund M. Blunt, 1797.

Bridwell Library Special Collections.

22. John Wesley. A funeral sermon for George Whitefield.

Whitefield's health was never robust. He was plagued with numerous illnesses which encumbered him but never kept him from his calling to the itinerant ministry. The spring of 1770 found him in America once more, traveling and preaching, from Georgia to Pennsylvania to New England. On the evening of 29 September 1770, after preaching a two-hour sermon in Exeter, New Hampshire, Whitefield reached the manse of Jonathan Parsons, the presbyterian minister in Newburyport, Massachusetts. He went to bed exhausted but was scheduled to preach the next morning. However, in the night he suffered an attack of what he thought to be asthma (Luke Tyerman says it was probably angina pectoris), and died at six o'clock on the morning of 30 September. At his own request, Whitefield was buried in a vault beneath the pulpit of the presbyterian meeting house at Newburyport. He also requested that John Wesley preach his funeral sermon in London, which Wesley did.

John Wesley, *A Sermon on the Death of the Rev. Mr. George Whitefield: Preached at the Chapel in Tottenham-Court-Road and at the Tabernacle near Moorfields on Sunday, November 18, 1770.* London: Printed by J. & W. Oliver, 1770.

Bridwell Library Special Collections.

LADY HUNTINGDON'S "CALL"

23. Letter from Lady Huntingdon to Joseph Townsend, 4 June 1765.

Lady Huntingdon had a deep interest in the spiritual welfare of her family, her friends, neighbors and others for whom she was accountable. This grew in time to include every soul she could reach, a "call" she felt acutely and to which her letters frequently testify:

O! my dear friend, pray continually for a blessing; it has nothing of myself in it and I see nothing before me—only I hear a loud call.

Letter 51

Leete Collection, Bridwell Library.

24. Letter from Lady Huntingdon to "My dear friends" [i.e., Mr. & Mrs. Thomas Haweis, 1765?].

Here Selina reminds her companions that "... our work calls for much care, diligence and faithfulness."

Letter 59

Leete Collection, Bridwell Library.

25. Letter from Lady Huntingdon letter to Thomas Haweis, 6 March 1790.

... I am a poor individual called in faithfulness to take care of some hundred thousand souls.

Letter 116

Leete Collection, Bridwell Library.

26. Letter from Lady Huntingdon to Thomas Haweis, 29 March 1790.

The cross lyes heavy yet my heart crys let me die with my last breath labouring for him who has power in heaven and earth to make the miserable & wretched happy. . . . As my various sorrows encrease, the gospel calls flames around me.

Letter 119

Leete Collection, Bridwell Library.

27. Letter from Lady Huntingdon to Thomas Haweis [1790?].

... naked I came into the world so would I go out having nothing, yet possessing all things. My present views of comfort are only thus to become the whole burnt offering of Jesus Christ.

Letter 130

Leete Collection, Bridwell Library.

28. Letter from Lady Huntingdon to Thomas Haweis and Judith Wadsworth [i.e., Wordsworth], 7 October 1775.

In spite of her "call" to win souls to Christ, Lady Huntingdon never felt she was called to preach publicly.

[I did not] see it scriptural, that our Saviour's general commission was only given to men except in two instances: to the woman of Samaria & to Mary Magdolan[sic].

Letter 86

Leete Collection, Bridwell Library.

LADY HUNTINGDON'S CONNEXION

29. Ote Hall today.

Ote Hall, or Great Ote Hall, near Wivelsfield in Sussex, once belonged to a distant relative of Lady Huntingdon. In 1763 she rented the property, fitted up the large hall as a chapel, and furnished the upper rooms as a residence for herself and her ministers who preached there from time to time.

Photographs by John A. Vickers, Emsworth, Great Britain.

Courtesy of the photographer.

30. Martin Madan (1726-1790).

Madan was one of dozens of Anglican clergymen who at one time or another preached for the Countess of Huntingdon. Educated at Oxford, Madan intended to become a lawyer. Sometime around 1748, however, he

was so impressed on hearing John Wesley preach that he decided to join the Methodists. His new affiliation, however, caused difficulty in his obtaining ordination until Lady Huntingdon successfully intervened on his behalf. Eventually, Madan was appointed chaplain at the Lock Hospital near Hyde Park Corner and rapidly acquired a reputation as an impressive Calvinistic Methodist preacher. In close association with Lady Huntingdon, he preached frequently in her chapels at London, Bristol, Brighton, Ote Hall, and other places. As were many of his contemporaries, Madan was involved in more than one religious controversy and wrote prolifically about them. He was devoted to music (an interest shared by Lady Huntingdon and Charles Wesley) and in 1760 issued a popular *Collection of Psalms and Hymns* which was sold at the hospital. One of Madan's converts at the Lock was Judith Townsend Wordsworth who was first introduced to Lady Huntingdon in 1761 and became the recipient of many of Lady Huntingdon's letters.

"The Rev^d. M^r. Madan," engraving in *The Gospel Magazine* . . . , August 1774.
Bridwell Library Special Collections.

31. Howell Harris (1714-1773).

A prominent Welsh Calvinist, Harris intended to enter the ministry of the Church of England but never qualified for ordination. Nevertheless, he became an itinerant preacher of some renown and by 1739 had formed thirty religious societies in South Wales. He was introduced to the Countess of Huntingdon by Charles Wesley in 1743, corresponded with her, preached for her, and eventually was instrumental in establishing her college at Trefecca.

"Howell Harris," engraving in Hugh J. Hughes, *Life of Howell Harris, the Welsh Reformer*. London: James Nisbet & Co., 1892.
Bridwell Library.

32. Walter Shirley (1725-1786).

A graduate of Oxford in 1746, Shirley became rector of Loughrea, Ireland; nevertheless, he spent much time in England. A first cousin to Selina, the Countess of Huntingdon, he was brought into close association through her with the Wesleys and Whitefield, and he became a well known preacher in revivalist meetings. In the doctrinal controversies that raged from time to time, Shirley took the Calvinist side with his cousin,

and for a time he served as her chaplain. Best known for his hymns, in 1774 he assisted the Countess in revising the hymns used in her chapels.

"Rev^d. Walter Shirley, Late Rector of Loughrea in Ireland, & Chaplain to the Late Countess Dowager of Huntingdon." Engraving published by T. Chapman, 1792; also appeared in *Christian's Magazine*.

Bridwell Library Special Collections.

33. Cradock Glascott (1741?-1830).

Glascott was first introduced to Lady Huntingdon in 1767 when she admitted him into her Connexion as assistant chaplain. An ordained clergyman in the Church of England, he served the Countess faithfully wherever she directed. In 1779 she appointed him as one of her chaplains at Spa Fields Chapel in London and, as such, he became embroiled in the controversy over that property which, in 1782, forced the Countess into dissent from the Church of England. Glascott, however, returned to the fold of the Established Church, and was presented to the vicarage of Hatherleigh where he served faithfully until shortly before his death at eighty-nine.

"The Rev^d. Cradock Glascott, A. M.," engraving in *The Gospel Magazine*. . . , March 1776.

Bridwell Library Special Collections.

34. Spa Fields Chapel, London.

Located in the parish of St. James, Clerkenwell, Spa Fields Chapel played a pivotal role in Lady Huntingdon's move into dissent from the Church of England. She had taken over the property and remodeled it to include her living quarters, thereby sheltering it and all who preached there under her protection. But her authority for such action was challenged by the curate of the parish who sought legal redress against her and some of her preachers. In 1782 the rulings went against her in the Spa Fields Chapel case and, by extension, all her other chapels. With this action her Connexion ceased to be a society within the Church of England and became a separate denomination.

"View of Northampton or Spa Fields Chapel, with the Countess of Huntingdon's House Adjoining," engraving in *Spa Fields Chapel and its Associations from its Opening by the Countess of Huntingdon, A.D. 1779; a Few*

Reminiscences, etc. to the Year 1884, by an Old Attendant. London: T. G. Johnson [1884?].

Pitts Theology Library, Emory University.

35. Augustus Toplady (1740–1778).

Sometime in 1755 or 1756, Toplady was converted to Methodism by a sermon of James Morris, a follower of John Wesley. But in a very short time he turned to extreme Calvinism and became its fierce defender. A graduate of Trinity College, Dublin, he was ordained deacon in 1762, priest in 1764, became curate at Farleigh Hungerford, then Harpford and Venn Ottery before going to Broad Hembury in 1768—a post he held until his death. Possessed of considerable powers of vindictiveness, he turned these upon John Wesley and his followers without mercy. Of all of Wesley's contemporary critics Toplady was the most venomous, which one of Toplady's biographers noted was an "unpardonable blot in all his writings."

Toplady is probably best known as the author of the hymn, "Rock of Ages, Cleft for Me," which was published in the *Gospel Magazine* for October 1775.

"The Late Rev^d. Aug^s. Toplady, AB. Formerly Vicar of Broad Hembury, Devon," from *The Gospel Magazine*. Engraving dated 1 July 1801.

Bridwell Library Special Collections.

36. A hymn for Lady Huntingdon by Augustus Toplady.

A footnote printed on the fold-out page in *The Gospel Magazine* states, "This Hymn was written for the late Countess of Huntingdon at her request (when in illness) by the Rev^d. M^r. Toplady, and kindly given to the Publisher as it originally stood, by the Right Hon.^{ble} Lady Ann Erskine." The hymn, based on Psalm 104:34, was set to the Broad Hembury tune and contained fifteen verses, the first appearing below:

When languor and disease invade
This trembling house of Clay
Tis sweet to look beyond the cage
And long to fly away, and long to fly away.

"My Meditation of Him Shall be Sweet," in *The Gospel Magazine* . . . , May 1796.

Bridwell Library Special Collections.

37. The Maxfield hymnbook.

Lady Huntingdon's Connexion inspired the collection and publication of numerous editions of hymnbooks. This one by Thomas Maxfield is one such example.

Thomas Maxfield was one of the first lay preachers in Methodism. An early convert of John Wesley, he soon became a trusted friend of both John and Charles Wesley. In 1742, when John Wesley was to be away from London, he placed Maxfield in charge of the Foundry Society where he not only prayed with and advised the members but also began to expound the scriptures. Lay preaching was highly irregular, and when John Wesley heard about Maxfield's having "turned preacher," he rushed back to London to deal with the matter. Lady Huntingdon, who was attending the services at the Foundry at this time, had been impressed by Maxfield's talents. So had Wesley's mother, who was then living in rooms adjoining the Foundry. Both women defended the young Maxfield and urged Wesley to hear him preach. Upon doing so, Wesley recognized Maxfield's gifts and so became himself a convert to lay preaching.

Eventually, Maxfield was ordained and became one of Wesley's valued assistants. Maxfield later left Wesley's connexion—a loss Wesley felt acutely—though he never ceased to love this "son in the gospel." Maxfield became an assistant chaplain to the Countess of Huntingdon and preached frequently in her chapels, often supplying the parishes of other clergymen who were on preaching missions for her.

T[homas] Maxfield, Assistant Chaplain to the Right Honourable the Countess of Huntingdon, *A Collection of Psalms and Hymns Extracted from Various Authors: with Some Never Published Before*. 2d ed. London, 1768.

Methodist Archives and History Center, Drew University.

38. Chapel hymnbook.

Hymn singing was a vital part of the services held in the Countess of Huntingdon's chapels, and she inspired many collections of hymns that went through many editions.

The Collection of Hymns: Sung in the Countess of Huntingdon's Chapels. Bath: Printed by W. Gye for T. Mills[, 176-].

Pitts Theology Library, Emory University.

39. Chapel hymnbook.

The Collection of Hymns: Sung in the Countess of Huntingdon's Chapels. Bath: Printed by S. Hazard . . . for T. Mills . . . ,1770.

Pitts Theology Library, Emory University.

40. Chapel hymnbook. A presentation copy.

"The gift of the Countess of Huntingdon to Han^h Scutt. College, July the 19th 1780," written on verso of flyleaf.

A Select Collection of Hymns, to be Universally Sung in All the Countess of Huntingdon's Chapels. Collected by her Ladyship. London: Printed for and Sold by Hughes & Walsh, Stationers & Booksellers, Inner Temple Lane, MDCCLXXX.

Bridwell Library Special Collections.

TREFECCA COLLEGE

41. Trefecca College, 1768.

Trefecca College was founded by the Countess in 1768 to provide a school to educate the evangelical clergy. She was its sole financial support.

"Trevecca College, Brecknockshire, South Wales, A.D. 1768," R. Haynes: London, 1824. Xerographic copy of engraving reproduced in *Brycheiniog*, vol. 10.

Courtesy of The National Library of Wales.

42. John Fletcher (1729-1785), the First President of Trefecca College.

The Swiss-born vicar of Madeley began his career as a tutor in the household of Thomas Hill of Shropshire. While there he became deeply impressed with the preaching of the Methodists and decided to go into orders. His first ministerial work was assisting John Wesley at the West Street Chapel in London and preaching to French refugees in their native tongue. But he preferred parochial work to the itinerancy, and having a close acquaintance with and affection for the people of Madeley, he accepted the living there of which Mr. Hill was the patron.

In 1768 Lady Huntingdon invited him to become the first president of her newly established college at Trefecca. He took the post though he did not reside at Trefecca. Instead, he visited the college as often as possible. A pious and saintly man, he was universally loved by the students and the

entire college "household." When the controversy between the Arminians and Calvinists erupted in 1771, Fletcher resigned the presidency of Trefecca because his sympathies lay with Wesley. Through it all, however, he maintained the same Christian spirit which was so characteristic of him. He advised the young headmaster at Trefecca, Joseph Benson, who had been dismissed because he held the same views as Wesley, to "cast the mantle of forgiving love over the circumstances that might injure the cause of God, so far as it is put into the hands of that eminent lady [the Countess]."

Wesley wanted Fletcher to succeed him at the head of the Methodist Connexion upon his death, but Fletcher's health was never robust and he died six years before Wesley.

"Rev^d. John Fletcher," engraved by T. A. Dean after a painting by J. Jackson.

Bridwell Library Special Collections.

43. Joseph Benson (1749-1821), the Second Headmaster of Trefecca College.

Trained for ministry in the Church of England, Benson was well grounded in Latin, Greek, and Hebrew. In his youth, he became acquainted with the Methodists, in opposition to his father's wishes. In 1765, hearing that John Wesley was to preach at Newcastle upon Tyne, the young man walked to Newcastle but arrived too late to hear Wesley preach. Undeterred, Benson followed Wesley to London, walking part of the journey and riding the mail-coach the rest of the way (a kindly traveler paid his fare). In London, Benson gained an introduction to John Wesley who quickly sized up the young man and appointed him classical master at Kingswood School near Bristol. While at Kingswood, Benson began to preach to the colliers in the area and hold prayer meetings. In 1769 John Fletcher of Madeley brought Benson's name to the attention of Lady Huntingdon, and in 1770 she summoned him to Trefecca as headmaster at her new college there. Dissension soon surfaced over the Arminian/Calvinist issue and Benson was dismissed from his post. Still a member of the Established Church, he returned to Oxford, obtained a parish at Rowley, and applied for ordination. This was refused, ostensibly because he had not yet received his degree, though the real cause was his association with the Methodists. At this point, Benson cast his lot with the Methodists and became their active champion throughout England, Scotland, and Wales, where he

preached to immense audiences. On Wesley's death in 1791, Benson took an active role in managing the affairs of the Methodist Connexion. In 1798 (and again in 1810), he was chosen president of the Conference.

"Rev'd. Joseph Benson," engraved by T. A. Dean after a painting by J. Jackson.

Bridwell Library Special Collections.

44. Letter from John Wesley to Joseph Benson, 19 November 1769.

While Benson was classical master at Kingswood School in Bristol, disagreements arose between him and Wesley. When Benson suggested that he ought to resign and take up a position in Lady Huntingdon's college at Trefecca, Wesley wrote:

Indeed, Joseph, I am not well pleased at all. You seem'd quite ruffled & discomposed, because a Story was invented of you. . . . I thought it kindest, to reprove you rather in jest than earnest. And this very thing you take ill! . . . You was not of this Spirit when you came into the House [Kingswood]. Honour & Power have done you no good. I am sorry for you, but I know not how to help you. If you will go, you must go.

John Wesley manuscript letters.

Leete Collection, Bridwell Library.

45. Letter of John Wesley to Joseph Benson, 27 January 1770.

Benson stayed on at Kingswood until the spring of 1770, when he became the second headmaster at Trefecca. Wesley wrote in a conciliatory tone:

All is well. We have no need to 'dispute about a dead Horse.' If the school at Trevecka is the best that ever was since the world began, I am glad of it, & wish it may be better still. But do not run away with any of my young men from Kingswood: That I should blame you for. . . .

John Wesley manuscript letter.

Leete Collection, Bridwell Library.

46. Letter of John Wesley to Joseph Benson, 7 January 1771.

Benson's tenure at Trefecca was brief due to doctrinal difficulties which soon arose between him and Lady Huntingdon. He had already written to John Fletcher who, upon visiting Trefecca, resigned his position as president of the college. Benson sent an account of what had happened to John Wesley, who replied:

I am surprised at nothing. When persons are governed by Passion rather than Reason, we can expect little good. I cannot see that there was anything blamable in your behaviour. You cou'd not do or say less, with a clear conscience. I suppose you have given M^r Fletcher a plain account of what has pass'd: altho he will hardly be able to set things right. Which way do you think to steer your course now? You are welcome to stay at Kingswood till you are better provided for. . . .

John Wesley manuscript letter.

Leete Collection, Bridwell Library.

47. John Wesley on Trefecca and Lady Huntingdon's Preachers.

Wesley was never closely associated with Trefecca and after Joseph Benson's dismissal his connections ceased altogether. The quality of instruction at the college was never up to Wesley's standards, and he made more than one unflattering comment about Lady Huntingdon's student preachers.

7 December 1772:

I went . . . on Tuesday to Dover. The raw, pert young men, that lately came hither (vulgarly, though very improperly, called 'students'), though they have left no stone unturned, have not been able to tear away one single member from our society.

John Wesley, *An Extract of the Rev. Mr. John Wesley's Journal, from September 2, 1770, to September 12, 1773*. London: Paramore, 1783.

Bridwell Library Special Collections.

28 August 1778:

The stewards of the societies met at St. Ives, a company of pious, sensible men. I rejoiced to find that peace and love prevailed through the whole circuit: those who styled themselves 'my Lady's Preachers', who screamed and railed and threatened to swallow us up, are vanished away. I cannot learn that they have made one convert—a plain proof that God did not send them.

3 July 1779:

"I reached Grimsby. . . . In this and many other parts of the kingdom, those striplings who call themselves Lady Huntingdon's Preachers have greatly hindered the work of God. They have neither sense, courage, nor grace to go and beat up the devil's quarters in any place where Christ has not been named; but wherever we have entered as by storm and gathered a few souls, often at the peril of our lives, they creep in and by doubtful disputations set everyone's sword against his brother."

John Wesley, *An Extract of the Rev. Mr. John Wesley's Journal, from January 1, 1776, to August 8, 1779*. London: Paramore, 1783.

Bridwell Library Special Collections.

BETHESDA ORPHAN HOUSE

48. John Russell's Portrait of Lady Huntingdon.

John Russell (1745-1806), associate of the Royal Academy, drew his first portrait of the Countess for the Orphan House in Georgia in 1772. A pastel, it was lost on its voyage to America. Having been engraved, however, Russell was able to make a copy in 1773, this time painted in oil.

The Countess of Huntingdon. Oil on canvas by John Russell, ca. 1773. 111 by 74 inches.

Bethesda Home for Boys, Savannah, Georgia. Exhibited at Bridwell.

49. Bethesda Orphan House, Savannah, Georgia.

The Trustees of the Colony of Georgia had given George Whitefield a grant of 500 acres of land near Savannah on which to build an orphan house. Whitefield chose Bethesda as the name of his new institution and building began in January 1740. Bethesda was intended to be self-supporting, but it was plagued with multiple problems throughout its history. "The Plan Elevation of the Present and Intended Building of the Georgia Orphan House & Academy" shows the proposed facility.

"An Account of the Orphan House in Georgia" in *Whitefield's Works*, vol. 3. London, 1771.

Bridwell Library Special Collections.

50. Contributors to the Orphan House.

Whitefield listed the names of persons who contributed to the Orphan House and the amounts of their contributions, as well as disbursements made. Among the names listed are those of Lady Betty Hastings (sister-in-law to the Countess of Huntingdon) and Charles Wesley.

George Whitefield, *An Account of Money Received and Disbursed for the Orphan House in Georgia*. London, 1741.

Bridwell Library Special Collections.

51. Recruitment of missionaries.

At George Whitefield's death in 1770, Lady Huntingdon inherited the Bethesda orphan house in Georgia. She assumed the responsibility with characteristic zeal, sending out a call to her students at Trefecca to meet her at the college where she issued a challenge for missionary volunteers to take on this new work. But Bethesda's problems were many and, as one biographer wrote, it became "her biggest problem and her worst failure."

Some Account of the Proceedings at the College of the Right Hon. the Countess of Huntingdon, in Wales. Relative to Those Students Called to go to Her Ladyship's College in Georgia. Also An Account of Their Being Set Apart to the Work of the Holy Ministry. By One Who Was Present. London, 1772.

Pitts Theology Library, Emory University.

52. Letter from George Washington to the Countess of Huntingdon, 10 August 1783.

Despite the difficulties and setbacks revolving around Bethesda in Savannah, Lady Huntingdon maintained a strong sense of mission toward America, especially the Indian Nations. Toward this goal, she initiated a correspondence with General George Washington. Replying to an earlier letter from the Countess which has not survived, Washington wrote:

Your Ladyship's benevolent designs toward the Indian Nations, claim my particular attention, and to further so laudable an undertaking, will afford me much pleasure, so far as my situation in life, surrounded with many and arduous cares will admit.

Photograph of George Washington's Letterbook, p. 501, George Washington Papers.

Courtesy of the Library of Congress, Washington, D. C.

53. Letter from Lady Huntingdon to George Washington, 20 March 1784:

... Any degree of your consideration for the most interesting views of my heart which stands so connected with the service of the Indian Nations eminently demands my perpetual thanks. ... I have been induced ... to convey the outline of my design to each of the Governors of those states in which from nearest access to the Indian Nations & from soil and climate a situation for many hundred familys for the services of the Indians, & establishment of a people connected with me, should appear best & whose object would be to support the Gospel & render those missionarys sent by me for the Indians, & those various ministrations among themselves, the more consistently useful for all. Should I be able to obtain a sufficient quantity of land suitable for such purposes, my intentions would be to transfer both my trust estate with all my own property in Georgia for this more extensive prospect. ... This with the poor & little all I have to give on earth has been long devoted to God. ...

George Washington Papers.

Library of Congress, Washington, D. C. Exhibited at Bridwell.

54. Lady Huntingdon, "To the Friends of Religion and Humanity in America," Bath, 8 April 1784.

In 1784, Selina sent to Washington what has come to be known as her "Address to America," outlining her plan for obtaining land and sending missionaries to live and work among the American Indians.

George Washington Papers.

Library of Congress, Washington, D. C. Exhibited at Bridwell.

55. Letter from George Washington to Lady Huntingdon, 30 June 1785:

... I informed your Ladyship of the communication I had made to the President of the Congress of your wishes to obtain lands in the Western Territory for a number of Emigrants as a mean of civilizing the Savages, and propagating the Gospel among them. In answer, he informed me that Mr. Henry, Governor of this State, had laid your Ladyship's letter and plan . . . before the Congress . . . ; but his private opinion of the matter was, that under the pressure of debt to which this fund was to be appropriated; and the diversity of sentiment respecting the mode of applying it—that no determination would, or indeed could be made in favor of Emigrants of any description whatsoever. . . .

Draft copy from George Washington's Letterbook, p. 130. George Washington Papers.

Courtesy of the Library of Congress, Washington, D. C. Exhibited at Bridwell.

56. Letter from Lady Huntingdon to Thomas Haweis, 25 September 1790.

Lady Huntingdon's desire to support missionary work among the American Indians and in the South Seas remained undiminished even late in life as this letter shows:

My views for the Indian Nations transport my heart. A meeting is appointed for the Chief of the Nations at New York It is now the time of the travelling fund, the very & vast importance of the work for the South Seas, New Brunswick,

America & perhaps Virginia with the vast spread of the gospel among the very poor in various places of consequence . . .

Letter 129

Leete Collection, Bridwell Library.

LAST DAYS

57. Benjamin West's Portrait of Lady Huntingdon.

It is not known when Benjamin West (1738-1820) was introduced to the Countess or when this drawing was made, but a date between the late 1780s and early 1791 is conjectured.

The Countess of Huntingdon. Drawing by Benjamin West, pen and brown ink and (graphite?) on laid paper.

John Davis Hatch Collection, National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C. Exhibited at Bridwell.

58. Thomas Haweis (1734-1820).

Although Haweis entered Christ Church, Oxford, and was afterwards a member of Magdalen Hall, he never took a degree from Oxford. In 1757, he was ordained, appointed chaplain to the Earl of Peterborough, and became curate at St. Mary Magdalen, Oxford—a post from which he was removed because of his Methodist sympathies. Haweis became assistant to Martin Madan at the Lock Chapel in London. Then, in 1764, he became rector of Aldwinkle, Northamptonshire, a position he held until his death. In 1768 he was named chaplain to Lady Huntingdon and manager of Trefecca College in Wales. In 1772 he received a degree from Cambridge and, about this same time, obtained an M.D. degree in Scotland. He was a very successful preacher, greatly concerned about the conditions of the poor. He took great interest in foreign missions, especially in Africa and the South Seas, and was one of the first promoters of the London Missionary Society. At Lady Huntingdon's death, he became her trustee and executor, and from that time he had the chief management of her numerous chapels. A prolific writer, he produced over forty works some of which went through numerous editions. The letters of Lady Huntingdon now in Bridwell Library were once a part of the Thomas Haweis papers.

"The Rev^d. T. Haweis L.L.B. & M.D., Rector of All Saints, Aldwinckle, Northhamptons^{re} and Chaplain to the Late Countess of Huntingdon." Engraving by Ridley after a drawing by Edridge, 1796.

Bridwell Library Special Collections.

59. Thomas Haweis on the Countess's last days.

Thomas Haweis, *A Short Account of the Last Days of the Right Honourable and Most Respected Lady, Selina, Countess of Huntingdon*. London[, 1791?].

Pitts Theology Library, Emory University.

60. David Jones (1735-1810), Vicar of Llangan, South Wales.

Jones was educated at Carmarthen, ordained in 1758, and served several parishes in Wales before going to Bristol and into Wiltshire. Here he met the Countess of Huntingdon and through her influence, was made vicar of Llangan, Glamorganshire. Jones was of an amiable disposition, with a cheerful countenance, and a sweetly musical voice. He soon became a prominent preacher known for his evangelical fervor. In spite of his evangelical principles, he was strongly attached to the Church of England and opposed separation from it. He was a frequent visitor to Lady Huntingdon's college at Trefecca and a constant preacher in her chapels, especially Spa Fields Chapel in London. He was the author of several popular hymns in Welsh, but only two of his sermons were ever published. He preached the funeral sermon for the Countess at Spa Fields Chapel on 3 July 1791.

"The Rev. Mr. Jones of Langan, South Wales." Painted by R. Bowyer, Miniature Painter to His Majesty. Engraved by J. Fittler. *The Gospel Magazine*. . . , August 1798.

Bridwell Library, Special Collections.

61. Funeral sermon by John Dawson.

Many sermons were preached following Lady Huntingdon's death, not only in her own chapels but in churches of other denominations. These by John Dawson and Timothy Priestley are only two examples.

John Dawson, *A Funeral Sermon upon the Death of the Right Honourable Selina, Countess Dowager of Huntingdon, Who Departed this Life, June 17, in the 84th Year of her Age*. . . . Birmingham, 1791.

Bridwell Library Special Collections.

62. Funeral sermon by Timothy Priestley.

Timothy Priestley, *A Crown of Eternal Glory Preferable to All the Riches of This World: A Funeral Sermon, Occasioned by the Death of the . . . Countess of Huntingdon; and Preached Before the Church in Jewin-street, . . . July 17, 1791*. London, 1791.
Special Collections Library, Duke University.

63. Letter of Robert Bowyer to George Washington reporting the death of the Countess of Huntingdon.

Bowyer sent Washington this account of the Countess's death in June 1791 and enclosed an engraving of a portrait he had painted in 1790. Washington graciously acknowledged receipt of both letter and portrait on 8 January 1792.

. . . I have taken the liberty to give your Excellency this trouble to inform you of the decease of your most worthy & respected relation the R^t Hon^{ble} the Countess Dowager of Huntingdon, which melancholy event took place on friday afternoon the 17th inst.—an event which must be regretted by every friend to real religion upon the face of the earth. . . . A few months previous to her decease she did me the favor to sit to me for her picture & I was particularly fortunate with the likeness—An engraving has been made from it & I shall esteem myself peculiarly honored by your acceptance of one of them, which you will receive herewith. . . .

London[, late June 1791].

Leete Collection, Bridwell Library.

64. Robert Bowyer's portrait of Lady Huntingdon.

"Countess of Huntingdon," portrait by Robert Bowyer, Miniature Painter to the King, painted in the last year of the Countess's life, and engraved by J. Fittler.

Leete Collection, Bridwell Library.

65. Lady Huntingdon's obituary.

At her house in the Spa-fields, near London, in her 84th year, the Right Hon. Selina Countess-dowager of Huntingdon. She was born Aug. 13, 1707 [Old Style], and was second daughter, and one of the three coheiresses, of Washington second Earl Ferrers; was married, June 3, 1728, to Theophilus Earl of Huntingdon, by whom she had issue four sons and three daughters, of whom the Countess of Moira is the only survivor. Her Ladyship had been a widow 45 years; and so long has a fine bust of her, by Kent, been placed on the tomb of her deceased lord, at Ashby-de-la-Zouch, co. Leicester, where, by her will, she has directed her own remains (dressed in a suit of white silk which she wore at the opening of a chapel in Goodman's-fields) to be deposited, in as plain a manner as possible; the coffin to be covered with black, and the officiating clergyman (Mr. Jones, of the Spa-fields chapel) to receive 10£ for his trouble. Her very great religious concerns, as head of a very numerous sect in Great Britain and Ireland, are left by will in the hands of committees for managing them in both kingdoms. Her religious principles have been long since known, and her unbounded benevolence bore the best testimony of the purity of her intentions, having, in the course of her life, expended above one hundred thousand pounds in public and private acts of charity. She has left an annuity of 100£ to Lady Anne Erskine; and 4000£ to be disposed of in charitable gifts, at the discretion of the Earl of Dartmouth, Sir Richard Hill, the Hon. Thomas Erskine, and her chaplain Mr Hawes [Haweis]. By her death, Lord Rawdon, her grandson, gets an addition to his fortune of 2200£ a year; 1500£ per annum goes to his Lordship's mother, the Countess of Moira; at whose death he will get an addition of the six following baronies: Hastings, Hungerford, Newmarch, Botreax, Molins, and Moels. The rest of her Ladyships's fortune is bequeathed for the support of 64 chapels, which she had established through the kingdoms.

Gentleman's Magazine 61/1 (1791):589.

Bridwell Library Special Collections.

LADY HUNTINGDON'S CORRESPONDENCE IN BRIDWELL LIBRARY

This selection of Lady Huntingdon's letters demonstrates what she called her "miserable scrawl," writing that filled page after page, margin to margin, without punctuation, capitalization, or paragraphing, in almost a stream of illegibility. Nevertheless, a persistent reader cannot miss the deep commitment the Countess felt for her mission in life, which was to offer the gospel to every creature.

In addition, these letters open a very interesting window on correspondence in the eighteenth century—a time when stationery was made from one hundred percent rag paper. There were no envelopes; letters were folded in a certain manner, and sealed with wax. Postmarks, postage, directions, forwarding, etc., also reveal much about the English postal system of the time.

[**Spring 1766?**], to Mrs. Wadsworth [Judith Wordsworth], at Mr. Ford's Lodgings in the Vineyards, Bath. Unsigned. Red wax seal attached. Mrs. Wordsworth was at Mr. Ford's Lodgings in Bath in the Spring of 1766.

Letter 62.

Leete Collection, Bridwell Library.

Saturday, 21 [June 1766], to Mrs. Wadsworth [Judith Wordsworth] at Mr. Burkin's in Spring Garden near the Admiralty Office, Whitehall[, London]. Seal attached.

Lady Huntingdon misdated her letter "July" instead of *June*, which can be confirmed by two sources: (1) the letter arrived in the London post office on 23 June and bears a London postmark of that date; (2) the only month in the year in 1766 on which the 21st fell on a Saturday was June.

Letter 74.

Leete Collection, Bridwell Library.

22 January 1776, Oxford Market No. 20, Margate Street, London, to the Revd. Mr. [Thomas] Haweis, at Thrapston, Northamptonshire. Salutation, "My dear Friends." Red wax seal attached. Two London postmarks (24 January and 25 January) and one illegible.

Letter 88.

Leete Collection, Bridwell Library.

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My dear friends
Could you know how happy your letter made me by
honouring & cheering your benevolent hearts would be glad to
rejoice in such a poor worm to hear the grace as my own
many suffering hours both from the pressing misery of the
spasms & a whining thirst & sickness & the constant
opposition to all nourishment ^{at this time} - quite a specter of horrors
only & did not my best friend feel a broken spirit &
life to me daily more punishment than could not be
then living a day longer - my support is only to go through
this poor unprofitable little business now near fifty years
engaged in with the dearest & best of Lords & Masters
this I can do & with all I shall delight - I am glad
should I live to see you both this summer & am extremely
I have to say to Mr. Haweis as one my house that his
dear faithful voice proclaims the love of Christ at the
opening of our Chapel, an eminent workman above me
that nothing is equal to its beauty & time in any house
we months now will complete it, & the glory of England
& Wales will attend you with delight - here then I have
it in the Lord's hands with you - I am delighted by my
kind friends to stand still a little while to see the effects
that Francis Politicks will have ^{on reason} & at this I write & say what
& Madrid also - O for that faith that I believe himself
to know Christ for this his long road & about me there will

Lady Huntingdon, 27 May 1790, Spa Fields, to [The Revd. Mr. Thomas Haweis].
Page 1 of letter 124. Exhibit 12.

SELINA HASTINGS, THE COUNTESS OF HUNTINGDON LETTERS IN BRIDWELL LIBRARY

EVERY biographer who has attempted to write about Selina's life has had to struggle with her handwriting, and each has commented on the difficulty of transcribing her letters. The letters in Bridwell Library are no exception. Punctuation and capitalization (or the lack thereof), spelling and syntax, and oftentimes sheer illegibility have made it almost impossible in some instances to decipher or unravel her meaning.

Bridwell Library houses sixty-four letters in Selina's hand or signed by her. Three of the letters were at one time pasted in a scrapbook of Brian Bury Collins (these are listed at the end of this inventory). The other letters in Bridwell were once among the papers of Thomas Haweis, one of Selina's chaplains. Sometime after Haweis's death in 1820, these letters were separated from the larger collection of Haweis materials and put up for auction (probably by Haweis's heirs).

In the late 1940s or early 1950s, these were purchased by Methodist Bishop Frederick DeLand Leete, an avid collector of Methodist-related materials. Among the papers of Bishop Leete is a page from a catalogue, not identified either by date or vendor, offering fifty-eight of the Countess's letters for sale for the sum of £75. In a small black notebook in which he recorded numerous inventories Bishop Leete noted in May 1950 that he had fifty-seven of the Countess's letters in storage. The discrepancy between these two figures and the actual number of letters in Bridwell is not easy to explain, although the fact that three of these are "double" letters—i.e., two letters on the same sheet of stationery either with different dates or addressed to two different people—may account for the difference. The Brian Bury Collins scrapbook was also purchased by Bishop Leete sometime in the early 1950s. In 1956 Bishop Leete presented a large collection of Methodist materials, designated "The Methodist Historical Library, Inc.," to Bridwell Library where it remains today and is referred to as the Leete Collection.

Of the letters in Bridwell written by the Countess of Huntingdon twenty-two are dated between 1765 and 1771 and are addressed to Judith Townsend Wordsworth (Selina always wrote "Wadsworth"). Judith had been introduced to Selina in 1761. Seventeen letters fall between 1771 (when Judith married Thomas Haweis) and August 24, 1786 (when she died). Although most of these letters are addressed to Thomas Haweis, they almost always included Judith in the salutation, "My dear Friends." In 1788 Haweis married one of Lady Huntingdon's "boon companions," Jennett Payne Orton; and there are twenty letters from this period addressed to Haweis but, again, the usual salutation was to both husband and wife.

Other letters in the collection include a letter "From the Children of the Society at Brighthelmstone in Sussex, to the Children in Fellowship at Pewsey in Wiltshire," dated March 7, 1765; one from Selina to Judith Wordsworth's brother, Joseph Townsend, dated 4 June 1765; a letter from Joseph Townsend to his sister, Judith, dated 2 December 1765; a letter from Selina to Mr. Cockayne, Attorney at Law, dated 6 March 1789 (although not in Selina's hand, it was signed by her as well as by William Taylor and John Wollaston); a letter to Richard Hill, dated June 10 [1790?]; an undated letter to Anne Grinfield; and another undated letter to Brian Bury Collins. There is also a copy of a letter from Selina to William Romaine, dated 8 September 1776, although not in Selina's hand.

N.B.: Following each entry an inventory number is shown within braces. The letters are listed chronologically, but the inventory numbers do not necessarily follow in sequence.

Double letter.

7 March 1765, Brighthelmstone [i.e., Brighton], to Mrs. Wadsworth [i.e., Judith Wordsworth], at the Revd. Mr. Townshend's [Townsend's] at Pewsey, near the Devises [Devizes], Wiltshire. Salutation: "My dearest Madam."

7 March 1765, "From the Children of the Society at Brighthelmstone in Sussex, to the Children in Fellowship at Pewsey in Wiltshire." Not in Selina's hand.

1 sheet folded; 4 pp. of text. {50}

Double letter.

[4 June 1765], Ote Hall, Sussex], to The Revd. Mr. [Joseph] Townshend [Townsend], at Pewsey near the Devises [Devizes], Wiltshire. Salutation: "My dear Sir."

4 June 1765, Ote Hall[, Sussex], to Mrs. Wadsworth [Judith Wordsworth]. Salutation: "My dear Mrs. Wadsworth." Postmarked at Brighthelmstone [Brighton] and passed through the London post office on June 6.

1 sheet folded; 4 pp. of text. {51}

Double letter.

2 December 1765[, from Joseph Townsend], Vineyard[s Chapel, Bath], to Mrs. Wadsworth [Judith Wordsworth], at the Revd. Mr. Townsend's at Pewsey in Wiltshire. Salutation: "My dear Judith."

Tuesday night, 3 December 1765[, Bath], to [Judith Wordsworth]. Salutation: "My dear friend." Instructions on address panel: "Turn at Hungerford."

1 sheet folded; 4 pp. of text. {55}

16 December 1765 [, Bath] to Mrs. Wadsworth [Judith Wordsworth], at the Revd. Mr. Townsend's at Pewsey, Wiltshire. Salutation: "My dear Friend." Instructions on address panel: "Turn at Hungerford." 1 sheet folded; 4 pp. of text. {56}

27 December 1765, Bath, to Mrs. Wadsworth [Judith Wordsworth], at Mr. Burkin's House in Spring Garden near the Admiralty Office, Westminster[, London]. Salutation: "My dear my very dear Friend." 2 sheets folded; 7 pp. of text. {57}

[**1765?**], to Mrs. Wadsworth [Judith Wordsworth], at the Hon[ourable] Mrs. Carteret's in St. James Place, London. Salutation: "My dear Friend." Letter delivered by Martin Madan. 1 sheet folded; 4 pp. of text. {58}

[**1765?**], to "My dear friends." The last page(s), including the address panel, are wanting. 1 sheet folded; 4 pp. of text. {59}

n.d., to Mrs. Wadsworth [Judith Wordsworth], Pewsey. Salutation: "My dear Friend." 1 sheet folded; 4 pp. of text. {60}

Thursday night, 16 January 1766, Bath, to Mrs. Wadsworth [Judith Wordsworth], at Mr. Burkin's in Spring Garden near the Admiralty Office[, London]. Salutation: "My dear Friend." 2 sheets folded; 7 pp. of text. {63}

[**Spring 1766?**], to Mrs. Wadsworth [Judith Wordsworth], at Mr. Ford's Lodgings in the Vineyards, Bath. Salutation: "My dear Friend." Unsigned. Red wax seal attached. Mrs. Wordsworth was at Mr. Ford's Lodgings in Bath in the Spring of 1766. 2 sheets folded; 7 pp. of text. {62}

Thursday evening, 20 March 1766, Marlborough, to Mrs. Wadsworth [Judith Wordsworth], at Mr. Ford's Lodgings at the Vineyards, Bath. Salutation: "My very dear Friend." 1 folded sheet; 4 pp. of text. {64}

Wednesday [9 April 1766, London], to Mrs. Wadsworth [Judith Wordsworth], at Mr. Ford's Lodgings in the Vineyards, Bath, Somersetshire. Salutation: "My dear Friend." Date supplied by the postmark. 1 sheet folded; 3 pp. of text. {61}

5 April 1766, Chelsea[, London], to Mrs. Wadsworth [Judith Wordsworth], at Mr. Ford's Lodgings in the Vineyards, Bath, Somersetshire. Salutation: "My dear Friend." 1 sheet folded; 4 pp. of text. {66}

7 April 1766, to Mrs. Wadsworth [Judith Wordsworth], at the Vineyards, Bath. Salutation: "My dear Friend." 4 sheets folded; 7 pp. of texts. {67}

15 April 1766, Chelsea[, London], to Mrs. Wadsworth [Judith Wordsworth], at Mr. Ford's Lodgings at the Vineyards, Bath, Somersetshire. Salutation: "My dearest Friend." Signature wanting. 2 sheets folded; 8 pp. of text. {68}

Friday night, 17 April 1766, Chelsea[, London], to [Judith Wordsworth]. Salutation: "My very dear Friend." Address panel wanting. 1 sheet folded; 4 pp. of text. {69}

13 May 1766, Brighthelmstone [Brighton], to Mrs. Wadsworth [Judith Wordsworth], at Chauncy Townsend's, Esqr., in Austin Friars, London. Salutation: "My dearest Friend." 1 sheet folded; 4 pp. of text. {70}

22 May 1766, Brighthelmstone [Brighton], to Mrs. Wadsworth [Judith Wordsworth] at Chauncy Townsend's, Esqr. &c., in Austin Friars, London. Salutation: "My dearest Friend." 1 sheet folded; 4 pp. of text. {71}

Saturday, 21 [June 1766], to Mrs. Wadsworth [Judith Wordsworth] at Mr. Burkin's in Spring Garden near the Admiralty Office, Whitehall[, London]. Salutation: "My dearest Friend." Seal attached. N.B.: Lady Huntingdon misdated her letter "July" instead of *June*, but the letter arrived in the London post office on June 23 and bears a London postmark of that date. Moreover, the only month in the year 1766 on which the 21st fell on a Saturday was June. 1 sheet folded; 4 pp. of text. {74}

5 July 1766, Ote Hall[, Sussex], to [Judith Wordsworth]. Salutation: "My dear Friend." Address panel wanting. Letter speaks of her [Mrs. Wordsworth's] going to Pewsey and "your good dear brother's anxiety about you"—i.e., Joseph Townsend. 1 sheet folded; 4 pp. of text. {73}

24 January 1767, Brighthelmstone [Brighton], to Mrs. Wadsworth [Judith Wordsworth], at the Revd. Mr. Madan's at Knightsbridge near London. Salutation: "My dear Madam." 1 sheet folded; 3 pp. of text. {75}

5 December 1768, to Mrs. Wadsworth [Judith Wordsworth], at Mr. Burkin's in Spring Garden near the Admiralty Office, Westminster[, London]. Salutation: "My dearest Friend." 1 sheet folded; 4 pp. of text. {77}

[5 June 1771?], to The Revd. [Thomas] Haweis, at Aldwinkle, Northamptonshire. Salutation: "Dear Sir." Letter is postmarked June 6; the year is most likely 1771. Haweis's son, wrote a note across the top, "The coolness with [Martin] Madan about My F[ather's] marriage with

Mrs. W[ordsworth]. Indorsed." Haweis had married Judith Wordsworth on January 3, 1771. 1 sheet folded; 2 pp. of text. {80}

1 May 1774[, Trefecca] College[, Wales], to Mrs. [Thomas] Haweis, at Mrs. Elkington's House in the Vineyards, Bath. Salutation: "My dear Madam." Letter sent X Post—i.e., Cross Post, then redirected to Aldwinckle, Northamptonshire, passing through the London post office on May 7. There are some interesting notes on this letter by Thomas Haweis's third wife, Elizabeth McDowall. At the bottom of p. 3: "Miss Orton (afterwards Mrs. Haweis) paid the whole expence of enlarging the Chapel, for which purpose she sold her *Jewels*, and it did not cost Lady Huntingdon a farthing. E. Haweis." Another note by "E. H." along the address panel: "This letter was addressed to the 1st Mrs. Haweis. Miss Orton was the 2nd. Lady Anne Erskine was my informant concerning the *Jewels*, but said that Miss Orton wished Lady Huntingdon to take the credit of it—which *she did*, as will be seen by some recently published notices of her." 1 sheet folded; 4 pp. of text. {82}

7 September 1775, College Green, Bristol, to The Revd. [and] Mrs. [Thomas] Haweis, at Thrapston, Northamptonshire. Salutation: "My very dear Friends." Letter postmarked from Bristol and arrived in the London post office on September 8. 1 sheet folded; 4 pp. of text. {85}

7 October 1775, St. Agnes[, Cornwall], to Mrs. [Thomas] Haweis, at Aldwinkle Northamptonshire. Salutation: "My very dear Friends." "Thrapston" was first written and then marked out and "Aldwinkle" written. Letter bears no postmarks. 2 sheets folded; 8 pp. of text. {86}

27 November 1775, St. Agnes[, Cornwall], to The Revd. Mr. [Thomas] Haweis, at Aldwinkle, Thrapston, Northamptonshire. Salutation: "My dear Friends." Letter postmarked from Truro and arrived in the London post office on December 1. 1 sheet folded; 4 pp. of text. {87}

22 January 1776, Oxford Market No. 20, Margate Street, London, to The Revd. Mr. [Thomas] Haweis, at Thrapston, Northamptonshire. Salutation: "My dear Friends." Several London postmarks; well-preserved wax seal attached. 1 sheet folded; 3 pp. of text. {88}

29 January 1776, Margate Street, London, to The Revd. Mr. [Thomas] Haweis, at Aldwinkle, Thrapston, Northamptonshire. Salutation: "My very dear Friends." Letter postmarked from London, January 29. 1 sheet folded; 4 pp. of text. {89}

13 April 1776, Fitchfield Street, London, to The Revd. Mr. [Thomas] Haweis, at Aldwinkle, Thrapston, Northamptonshire. Salutation: "My very dear Friends." Letter postmarked from London, April 13; large seal attached. 1 sheet folded; 4 pp. of text. {91}

8 September 1776. This is a copy, in another hand, of Lady Huntingdon's letter to William Romaine. Salutation: "My dear Sir." 1 sheet folded; 4 pp. of text. {92}

20 February 1777[, Trefecca] College[, Wales], to [The Revd. Mr. Thomas Haweis]. Salutation: "My dear & kind Friends." Address panel wanting. 2 sheets folded; 8 p. of text. {93}

21 March 1777[, Trefecca] College[, Wales], to The Revd. Mr. [Thomas] Haweis, The Vineyards, Bath. Salutation: "Dear Sir." Letter sent by X Post—i.e., by Cross Post and bears a postmark from Hay[-on-Wye]. 1 sheet folded; 4 pp. of text. {94}

23 September 1777[, Trefecca] College[, Wales], to [The Revd. Mr. Thomas Haweis]. Salutation: "My very dear Friends." Address panel wanting. 1/2 sheet; 2 pp. of text. {95}

17 October 1777[, Trefecca College, Wales], to The Revd. Mr. [Thomas] Haweis, at Aldwinkle near Thrapston, Northamptonshire. Salutation: "My very dear Friends." Letter bears a postmark from Hay[-on-Wye]. 1 sheet folded; 4 pp. of text. {96}

Saturday, 8 August 1778, Clifton Hill[, Bristol], to The Revd. Mr. [Thomas] Haweis, at Aldwinkle, Thrapston, Northamptonshire. Salutation: "My ever faithfull & dear Friends." Letter bears a Bristol postmark and arrived in London on August 10. 1 sheet folded; 3 pp. of text. {99}

[n.d.,] **September**, Bath, to Mrs. [Thomas] Haweis. Salutation: "My dear Friends." Address panel contains only "Mrs. Haweis"; therefore, letter was probably hand-delivered. 1 sheet folded and 1/2 sheet; 6 pp. of text. {100}

Thursday, 11 March 1779, London, to The Revd. Mr. [Thomas] Haweis, Vineyards, Bath. Salutation: "My dear Friends." Letter postmarked from London on March 11. 1 sheet folded; 2 pp. of text. {101}

17 September 1779[, Trefecca] College[, Wales], to [The Revd. Mr. Thomas Haweis]. Salutation: "My very kind Friends." Address panel wanting. 2 sheets folded; 8 pp. of text. {102}

20 November 1779, Spa Fields[, London], to [The Revd. Mr. Thomas Haweis]. Salutation: "My dear Friends." Address panel wanting. 1 sheet folded; 3 pp. of text. {103}

6 March 1789, Spa Fields[, London], to Mr. Cockayne, Attorney at Law, Lyons Inn[, London]. Salutation: "Sir." This letter is written in a hand other than Lady Huntingdon's, although it was signed by her, William Taylor, and John Wollaston. 1 sheet folded; 2 pp. of text. {107}

[**December 1789?**], to The Revd. [Thomas] Haweis, Bath. Salutation: "My dear Friends," meaning Haweis and his wife, who by this date was Jennett Payne Orton. Haweis's first wife, Judith Wordsworth, had died August 24, 1786. Jennett Orton was said to be a "boon companion" to Lady Huntingdon. Written on the address panel, "By favour of Mrs. Watkins"—i.e., the letter was not sent through the post but was hand delivered. 1 sheet folded; 3 pp. of text. {79}

There is also, an undated copy of #79, in another hand. 3 sheets; 3 pp. of text.

29 January 1790, Spa Fields[, London], to The Revd. Mr. [Thomas] Haweis, at the Countess of Huntingdon's, Vineyards, Bath. Salutation: "My dear & kindest Friends." Postmarked from London, January 29. 1 sheet folded; 4 pp. of text. {112}

3 February 1790, Spa Fields[, London], to [The Revd. Mr. Thomas Haweis]. Salutation: "My very dear Friends." No signature. 1 sheet folded; 2 pp. of text. {104}

12 February 1790, Spa Fields[, London], to [The Revd. Mr. Thomas Haweis]. Salutation: "My very dear Friends." Address panel wanting. 1 sheet folded and 1/2 sheet; 5 pp. of text. {113}

25 February 1790, Spa Fields[, London], to [The Revd. Mr. Thomas Haweis]. Salutation: "My very dear Friends." Address panel wanting. 1 sheet folded; 3 pp. of text. {115}

6 March 1790, Spa Fields[, London], to The Revd. Mr. [Thomas] Haweis, at the Countess of Huntingdon's, Vineyards, Bath. Salutation: "My very dear Friends." 1 sheet folded; 4 pp. of text. {116}

15 March 1790, Spa Fields[, London], to The Revd. Mr. [Thomas] Haweis, at the Countess of Huntingdon's, Bath. Salutation: "My dear Friends." 1 sheet folded; 2 pp. of text. {117}

[**24 March 1790**, London], to The Revd. Mr. [Thomas] Haweis, at the Countess of Huntingdon's, Bath. Salutation: "My very dear Friends." Letter undated; postmarked March 24. 1 sheet folded; 4 pp. of text. {118}

Monday, 29 March 1790, Spa Fields[, London], to The Revd. Mr. [Thomas] Haweis, at the Countess of Huntingdon's, Vineyards, Bath. Salutation: "My dear Sir." Letter hand-delivered "By Favour of Messrs. Waugh & Price." Part of black wax seal attached. 1 sheet folded; 3 pp. of text. {119}

8 April 1790, Spa Fields[, London], to [The Revd. Mr. Thomas Haweis]. Salutation: "My dear Friends." Address panel wanting. 1 sheet folded; 3 pp. of text. {121}

13 April 1790, Spa Fields[, London], to [The Revd. Mr. Thomas Haweis]. Salutation: "My dear & most kind Friends." Address panel wanting. 1 sheet folded; 3 pp. of text. {122}

27 April 1790, Spa Fields[, London] to The Revd. Mr. [Thomas] Haweis, Vineyards, Bath. Salutation: "My very dear Friends." Postmarked from London, April 27. 1 sheet folded; 2 pp. of text. {105}

3 May 1790, Spa Fields[, London], to The Revd. Mr. [Thomas] Haweis, Vineyards, Bath. Salutation: "My dear Friends." Postmarked from London, May 3. 2 sheets folded; 3 pp. of text. {106}

27 May 1790, Spa Fields[, London], to [The Revd. Mr. Thomas Haweis]. Salutation: "My dearest Friends." Address panel wanting. 1 sheet folded; 2 pp. of text. {124}

9 June 1790, Spa Fields[, London], to [The Revd. Mr. Thomas Haweis]. Salutation: "My dear kind Friends." Address panel wanting. 1 sheet folded; 2 pp. of text. {125}

13 July 1790, Spa Fields[, London], to The Revd. Mr. [Thomas] Haweis, at Aldwinkle near Thrapston. Salutation: "My very dear Friends." 1 sheet folded; 3 pp. of text. {126}

7 August 1790, Spa Fields[, London], to The Revd. Mr. [Thomas] Haweis, at Alwinkle, Thrapston. No salutation. Postmarked from London, August 7. 1 sheet folded; 3 pp. of text. {127}

[**13 September 1790**, London], to The Revd. Mr. [Thomas] Haweis, at the Countess of Huntingdon at Brighthelmstone [Brighton], Sussex. Salutation: "My dearest Friends." Postmarked from London, September 13, 1790. 1 sheet folded; 3 pp. of text. {128}

25 September 1790, Spa Fields[, London], to The Revd. Mr. [Thomas] Haweis, at the Countess of Huntingdon, Brighthelmstone [Brighton], Sussex. Salutation: "My dear Friends." Postmarked from London, September 25. 1 sheet folded; 4 pp. of text. {129}

[**1790?**], n.p., to [The Revd. Mr. Thomas Haweis]. Salutation: "My very dear Friends." Address panel wanting. 1 sheet folded; 4 pp. of text. {130}

[**Before 28 December, 1757**], **January**[?] **8**, to Mrs. [Anne] Grinfield, Bedchamber Woman to their Royal Highnesses the Princesses Amelia & Caroline at St. James's, London. A London postmark is only partially legible; the day is "8," but the month, "IA"—i.e. "January"—is a guess. The princesses were sisters of George III. Mrs. Grinfield died on 28 December, 1757.

Thursday[, 1790?], **June 10**, Spa Fields[, London], to Sir Richard Hill. 1/2 sheet; 1 p. of text.

Wednesday afternoon, n.d., Bath, to the Revd. Mr. [Brian Bury] Collins, n.p. On thin blue paper; evidence of red wax seal remains. 1/2 sheet folded; 2 pp. of text.

SELINA HASTINGS, THE COUNTESS OF HUNTINGDON
LETTERS IN THE METHODIST ARCHIVES
AND HISTORY CENTER, DREW UNIVERSITY
Based on a list prepared by Edwin Welch

These letters were purchased from Maggs Brothers in London by Dr. Ezra Squier Tipple who donated them to Drew University *ca.* 1936. This collection belongs to the Drew University Methodist Collection but is administered by the General Commission on Archives and History of the United Methodist Church. Inventory numbers are included within braces.

- 14 February 1731/32, Bath, to her husband at Donington Park, Leicestershire. {A1}
16 February 1731/32, Bath, to her husband at Donington Park. {A2}
19 February 1731/32, Bath, to [her husband]. {A3}
21 February 1731/32, Bath, to [her husband]. {A5}
23 [February] 1731/32, Bath, to her husband at Donington Park. {A4}
28 February 1731/32, Bath, to her husband at Donington Park. {A6}
8 March 1731/32, Bath, to her husband at Donington Park. {A7}
15 March 1731/32, Bath, to her husband at Donington Park. {A8}
18 March 1731/32, Bath, to her husband at Donington Park. {A9}
22 March 1732, Bath, to her husband at Donington Park. {A11}
27 March 1732, Bath, to [her husband]. {A13}
30 March 1732, Bath to her husband at Donington Park. {A10}
1 April 1732, Bath, to [her husband]. {A14}
8 April 1732, Bath, to her husband at Donington Park. {A15}

- 10 April 1732, Bath, to her husband at Donington Park. {A16}
- 12 April 1732, Bath, to her husband at Donington Park. {A17}
- 17 April 1732, Bath, to [her husband]. {A18}
- 29 [] 1732, Lady Lowth's apartment, Bath, to her husband at Donington Park. {A19}
- 29 August 1734, to her husband at Donington Park. {A20}
- 31 August [1734], to her husband at Donington Park. {A107}
- 6 September 1734, Enfield, to her husband at Donington Park. {A21}
- 30 July 1739, to Lord Hastings at Marylebone School, near London. {A86}
- 28 September 1739, to Lord Hastings at Marylebone School, near London. {A88}
- 5 [December] 1739, to Lord Hastings at Marylebone School, London. {A22}
- 18 January 1739/40, to Lord Hastings at Marylebone School, near London. {A85}
- 5 March 1739/40, London, to [her husband]. {A23}
- [April 1740], to her husband. {A102}
- [April 1740], Ledston[, Yorkshire, West Riding], to her husband. {A115}
- [April 1740], to her husband. {A125}
- 28 April 1740, Ledston, to [her husband]. {A24}
- 5 May 1740, Ledston, to [her husband in London]. {A25}
- 7 May 1740, Ledston, to [her husband in London]. {A26}
- 12 May 1740[, Ledston], to her husband at Saville St., London. {A27}
- 19 May 1740, Ashby de la Zouch, Leicestershire, to her husband at Saville St., London. {A29}

- 21 May 1740[, Enfield], to her husband at Saville St., London. {A30}
24 May 1740, to her husband. {A31}
5 June 1740, to Lord Hastings at Marylebone School. {A32}
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2 January 1741/42, to [her husband]. {A42}
9 January 1741/42, Bath, to [her husband]. {A43}
14 January 1741/42, to her husband at Donington Park. [A44]

- 1 March 1741/42, to Lord Hastings at Cowly St., Westminster. {A47}
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- 1 January 1751/52, Bath, to Mr. Eardley Wilmot at Osmaston[, Derbys].
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- 21 July 1755, Donington Park to Florence, Italy. {A67}
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- 5 October 1775, St. Agnes. {A80}
- 11 June 1776, "near the Hay [Trefecca]." {A81}
- 6 July 1779, Bath, to Mrs. Adams at Ashby de la Zouch. {A123}
- 18 June 1781, Bath, to Revd. Mr. Reader at Taunton[, Somerset]. {A120}
- 27 August 1785, to Mr. Carpenter at Bath. {?}

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