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Proceedings

OF THE

Wesley Historical Society

Editor: REV. JOHN C. BOWMER, M.A., B.D., Ph.D.

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THE WESLEYS IN THE "ORANGE STREET HYMNAL"

Introductory

IN the autumn of 1776 the select (and distinguished) congregation which gathered around Augustus Montague Toplady in the leased Huguenot chapel in Orange Street, just off Trafalgar Square in London, sang for the first time from its own new hymn-book. With tremendous energy, since he had been there only from the end of April, Toplady himself had edited and produced the collection under the title *Psalms and Hymns for Public and Private Worship*. Most students of hymnology know of the volume. Some have scrutinized an odd hymn or two in it. Julian's *Dictionary of Hymnology* cites it freely, gets mixed up regarding its various editions, and makes numerous inaccurate statements due to taking the book at its face value. Few people have examined the volume closely. Surely John Wesley cannot have done so, or he would have castigated it as the most nefarious insult to his brother Charles's poetry in the English language. If John had known the extent of Toplady's hymn-mending conjury, not even his rule of speaking well of the dead would have kept Toplady's name out of the celebrated 1780 Preface.

If there is another English hymn-book so prolific of editorial jugglery as this of Toplady's, it would be a wonder indeed. Every conceivable method (except that of allowing an author's work to stand) of handling original material here abounds—addition, subtraction, transposition, changes textual, grammatical, literary and theological. Of the four hundred and nineteen hymns gathered between its covers, it is doubtful if there are ten in their pristine purity. Some are altered out of recognition. The Methodist especially, singing from this volume, would feel like a man who had eagerly returned home, only to find the rooms changed around, his cherished possessions ransacked—not much stolen, perhaps, but a great deal in confusion.

Yet Toplady's Preface is a masterpiece of editorial principle. It

asserts that, as "God is the God of truth, of holiness, and of elegance", anything composed or compiled for use in divine worship must be consistent with these qualities. Truth, for Toplady, includes Calvinistic theology. The divine holiness demands the utmost human reverence and humility. Divine elegance excludes all literary *déshabille*. It is not our intention to discuss the volume as a whole. All that need be said is that in general Toplady kept these principles in mind, although he had many curious lapses. Our concern here is to give some idea of what happened to the work of John, Samuel, and Charles Wesley as it passed through Toplady's hands. Questions of hymnological ethics lie outside the scope of this article.

Toplady has himself suffered at the hands of his editors. He has had no Curnock, Osborn, or Telford. The "Orange Street Hymnal" was re-issued in several slyly-altered editions after Toplady's death in 1778. The original edition, which alone is the sphere of our inquiry, may be recognized by test-cases such as the following:

- (i) No. CCCXXIV—"Beyond the glittering starry globes" (J. Fanch). Omitted from later editions.
- (ii) No. CCCCXI—"If dust and ashes might presume" (Joseph Hart). In the second edition (1787) this gave place to Anne Steele's "Come Lord, and warm each languid heart".
- (iii) "Come, let us anew Our journey pursue". Any edition containing this hymn, or a recognizable adaptation of it, is not Toplady's own volume of 1776. Julian is mistaken at this point.

I. John Wesley

It does not seem that any of John Wesley's original hymns have been included in this collection; but four of his translations appear—one of them in very peculiar circumstances.

Hymn No. LI—Now I have found the ground wherein

Toplady rejects Wesley's second stanza—"Father, Thy everlasting grace"—and gives a five-stanza cento of this hymn. The opening and closing stanzas satisfied Toplady, apparently, but in the body of the hymn he made characteristic changes, which we indicate by placing the original readings¹ in brackets.

- 2. [3] O Grace [Love] thou bottomless abyss!
My sins are swallow'd up in Thee! [:]
Cover'd is my unrighteousness; [,]
From condemnation I am free;
[Nor spot of guilt remains in me,]
For [While] Jesus' [Jesu's] blood thro earth and skys [skies]
Mercy, eternal [free, boundless] mercy, crys. [cries.]
- 3. [4] Jesus, I know hath dy'd for me
[With faith I plunge me in this sea,]
Here is my hope, my joy, my rest.

¹ As given, and so throughout, in G. Osborn's edition of *The Poetical Works of John and Charles Wesley* (1868). Toplady's spelling is retained throughout.

Hither, when hell assails, I flee,
 I look into my Savior's [Saviour's] breast : [!]
 Away, sad doubt, and anxious fear !
 Mercy is all that's written there.

4. [5] Tho' [Though] waves and storms go o'er my head,
 Tho' [Though] strength, and health, and friends be gone,
 Tho' [Though] joys be wither'd all and dead,
 And [Though] ev'ry comfort be withdrawn ; [,
 Steadfast on this my soul relies,
 [On this my steadfast soul relies,]
 Electing [Father, thy] mercy never dyes. [dies.]

The alteration in this last line is self-evidently Calvinist. Fundamentally important also, in spite of its innocuous appearance, is the change from "Love" to "Grace" in line 1 of stanza 2. It is the difference between the supremacy of "Love" and that of "Justice"—"Grace" is more easily reconcilable with "Justice" than "Love" is, or so the Calvinist thought. The alteration in stanza 3 may seem pointless: but Toplady cannot allow that human activity is instrumental in man's salvation—certainly nothing so robust as "plunging".

Hymn No. XCVII—Jesus, thy blood and righteousness

This, of course, is Zinzendorf's. Toplady seems to have had before him both Madan's *Collection* and Wesley's *Hymns and Sacred Poems* (1740). His cento of eleven stanzas, namely Wesley's 1, 12, 2, 3, 7, 11, 13, 21, 22, 24, 19, far outstrips Madan, who used only six stanzas, but he followed Madan in that curious leap from stanza 1 to stanza 12 and back. If we set Toplady's cento out and indicate his deviations by the brackets, and give a comparison with Madan alongside, we get a good idea of the sort of thing that appears on practically every page of Toplady's book.

TOPLADY
Complete Salvation.
 [The Believer's Triumph.]

MADAN
The Christian's Triumph
in the Righteousness of
the Lord Jesus Christ.

- | | |
|---|---|
| <p>1. Jesus [Jesu] Thy blood and righteousness
 My beauty are, my glorious dress.
 'Midst flaming worlds, in these array'd,
 With joy shall I lift up my head.</p> <p>2. [12]
 When from the dust of death I rise
 To claim my mansion in the skys:
 Ev'n [Even] then this shall be all my plea
 ["] Jesus hath liv'd, [lived] hath dy'd [died]
 for me. ["]</p> <p>3. [2]
 Bold shall I stand, in Thy great day
 For who ought to my charge shall lay?
 Fully absolv'd, through Thee I am
 [Fully through these³ absolved I am]
 From sin and fear, from guilt and shame.</p> | <p>1. As Wesley.
 Initial capitals for
 nouns, throughout.</p> <p>12. As Toplady.
 "skies"
 As Wesley—
 double commas.</p> <p>3. "that" for "Thy"
 ! for ?
 "Fully thro' Thee ab-
 solv'd I am"</p> |
|---|---|

³ The antecedents of this pronoun are "blood and righteousness", "beauty"

4. [3] TOPLADY MADAN
 The deadly writing now I see Not Madan.
 Nail'd with thy [Thy] body to the tree:
 Torn with the nails that pierc'd thy [pierced
 Thy] hands,
 The cancel'd bond [old covenant] no longer
 stands.
5. [7] Not Madan.
 Lord I believe, [no comma] thy [the] pre-
 cious blood
 Which, [no comma] at the mercy seat
 [mercy-seat] of God, [no comma]
 For ever doth for sinners plead,
 For *me* [me] e'en [even] for *my* soul was
 shed.
6. [11] Not Madan.
 Nothing [Yet nought] whereof to boast I have;
 All, all, [no comma] Thy mercy freely gave: [:]
 No strength [works] no righteousness, [no
 comma] is [are] mine;
 All is Thy work and only Thine.
7. [13] 4.
 Thus Abraham, the friend of GOD
 And all the armys [Thus all heav'ns armies] "Thus all the armies"
 bought with blood,
 Savior [Saviour] of sinners Thee proclaim,
 Sinners, of whom the chief I am.
8. [21] Not Madan.
 JESUS [Jesu] be endless praise to Thee
 Whose boundless mercy hath, [no comma]
 for me [*me*]
 For me a full atonement made,
 [For me, and all Thy hands have made]
 An everlasting ransom paid.
9. [22] Not Madan.
 Ah, give to all thy servants, LORD,
 [Ah, give me now all-gracious Lord]
 With pow'r [power] to speak thy quick'ning
 [Thy quickening] word;
 That all, [no comma] who to thy merit [Thy
 wounds will] flee
 Shall [May] find eternal life in Thee.
10. [24] 6. "let"
 O [,] make [let] the dead now hear thy [Thy]
 voice,
 Now bid thy [Thy] banish'd ones rejoice: [:]
 Their beauty this their glorious dress,
 JESUS thy [Jesu Thy] blood and righteous-
 ness. [1] JESUS, THE LORD
 OUR RIGHTEOUS-
 NESS.

and "dress" in stanza 1. The interposition of stanza 12 necessitates the removal of the ambiguous "these", but even on the original stanza order some ambiguity exists.

it this hymn begins "I thirst, Thou wounded Lamb of God". The details of the several German compositions which went to make up Wesley's cento (*Poetical Works*, i, pp. 265-6) need not detain us. What is of interest is Toplady's treatment of the cento.

First, he rejected Wesley's stanza 6, which reads :

Hence our hearts melt, our eyes o'erflow,
Our words are lost : nor will we know,
Nor will we think of aught beside
"My Lord, my Love is crucified."

Martin Madan had rejected this stanza, and two others. Toplady did not follow him in this latter respect, and his cento comprises seven stanzas. He followed Madan in making the hymn more congregational by using the personal pronouns in the plural. He agrees with Madan in the final stanza by making alterations to remove an ambiguity which might (very pedantically) be taken in a universalist sense. Wesley had written

First-born of many brethren Thou !
To Thee, lo ! all our souls we bow :
To Thee our hearts and hands we give :
Thine may we die ; Thine may we live.

Toplady prefers to read the stanza thus :

First born of many brethren Thou,
To Thee both earth and heav'n must bow ;
Help us to Thee our All to give !
Thine may we dye, thine may we live !

Another significant alteration occurs in Toplady's fourth stanza (one which Madan had rejected). Wesley had translated thus :

What are our works but sin and death,
Till Thou Thy quick'ning Spirit breathe ?
Thou giv'st the power Thy grace to move—
O wondrous grace ! O boundless love !

The man who taught Christendom to sing

Nothing in my hands I bring
Simply to thy Cross I cling

would not allow human works, even if resuscitated by the Divine Spirit, to play any part in man's salvation. They were, as he was never tired of saying, the fruits, not the roots of salvation. To attribute to man the power to move divine grace, even though it be a power recognizably derived, is an offence against the righteousness of Christ imputed to the elect, and so Toplady re-wrote the latter half of Wesley's stanza, and gave it typographical emphasis thus :

In nothing will we trust, beside
The FINISH'D WORK of Him that dy'd.

(To be continued) GEORGE LAWTON.

[The Rev. George Lawton, M.A., B.D. is a Church of England clergyman, rector of Checkley, near Stoke-on-Trent, Staffordshire, England. He is the author of *John Wesley's English* (George Allen & Unwin, 1962), and has contributed to the *Proceedings* many articles on Wesley's language and style.]

THE MYSTERIOUS MR. HENSHAW

FROM time to time the assiduous collector of pottery busts of John Wesley meets with surprises. Reminders of religious leaders of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries can be found, their likenesses being preserved in pottery, and whilst there is no difficulty in identifying such diverse characters as, say, Charles Haddon Spurgeon and Cardinal Wiseman, there are other cases where a correct attribution is not so easy.

One which is passed off on occasions as a bust of Charles Wesley is in fact John Milton: the dealer who knows no better mistakes the ends of Milton's collar which fall down for the bands of an Anglican clergyman's dress. One such bust—and in glass—once appeared in a well-known London saleroom, and the lot was marked as being a bust of Charles Wesley!

Some busts are to be found in plaster, and there are examples at the Methodist Archives Centre which, as far as I am aware, have defied identification, though possibly some of them portray forgotten Presidents of Conference or college-tutors.

An illustration of the bust which prompts this note appears in this issue, and although, as will be seen, the name of the subject is quite clear, one naturally asks: Who *was* Mr. Henshaw? For a person to have his portrait rendered in pottery, one would expect him to have made his mark in life; and to reach the stage of being a well-known personality many years of service in the public interest would have to be given. And yet this bust indicates that Mr. Henshaw was quite a young man.

There can be no doubt that the subject is that of a Methodist preacher who was not a clergyman of the Church of England. Instead of the usual preaching-bands of Anglicans like Wesley, Fletcher, and Whitefield, Henshaw is depicted wearing the white tight-fitting neckcloth in the style which one sees on busts of Adam Clarke, William Clowes, and Hugh Bourne.

An examination of the various *Minutes of Conference* of the nineteenth-century branches of Methodism reveals that the Methodist New Connexion had four Henshaws from one family who served in its ministry. These four brothers were natives of Hanley, and in their youth were members of Bethesda chapel in that town. Their names and years of birth were: Richard, 1795; John, 1798; James, 1804; Robert, 1806. The two last named attained eminence in their connexion, for James was President in 1848, when only 44 years of age; his ministry extended for 48 years. Robert was President in 1864, and died at the age of 70 when in the fiftieth year of his ministry. John died at the early age of 31, but nevertheless he had ten years of active service to his credit, for they had all responded to their call early in life.

For various reasons, all of which are quite clear, none of these three Henshaw brothers can be accepted as being the subject of this

Staffordshire pottery bust, and thus the claims of the eldest—Richard—remain to be considered.

Richard Henshaw was born at Hanley in 1795—two years before the New Connexion of Methodists was formed; and he became one of their travelling preachers in 1816, when he was sent to Chester. Alas! his life was a short one, and on page 4 of the *MNC Minutes* for 1818 we find

Q[uestion] 6. What Preachers have died this year?

A[nswer]. R. Henshaw, a pious, intelligent, and faithful young labourer in the Lord's vineyard: appointed last year to our Barnsley Circuit; in repairing to which he took a severe cold, which settled on his lungs, laying the foundation of a rapid consumption. After a short sojournment at Barnsley, he was constrained to desist from his ministerial duties, and to try the benefit of his native air; but, alas! disease had advanced beyond the reach of human means, and he continued to decline, till at length his happy spirit was released to take its flight to bliss.

Precious will be the recollection of this Timothy to our Churches, and profitable will be his example to our young brethren in the ministry. So much humility, gravity, religion, and amiableness of disposition, we have rarely seen in brighter colours, or in more constant exercise. Throughout a severe affliction, his conversation was uniformly profitable, his experience always satisfactory; full of resignation, assurance, and peace. The heavenly messenger at length arrived with the mandate from heaven; and on March 19th, our brother peacefully departed this sub-lunary life, to inherit his eternal reward, aged 23 years.

No one is likely to cavil at the extent and fulsomeness of this record of Richard Henshaw's religious experience, but in seeking the reason for the origin of this bust one would like to know something about the young man's life before being accepted as a travelling preacher. How did he earn his living? Was he ever trained to a trade? With three younger brothers of whom we have records (and his parents may have had other children), it is reasonable to suppose that he would be called upon at an early age to augment the household income. Could he have worked at one of the many pot banks which were springing up in that part of Staffordshire?

Collectors of pottery know only too well that most items bear no maker's mark, and frequently it is a matter of conjecture as to who the maker may have been. But in this case there is a clue, and the clue has an air of romance. Inside the hollow base of the 7-in. high bust there is an inscription, made by scratching the clay before the bust was placed in the firing-kiln. This message from the past reads:

Mary Parker Decr. 15, 1814

What should one read into these words? Was Mary Parker the object of his admiration, to whom the bust—his own likeness produced by his own skill—was given as a keepsake? And what happened on "Decr. 15, 1814"? Was this a betrothal date, or the occasion of a marriage? That remains unknown, but one likes to think it was a day which gave Mary Parker much happiness, and that the happiness was shared, too, by Mr. Henshaw. HORACE HIRD.



POTTERY BUST OF "MR. HENSHAW".

JOHN NORRIS AND JOHN WESLEY ON THE "CONDUCT OF THE UNDERSTANDING"

THE attitude toward learning and scholarship assumed by John Wesley is a curiously ambivalent one. In some contexts Wesley appears as the learned Oxford don, a man of letters and the bearer of "uplift" to the masses. Thus he can be envisaged as he converses with Dr. Johnson, and sits up late at night annotating his copy of Shakespeare. After abandoning his teaching post at Oxford, Wesley made an effort to remain abreast of the new literature of the day: so we find in his *Journal*, among others, references to his reading in the works of Boswell, Butler, the Earl of Chesterfield, Captain Cook, Franklin, Hume, Hutcheson, Johnson, Price, Abbé Raynal, Priestley, Reid, Rousseau, Voltaire, and Horace Walpole. In the best tradition of the gentleman amateur, Wesley on one occasion conducted an experiment to determine the effect of music upon the behaviour of lions. He noted that only one of the five lions at the Tower of London responded to the music of the flute, although a tiger in the same cage appeared to be highly excited by the sound.

Elsewhere Wesley seems to fit the stereotype of the over-wrought "enthusiast" and the anti-intellectual fundamentalist. In one place, Wesley denounced philosophy as "the pest of true religion".¹ He refused to study mathematics, because he feared that the implications of the subject supported deist and atheistic arguments. Upon visiting the collection of books and artifacts which one day would be housed in the British Museum, Wesley exclaimed: "What account will a man give to the Judge of quick and dead for a life spent in collecting all these?"² And in a curious letter which displays his classical learning, Wesley remarks to Joseph Benson:

I am glad you come a little nearer the good old Emperor's advice, τὴν τῶν βιβλίων δίψαν βίπττε.³ That thirst is the symptom of an evil disease; and *crescit indulgens sibi dirus hydrops*.⁴ What is the real value of a thing but the price it will bear in eternity? . . . Simplify both religion and every part of learning as much as possible.⁵

How may we account for this ambiguity? Certainly not in terms of the famous conversion experience of 24th May 1738. One cannot simply argue that before 1738 Wesley was well-disposed toward the life of scholarship, and that after 1738 he was not. This neat distinction is disproved by the examples of Wesley's activities which have been given above: all of the events cited in the first paragraph

¹ *Explanatory Notes upon the New Testament* (New York, 1853), p. 324.

² *Journal*, vi, p. 301.

³ Marcus Aurelius: *Meditations*, II, 3. The quotation in the text is that of Wesley. A modern edition reads: τὴν δὲ τῶν βιβλίων δίψαν βίψον (*The Meditations of the Emperor Marcus Aurelius*, ed. A. S. L. Farquharson (Oxford, 1944), I, 22).

⁴ Horace: *Odes*, II, ii, 13.

⁵ *Letters*, v, p. 212.

occurred after the Aldersgate experience. Nor can we simply say that the apparent contradiction in Wesley's attitude reflects the varying moods of an extremely busy man. There is, rather, a rationale underlying the apparent contradiction—a rationale which heretofore has been overlooked by students of Wesley.

The book which states this rationale was written by the Oxford Platonist John Norris (1657-1711), under the title *Reflections upon the Conduct of Human Life: With reference to the Study of Learning and Knowledge. In a Letter to the Excellent Lady, the Lady Masham. To which is annex'd, a Visitation Sermon, By the same Author* (1st edition, 1690; 2nd edition, 1691). So far as we know, Wesley first became acquainted with Norris's work during his studies at Lincoln College, Oxford. Wesley's diary shows that he returned more than once to Norris. An abridgement of Norris's second edition, under the title *Reflections upon the Conduct of Human Life; With Reference to Learning and Knowledge, Extracted from Mr. Norris* (1734), was the second or third of approximately four hundred works to come from Wesley's pen. (Pride of place may belong to *A Treatise on Christian Prudence*, also extracted from Norris and published in 1734.) Wesley's conversion to evangelical principles, as he understood them, did not diminish his esteem for Norris's work. Indeed, the formation of the Methodist societies provided a ready-made audience for the extracts from Norris. Three more individual editions of the work appeared during Wesley's lifetime—in the years 1741, 1755, and 1776. Furthermore, the *Reflections* were included in the eighth volume of Wesley's *Works*, published at Bristol in the years 1771-4 (32 volumes). The text of the first edition is that of all the rest; the only changes made as the years go by are minor changes in capitalization and punctuation. These changes are most noticeable in the edition of 1776.

Norris approached his subject from the point of view of a Christian believer. The quality of his faith should be noted, however. Norris would never be able to say, with Tertullian, *Credo quia impossibile!* Norris was able to believe only those propositions for which he could offer a logical demonstration. This attitude implies that the worm of doubt had entered into Norris's understanding. He required assurance that his faith was not misplaced; "mathematical demonstration" provided that assurance. Speaking from this stance, Norris advised his readers to devote themselves only to those intellectual disciplines in which indubitable knowledge may be obtained. Following Descartes, Norris took the clarity and the distinctness of an idea to be the test of its truth-value. Applying this test, Norris argued that certain knowledge may be obtained in the fields of divinity, metaphysics, and geometry. To these fields may be added the art of logic, whose rules are self-evident and unchanging, Norris feels.

There is a strong strain of Baconianism in Norris. A further criterion whereby one may distinguish between a worthless and a

worthwhile subject of study is the criterion of usefulness. Learning which is of use in attaining a future goal is worth pursuing; learning which serves no such end is to be eschewed. Norris applies this test only in a negative manner. He uses it to discourage the study of foreign languages, history and chronology. Norris is particularly hard upon literary scholars who collect and edit manuscripts written in the classical languages. This labour is his prime example of useless activity. Clearly Norris does not share the literary enthusiasm of the Renaissance humanists, and of their spiritual descendants, the Winchester masters and Oxford dons under whom he studied.

Once Norris has enumerated the subjects which he proposes to study, he goes on to specify the degree of attention which is to be given to them. His remarks upon this point are determined by the goal of life as he understands it—the eternal salvation of the soul, or, to use Norris's commonplace, the vision of God. Following in the train of his fellow Platonists at Cambridge, and of the latitudinarian preachers of his day, Norris subordinates faith to works, and exhorts his readers to seek "holiness, without which no man shall see the Lord" (Hebrews xii. 14). The character of good works is carefully circumscribed. Intellectual achievements, even in the fields of theology and biblical studies, do not count. Rather good works are functions of the conduct of the will and the control of the passions. Therefore an individual ought to seek only that knowledge which will enable him to lead a life of virtue. "Whatever Knowledge we prosecute beside This" is but "a culpable Curiosity, an Unaccountable Vanity, and only a more Solemn and Laborious way of being Idle and Impertinent."⁶

The appendix to Wesley's third edition of extracts from Norris illustrates the way in which he applied Norris's principles. This appendix is entitled "A Scheme of Books suited to the preceding Reflections", and lists under eight headings books on divinity, philosophy, astronomy, history, poetry (in English as over against the classical languages), Latin, Greek, and Hebrew. Obviously Wesley did not share Norris's prejudice against foreign languages; he recommends the reading of pagan authors, both Greek and Latin (e.g. Homer, Plato, Sallust, Terence), various fathers of the Church (e.g. Ignatius, Chrysostom, Cyprian, Augustine), certain Renaissance humanists (Erasmus, Castellio, Buchanan), and of course the Bible in the original tongues. The English poets whom Wesley suggests are his brother Charles, Edmund Spenser, John Milton, and Sir John Davies.⁷

Wesley shared his century's predilection for making the difficult appear to be easy; three of the six books cited under philosophy are

⁶ [John Wesley:] *Reflections . . . Extracted from Mr. Norris* ([Oxford?], 1734), p. 35.

⁷ Wesley's text reads: "Sir John Davis on the Immortality of the Soul" (p. 36). This statement probably refers to Sir John Davies: *Nosce teipsum! This oracle expounded in two elegies. (1) Of humane Knowledge, (2) Of the Soule of man and the Immortalitie thereof* (1599).

compendia—of logic, metaphysics and ethics respectively. The first of these is probably Wesley's version of Henry Aldrich's *Artis Logicæ Compendium* (1691), which Wesley published in 1750 under the title *A Compendium of Logick*. But Wesley was not entirely averse from stretching the minds of his readers; Newton's *Principia Mathematica* is one of three books listed under astronomy. The works listed under the heading of divinity tend toward the hortatory and the exemplary, or what Wesley called "practical" divinity. German Pietists, High Church Anglicans, English Puritans, Cambridge Platonists, Roman Catholic authors, as well as Wesley himself, are all represented here.⁸ Two works only are listed under "doctrinal" divinity—John Pearson: *Exposition of the Creed* and John Fell: *A Paraphrase and Annotations upon the Epistles of St. Paul*.

Wesley's indebtedness to Norris reminds us again of the diversity and breadth of the sources upon which he depended. In the person of Norris we have another link between Wesley on the one hand and the Cambridge Platonists and latitudinarians on the other. To take a still wider view, one might think of Wesley as an heir of the Renaissance tradition to which Erasmus, Colet, More and Bucer belong. We are reminded, furthermore, that Wesley never abandoned many of the convictions upon which he settled before he travelled to America. Since this is the case, statements concerning the influence of German pietism upon Wesley's mature theology must be framed with great care. It may very well be that much the greater part of Wesley's theology is derived from distinctively English sources.

JOHN C. ENGLISH.

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⁸ e.g. A. W. Boehm, A. H. Francke; Jeremy Taylor, Robert Nelson; John Preston, Richard Sibbes; Ralph Cudworth, John Smith; Pascal, Fénelon.]

Publications contemporary with our own, carrying articles of interest to our readers, continue to reach the Editor's desk. The following are among those which have recently arrived.

Cirplan for Michaelmas 1969 contains articles by Horace Hird ("The Tale of a Wesleyan Duster"), Thomas Shaw ("Another Hospitality Plan"), Kenneth F. Bowden ("A Hundred Years of the Bacup Circuit Plan"), Kenneth Lindley ("Lettering and Typography"), and Peter Howard ("My plans are not your plans").

Methodist History for October 1969 contains (inter alia) an article by Dr. John C. Bowmer on "The Story of the Wesley Historical Society"; and in the issue for January 1970 Dr. Frank Baker writes on "The Birth of John Wesley's *Journal*."

John Bailey Shelton, City Chamberlain of Coventry, by I. F. Bromwich, is a biographical study obtainable from the author at 71, Broad Lane, Coventry; no price stated.

IRISH NOTES

The Annual Pilgrimage, this year on Wesley Day itself, Saturday, 24th May 1969, assembled at Caledon, Co. Tyrone. By kind invitation of the rector, members were able to view the parish church where John Wesley preached on the occasion of its opening, two hundred years ago—on 19th April 1769. Then, under the guidance of the superintendent, the Rev. James Davison, the party of over 120 members and friends toured the Aughnacloy circuit, and after tea held a public meeting in Aughnacloy church. Here there were two addresses. The Rev. N. E. Mulligan told the story of Methodism on that circuit, and spoke out of personal experience of the many families from which have come leading Methodists, ministerial and lay. Mr. Frederick Jeffery, Vice-President of the Society, spoke of the development of the Irish Conferences as indicating characteristics of Methodism, such as the experimental approach, lay involvement, and the primacy of the spiritual message.

Dublin Conference, 1969. Because this was the 200th Irish Conference, the Conference Arrangements Committee invited the Wesley Historical Society to organize a special public meeting in celebration. This was held on Friday, 6th June, in Rathgar Presbyterian church, Dublin. A serious fire in December 1968 had destroyed the interior of our Centenary church, St. Stephen's Green, where the Conference would normally have been held. Irish Methodism was glad to accept the kind offer of our Presbyterian brethren to use the very suitable premises at Rathgar for all Conference sessions and meetings. The Wesley Historical Society meeting was presided over by Mr. Frederick Jeffery, and took the form of a representation, in sound and vision, of the beginnings of Irish and Dublin Methodism. This programme was originally compiled by Mr. Brian Pasley for the 125th anniversary of "Centenary" the previous autumn. In view of the fire mentioned above, this compilation is now of great historical value. Miss Sylvia Fannin was responsible for the musical programme. She arranged for the singing of the three hymns—Nos. 17, 584, 264—that are set to the same tunes in the present *Methodist Hymn-Book* and in the 1804 *General Hymn Book* as edited by Dr. Thomas Coke for Irish Methodism.

Special articles on the Irish Conferences appeared in the *Conference Handbook* and in the *Irish Christian Advocate*, prepared by Mr. Jeffery.

Annual General Meeting. This took place on Tuesday, 10th June. All the officers were re-elected: President, Mr. Norman Robb; Vice-President, Mr. Frederick Jeffery; Secretary and Treasurer: Mr. John H. Weir; Archivist: Mrs. Marion Kelly.

Visitors to Ireland are cordially invited to get into touch with Mr. Weir at 50, Meadowbank Place, Belfast, 9, if they would like to see the Wesley historical display at Aldersgate House, Belfast.

The Methodist Conference, 1970, will meet in Manchester, and the Wesley Historical Society's Annual Lecture, preceded by tea and business meeting, will be delivered in the Levenshulme Methodist church on Wednesday, 1st July, at 7-30 p.m. The lecturer is the Rev. J. Leonard Waddy, and his subject "John Wesley and the Wednesbury Riots". The presence of all who can attend will be sincerely appreciated. A fuller notice, with directions, will appear in our June issue.

NEWS FROM OUR BRANCHES

THE spring-summer meeting of the **Bristol** Branch was held on Saturday, 12th June 1969, at Wesley College. Dr. John Newton spoke on Susanna Wesley, and there was an attractive display of Wesleyana, in which the college is quite rich, having inherited the treasures of former colleges at Headingley, Leeds and Didsbury, Manchester.

The autumn meeting was held at the New Room, Bristol, on Saturday, 11th October, when Dr. Maldwyn Edwards spoke on Thomas Coke. A very full summary of the lecture appears in the branch Bulletin No. 8, and a tape recording was also made. Tribute to the late Rev. A. John Gedye (Warden of the New Room from 1962 until his death in July last) was paid during the meeting, and the new Warden, the Rev. E. Ralph Bates, who was present, was warmly welcomed.

Bulletin: Nos. 7 and 8 received.

Secretary: Mr. G. E. Roberts, 21, Ormerod Road, Stoke Bishop, Bristol, 9.
Membership: 50.

THE spring meeting of the **Cornish** Branch was held on Wednesday, 28th May 1969, when the Rev. Thomas Shaw lectured on the life and work of Richard Treffry, sen. The meeting was held at Tregony, and the opportunity was taken to visit other places in the Treffry country—Grampound West chapel, Newton Farm (Treffry's birthplace), and Cuby church, where he was baptized. Mr. J. C. Warne, J.P., C.C. presided at the lecture, which is now available, price 2s. 6d., as Occasional Publication No. 14.

On Monday, 14th July a small group of members visited the Ponsanooth and Mylor chapels in the Falmouth circuit. William Carvosso was for many years associated with the former, and Mylor was the birthplace of his grandson, William T. Rundle, pioneer missionary in the Canadian Rockies.

The autumn meeting was held at Cury in the Helston circuit on Wednesday, 29th October, when the Rev. Sidney O. Dixon, the Cury minister, lectured on "The Road to Unity in Cornish Methodism, 1791-1907". The chairman was Mr. G. Pawley White (Grand Bard of the Cornish Gorsedd and a vice-president of the branch). The lecture is published as Occasional Publication No. 16, price 2s. 6d.

Journal III. Nos. 2, 3 and 4 have been received.

Occasional Publications No. 14 and 15 have been received.

Secretaries: Rev. Baynard P. Evans, Orchard Meadow, Tremarne Close, Feock, Truro, Cornwall.

Rev. Sidney O. Dixon, The Manse, Mullion, Helston, Cornwall.

Membership: 352.

THE spring meeting of the **East Anglia** Branch was held on Saturday, 26th April 1969, at Thorpe Road chapel, Norwich. The speaker was the Rev. Charles Staden, and his subject "Epworth—home of the Wesleys". Mr. and Mrs. Staden entertained the members to tea.

The autumn meeting was held on Saturday, 18th October, at Fakenham (Norfolk), with Mr. Stuart Andrews, M.A. (headmaster of Norwich School) lecturing on "Methodism and Revolution".

The branch has suffered a severe loss in the sudden death in mid-December of its treasurer, Mr. P. A. Flood. Thoroughly reliable, painstaking and considerate in all he undertook, he was not only an excellent

treasurer but a keen historian, deeply interested in all the branch activities.

Bulletin: Nos. 21 and 22 received.

Secretary: Mr. W. A. Green, 60, Brian Avenue, Norwich, NOR 28 C.

Membership: 122.

THE spring meeting of the **Lancashire and Cheshire** Branch was held at Walmersley Road chapel, Bury, on Saturday, 19th April 1969—the bicentenary, incidentally, of the first mention of Bury in the Manchester circuit accounts. The Rev. Dr. John F. Butler spoke on Methodist architecture. After tea, members toured some interesting Methodist buildings at Old Moulding, Tottington, and Summerseat. The meeting ended with an inspection of the circuit records—"all in 'apple-pie' order, and safely housed in a fire-proof cupboard. *O si sic omnes!*" (the words of the branch secretary; and the Connexional Archivist adds a hearty "Amen!")

The annual pilgrimage took place on Saturday, 7th June, and covered Todmorden Central, Chapel House, Todmorden Edge (site of the first Quarterly Meeting), Blackshawhead, Heptonstall, and Mankinholes.

The autumn gathering (the occasion also of the Annual Meeting) was held on Saturday, 25th October, at the Central Hall, Oldham Street, Manchester. The Rev. Dr. Oliver A. Beckerlegge spoke on circuit plans, and an interesting selection was on display. Miss Frances Crossfield was appointed secretary of the Exhibition of Wesleyana to be held in connexion with the Manchester Conference, 1970.

Bulletin: No. 10 received.

Secretary: Mr. E. A. Rose, 18, Glenthorne Drive, Ashton-under-Lyne,

Membership: 110.

[Lancs.]

THE spring meeting of the **Lincolnshire** Branch was held at St. Stephen's, Gainsborough, on Saturday, 12th April 1969, when Mr. J. S. English spoke on the various branches of Methodism in the town.

The Annual Meeting took place on Saturday, 11th October, at Ruskington. After the meeting, Mr. R. W. Ambler of Hull addressed the members on "Chapels and People: Primitive Methodism in South Lincolnshire in the Nineteenth Century".

Journal: Vol. I Parts 12 and 13 received.

Secretary: Mr. William Leary, Woodlands, Riseholme, Lincoln.

Membership: 93.

THE summer meeting of the **London** Branch took the form of a "city walk", visiting places associated with the Wesleys. Beginning at Wesley's Chapel, the route covered the site of the Foundery (Tabernacle Street), Spital Yard (Susanna Wesley's house), St. Botolph's (Bishopsgate), St. Ethelburgha's, Great St. Helen's, Threadneedle Street (where Mrs. John Wesley lived), St. Lawrence Jewry, St. Mary-le-Bow, St. Vedast's (Foster Lane), St. Botolph's (Aldersgate), Aldersgate Street, Little Britain, The Charterhouse, St. Luke's (Old Street), Bunhill Fields, and so led back to Wesley's Chapel, where tea awaited the pilgrims.

The Annual Meeting of the branch was held on Saturday, 4th October, at Wesley's Chapel. After tea, Alderman Leonard Dansie of Colchester and his daughter, Miss Jane Dansie, delivered a beautifully-illustrated lecture, "In the steps of John Wesley".

Bulletin: Nos. 8 and 9 received.

Secretary: Mr. J. A. Pendry Morris, 118, Elgar Avenue, Tolworth,

Membership: 73.

[Surbiton, Surrey.]

THE **North-East** Branch held their spring meeting on Saturday, 8th February 1969, in Brunswick church hall, Stockton-on-Tees. The Chairman of the Darlington District, the Rev. E. Lincoln Minshull, presided, and the lecturer was the Rev. Dr. John A. Newton, of Wesley College, Bristol, who spoke on "Susanna Wesley".

The summer outing, under the leadership of Professor H. Cecil Pawson, was a great success. Beginning at Tanfield, which Wesley visited in 1742, the pilgrimage included Blanchland, with its lovely little chapel called "Providence", from whence the party went on to Riding Mill in the Hexham circuit.

On Saturday, 25th October, the branch met at St. John's, Sunderland, when Mr. Robert Moore, of Van Mildert College in the University of Durham, lectured on "Some aspects of Methodism and Society in County Durham".

Bulletin : Nos. 12 and 13 received.

Secretary : Miss C. M. Bretherton, 6, The Craiglunds, Tunstall Road,
Sunderland, Co. Durham.

Registrar (who despatches the *Bulletin* and receives the subscriptions) :
Mr. Norman Moore, 3, Martello Gardens, Cochrane Park,

Membership : 80. [Newcastle upon Tyne.]

THE spring meeting of the **Plymouth and Exeter** Branch took the form of a visit to Sticklepath, on the fringe of Dartmoor, frequently visited by John Wesley. It was a splendid event, with a record attendance. The guide and lecturer was the Rev. R. Keith Parsons, whose lecture is printed in the Branch *Proceedings*.

An excellent autumn meeting was held at the ancient port of Topsham. The General Secretary of the Society delivered an enthralling paper on religion in Devonshire in the mid-nineteenth century. After tea, Mr. Alan Musson led a tour of the little old town.

Proceedings : Vol. II, Nos. 3 and 4 received.

Secretary : Mr. W. R. West, Warboro, 8, Redvers Road, Exeter.

Membership : 100.

THE **South Wales** Branch met for its Annual Meeting on Saturday, 14th June 1969, at Green Street chapel, Aberdare. The Rev. W. Islwyn Morgan spoke on "The Beginnings of Welsh Wesleyan Methodism in South Wales". Dr. Maldwyn Edwards presided.

Bulletin : No further issue.

Secretary : Rev. W. Islwyn Morgan, 15, King Edward Road, Brynmawr,

Membership : 30. [Brecon, NP3 4SD.]

THIS has been a busy year for the **West Midlands** Branch, for included in its activities was the arranging of the Conference Exhibition. This was excellently done, and thanks are due to Miss Doreen Pooler, not only for the time and care expended in gathering and returning exhibits, but also for the generous supply of literature which accompanied the display.

The spring meeting was held in Kingsmead College, Selly Oak, on Saturday, 22nd March 1969, when the Rev. P. R. Clifford (President of the Colleges) spoke on the history and role of the Selly Oak Colleges. Afterwards, members examined a chair which is reputed to have been used by John Wesley, and then were shown round the college by the Rev. T. Allan Beetham. After tea, at the new Selly Oak Methodist church, there was the Annual Meeting, at which all the officers were re-elected.

The autumn meeting took place at Quinton on Saturday, 18th October. The lecturer was the Rev. Dr. John T. Wilkinson, and his subject "The Origins of Primitive Methodism in the West Midlands, 1820-68". Mr. S. C. Redhead (treasurer of the branch) presided in the absence of the president (the Rev. G. Ernest Long).

Bulletin: Vol. I Parts 9, 10 and 11 received.

Secretary: Mrs. E. D. Graham, B.A., B.D., 34, Spiceland Road,

Membership: 126. [Northfield, Birmingham, 31.

ON Saturday, 17th May 1969, members of the **Yorkshire** Branch toured Nidderdale under the expert guidance of Miss Joanna Dawson. Starting at Hampsthwaite, the route covered Darley, Moorcock Hall (where Wesley and his wife stayed in 1772), Greenhow, Beverley, and Pateley Bridge (with many Wesley associations). To end with, there was a fine collection of documents, pottery and other relics for inspection at Pateley chapel.

The autumn meeting was held on Saturday, 11th October, at Greetland, near Elland. The Rev. George W. Dolbey gave an illustrated talk on Methodist architecture. The members visited Wesley chapel, Greetland, built in 1777, in which Wesley preached three times. Unhappily it is expected to close soon because of dry rot and redundancy.

Bulletin: Nos. 14 and 15 received.

Secretary: Rev. W. Stanley Rose, 1, York Road, Knaresborough, Yorks.

Membership: 120.

We gratefully acknowledge the following periodicals, which have come to hand since the publication of the list in our last issue.

The Baptist Quarterly, January 1970.

The Journal of the Historical Society of the Presbyterian Church of Wales, March 1970.

Bathafarn (the Welsh Methodist historical journal), 1969.

Journal and Proceedings of the Australasian Methodist Historical Society (Sydney), December 1969.

Below are given particulars of more local histories, copies of which we have been pleased to receive. A further list will appear in our next issue.

Dunnington (York) centenary (3 sheets foolscap, duplicated): copies from the Rev. Albert E. Emerson, 31, Chestnut Avenue, York: no price stated.

St. Austell, Bethel, 150th anniversary (pp. 24): copies from Mr. C. Wren, 11, Morcom Close, Boscoppa, St. Austell, Cornwall; no price stated.

Appleton Roebuck, 150th anniversary (pp. 4): copies from the Rev. H. Guy Sanders, 12, Golf Links Crescent, Tadcaster, Yorks, LS24 9HG; no price stated.

Alsager, Wesley Place, centenary (pp. 16): copies, price 3s. post free, from Mrs. R. Wesley Palmer, Dunster Lodge, Brookhouse Road, Alsager, Stoke on Trent.

100 years of Service—centenary of Trinity Methodist chapel, Redcar (pp. 12): copies, price 3s., from the Rev. Alan G. Powers, 9, St. Vincent Terrace, Redcar, Teesside.

Selly Oak, opening of new chapel (pp. 8): copies from the Rev. C. Hughes Smith, 110, Langleys Road, Selly Oak, Birmingham, 29; no price stated.

JOHN WESLEY'S EARLY SERMONS

ON 16th October 1771, John Wesley noted in his *Journal*: "I preached at South Leigh. Here it was that I preached my first sermon, six-and-forty years ago."¹ From this one entry, several different accounts have developed concerning Wesley's first preaching. One particular tradition interprets the account as an anniversary notice, and places the first preaching by the newly-ordained Wesley on 16th October 1723.² More recently, historians have followed the picturesque account which Nehemiah Curnock gives in his introduction to the Standard edition of John Wesley's *Journal*. Assuming that Wesley preached on the Sunday following his ordination as deacon, Curnock presents the following account of 26th September 1725:

On Sunday morning he rides alone through Oxfordshire lanes towards Witney, and, halting at the quaint old church at South Lye with frescoed walls, he presents his authority signed by Bishop Potter, and preaches, from an exquisitely neat little MS., on "Seek ye first the kingdom of God, and His righteousness."³

This rather romanticized portrayal is admittedly the result of "historical imagination", which is often the child of assumptions and the mother of legends. Curnock himself introduces his remarks by stating: "Strange to say, no record of the sermon or of its preaching appears in the *Diary*."⁴ The diary to which he refers is the first in a series of diaries which John Wesley wrote while at Oxford. A careful examination of this first Oxford diary, however, reveals references not only to this sermon, but to most of the sermons which John Wesley wrote between 1725 and 1735. Comparison with the extant manuscripts of the sermons and other early documents allows us to make the following observations: John Wesley's "first sermon" is really his second; most of Charles Wesley's published sermons were written by John; and many of John's early sermons are abridgements from other authors. The key which unlocks this storehouse of confusing data is a listing of sermon texts and titles found in the first Oxford diary.

The five little volumes known as the "Oxford diaries" are much more than simple daily accounts of the life of their author. The daily entries usually start several pages into the volume and stop before the last page is reached. In the first diary, these daily entries are made only on the recto of the page, leaving the versos, as well as the opening and closing pages, free for additional notes.⁵ The

¹ *Journal*, v, p. 432. ² *Methodist Recorder*, Winter number, 1904, pp. 46-7.

³ *Journal*, i, p. 60. ⁴ *ibid.*, i, p. 59.

⁵ Quite frequently Wesley turned the volume round and began writing from the back page forward, resulting in a book which can be read starting from either end. Consequently the volume with the diary for 1st October 1733 to 22nd April 1734 was later numbered twice in the listing of the Colman Collection, X as a diary and XIV as "Books read during the year 1733 . . ." (the monthly and yearly summaries beginning from the back). Cf. *Proceedings*, xxi, pp. 93-7 [but note also the later Colman enumeration, *Proceedings*, xxxvii, p. 89—EDITOR]. Appreciation is extended to the Methodist Archives, London, for access to the early Methodist manuscripts in the collection.

diaries were not simply filled and then put aside. Although the daily entries in the first diary cover only the period from 25th April 1725 to 19th February 1727, the monthly financial accounts which begin from the back include September 1726 to December 1731. Other miscellaneous entries scattered throughout the blank pages contain notes dated as late as 21st June 1734.⁶

It is on one of these pages, the verso immediately preceding the first diary entry, that Curnock noticed "a list of texts and topics for pulpit preparation, written roughly, at various times, and here and there rudely erased."⁷ Curnock does not mention, however, another similar list further along in the volume, opposite a page dated 24th September 1726. The particular significance of this latter list (which we shall refer to as "list A") is that many of the entries have numbers affixed to them. A careful reading of the diaries and a comparison with the manuscripts of the early sermons confirms the suspicion that here we have a listing of John Wesley's early sermons numbered in the order that he wrote them.

This numbering scheme can be verified in several ways. The manuscripts give various types of clues. The holograph of the sermon which has usually been referred to as Wesley's "first sermon"⁸ has at the top centre of its cover in John Wesley's hand the numeral "2", which corresponds with the numbering in the diary list. On the back cover, Wesley has noted in cipher the places (and in some cases the dates) where he preached this sermon, the first mentioned being Binsey in 1725. The daily record in the diary reveals that he began working on a sermon on 7th November 1725, and finished it the morning of his preaching in Binsey, 21st November (which was the only time he preached there in 1725). Further down the list there is a record of his having preached this sermon in South Leigh, but the probable date is 1727.⁹

There are, nevertheless, diary notations of his having preached on five Sundays between his ordination on 19th September 1725, and the writing and preaching of this sermon at Binsey. The sermon most probably preached on these occasions is the one listed as number "1" in the diary "list A", on Job iii. 17—"There the wicked . . ." A holograph of this sermon also exists,¹⁰ and in John Wesley's hand on the cover is the inscription, "The first Sermon I ever wrote." Again on the back cover are listed some of the places and times of preaching

⁶ These include notes relative to class lists, Holy Club finances, reading lists, poetry, study schedules, and subscription lists for his father's forthcoming book on Job.

⁷ *Journal*, i (Introduction), p. 47. This list is hereafter referred to as diary "list B". (Cf. illustration.)

⁸ This is the "exquisitely neat little MS." on Matthew vi. 33 which Curnock referred to (note 3). Cf. *Wesley's First Sermon* (London, 1903).

⁹ South Leigh is listed between two other entries for 1727. The first diary entry for preaching at South Leigh is 12th February 1727.

¹⁰ At Wesley College, Bristol. Appreciation is extended to Dr. Frank Baker for calling this manuscript to my attention as an important confirmation of the diary listing.

this sermon, corresponding to several diary entries for his preaching during the period 1725-7. Of particular interest is a notation that he preached this sermon also at South Leigh in 1727, verifying his statement made many years later that "Here it was that I preached my first sermon", although it was not the first preaching of that sermon. As was frequently the case, his memory was less than precise as to the date.

Another example of numbering is found on the holograph copy of a sermon on II Corinthians ii. 17—"For we are not as many which corrupt the word of God." The seemingly insignificant number "12" scratched at the top centre of the first page coincides with the number for this text in the diary listing. At the end of the manuscript, Wesley also noted the date on which he finished transcribing his pulpit copy from the rough draft, and this also falls into chronological sequence with the other numbered sermons.¹¹

In February 1730 Wesley began to note more regularly, in his daily diary entries and the monthly summaries (in what is usually referred to as Oxford Diary II), the subjects and/or texts of the sermons he was writing. These begin to follow the entries on the list Curnock noticed ("list B"), starting with some of the titles which are underlined. One of these underlined entries, "What I do thou canst not know", is the text for the sermon which Wesley noted as his fiftieth sermon in his diary on 26th September 1730. This is the first diary entry referring to the numbering system, and from this we can determine the numbering sequence for some of the immediately preceding sermons which are also found on "list B". Subsequent mention in the diaries proper of sermon-writing seldom refers to the text or title, but usually indicates only the number of the sermon. In most cases, we have no manuscripts of the sermons from 1730 to 1735, and very little else to help in attempting to number the texts on "list B" in accordance with the sermons mentioned only by number in the daily or monthly diary summaries.

At this point, help comes from a rather unexpected source—the manuscripts in Charles Wesley's hand which are the basis for the published edition of his sermons.¹² Six of these manuscript sermons are on texts found in John Wesley's diary lists, and the shorthand notes which Charles made at the beginning or end of the sermons indicate that these, along with three others, were indeed "transcribed from my brother's copies" at various times during Charles's excursion to America in 1735-6. It is easy to imagine that Charles, having been rather hastily ordained deacon by Bishop Potter and priest by Bishop Gibson less than a month before embarking for America,

¹¹ A date is quite often noted immediately at the end of the body of the sermon on the manuscript copy, and comparison with the daily diary accounts indicates that it is usually the date Wesley finished writing or transcribing the sermon, and should not be mistaken for a preaching date.

¹² *Sermons by the Late Rev. Charles Wesley, A.M.* (London, 1816). Manuscripts are extant for eleven of the twelve published sermons, as well as for two unpublished ones.

felt the need for some assistance from his older brother, who had been writing sermons for over ten years. The prospect of being charged with different parishes in Georgia made possible the simultaneous use of the same sermons by the two brothers. An example of this is the sermon on Matthew vi. 22, 23, which John mentions in his first Georgia diary, 29th January 1736, with the entry, "began Sermon on Single Eye." Finishing the sermon on 3rd February, he reworked ("corrected") it the next morning before meeting Charles at noon. The manuscript of this sermon in Charles's hand, with the title "A Single Intention", ends with a note written in Byrom's shorthand—"from my brother's copy; transcribed February 4, 1736."

Other sermons by John were similarly transcribed by Charles during his stay in America and on his trip back to England in the autumn of 1736.¹³ In some cases he took the pains to transcribe the dates and places of preaching which John had noted at the end of the sermons (changing John's cipher into Byrom's shorthand). In every case, these fit the preaching references in John's Oxford diaries, and help to fill in some of the gaps in the numbering scheme.

The system of numbering has more than a simple chronological significance. John Wesley seems to have numbered only those sermons which he himself wrote. He did, however, preach some sermons which were not his own, just as Charles obviously did. One whole volume of manuscript sermons in John Wesley's hand belongs in the category of unnumbered sermons "collected", transcribed, or abridged from other authors.¹⁴ From his diary entries and the dating on the manuscripts, we learn that four of these sermons were collected from Benjamin Calamy,¹⁵ and four from William Tilly.¹⁶ A fifth sermon abridged from Tilly was noted in the diary, but no manuscript has survived.¹⁷ These sermons are included on the following chart because, although not original with Wesley, they do indicate theological interests which were close

¹³ The editor of Charles Wesley's sermons apparently was unfamiliar with Byrom's shorthand (John Byrom: *The Universal English Shorthand*), as is indicated by some of the notes appended to the published sermons. The note on sermon IX says "Preached on board the London Galley, between Charles Town and Boston", whereas what the editor read as "preached" was in fact five words in shorthand, "transcribed from my brother's copies", and applies to sermons I, II, and V as well. The date of transcription is noted at the end of the manuscript for sermon V as 4th September 1736, "off Boston", and coincides with a reference in Charles's journal of that date as to his writing by candle-light. *The Journal of the Rev. Charles Wesley, M.A.* (London, 1849), i, p. 41.

¹⁴ Colman Collection, volume XIX, Methodist Archives, London.

¹⁵ *Sermons Preached upon Several Occasions; Never before Printed* (London, 1687). One of Wesley's abridgements is included in his collected works as CXXXVII, and the editor, Thomas Jackson, notes that it was "originally written by Benjamin Calamy". *Works* (London, 1872), vii, p. 474 n.

¹⁶ *Sixteen Sermons . . . preached before the University of Oxford* (London, 1712). This has been noticed by Dr. Charles Rogers in *Proceedings*, xxxv, pp. 137-41 (but see following chart for correction of dates of preaching).

¹⁷ See note 10 on chart.

enough to his own that he could feel comfortable using them as his own.

Another interesting example of literary appropriation is Wesley's abridgement of Robert Nelson's *The Great Duty of Frequenting the Christian Sacrifice*, in January and February 1732. The resultant essay was then further abridged into the form of a sermon, "The Duty of Constant Communion".¹⁸ Although he and others did refer to this as *his* "sermon on the Sacrament", Wesley did not include the text in his diary lists, and neither the essay nor the sermon are in his numbering sequence.

The following chart ends with the sermon John Wesley preached on 21st September 1735, before leaving for America. This was nearly ten years after his first preaching occasion, and the text is the same as for his first sermon—Job iii. 17, although it is a completely different sermon. The latter version was published by Rivington in 1735, and was the initial appearance of any of his sermons in print. The diary lists, incidentally, do contain two references to this text: on "list A", "There the wicked", and on "list B", "There the weary". Although there are two major gaps in the manuscript diaries for this ten-year period,¹⁹ presumably most of the texts for the sermons we know only by number are included on the two diary lists. The listed entries for which we have no dates or numbers are therefore included in the following chart in what seem to be the appropriate places, in order to give a more complete picture of the topics upon which John Wesley was preaching (or thinking about preaching) in this early period of his ministry. RICHARD P. HEITZENRATER.

[The Rev. Richard P. Heitzenrater, A.B., B.D. is instructor in History and Religion at Centre College, Danville, Kentucky, U.S.A. His Ph.D. dissertation on John Wesley and the Oxford Methodists is being written under the direction of Dr. Frank Baker of Duke University.]

¹⁸ "The Duty of Receiving the Lord's Supper" is the title given in the essay. (Colman Collection, volume XX, Methodist Archives, London.) The further abridgement may have occurred as early as March 1732 (diary entry, "transcribed sermon on Sacrament"), although Wesley's note on the published sermon that he has abridged the essay is dated 1788.

¹⁹ 20th February 1727 to 29th April 1729 and 9th February to 16th October 1735. The diary for the summer of 1734 is also missing, but monthly summaries at the back of Oxford Diary IV (Colman Collection, XIV) fill in the essential data for this period.

[The next thirteen pages contain the chart referred to by Mr. Heitzenrater in the foregoing article. An explanatory key is printed below. All the footnotes to the chart appear on page 128.—EDITOR.]

Bold type indicates texts and titles as listed in Diary lists A and B.

Italic type indicates information verified by manuscript notations.

Regular type indicates information explicit in Diary references other than lists A and B.

[Brackets] indicate information from Diary possibly related to sermon in question.

* indicates sermon not included by Wesley in the numbering scheme.

§ indicates no way of knowing if published sermon is the same one referred to in list.

JOHN WESLEY'S EARLY SERMONS

No.	Title, text, or subject	Date written or transcribed	Date preached	Place preached	Manuscripts and Published Sermons on text or subject
1.	There the Wicked (Job iii. 17)	25th Sept.— 1st Oct., 1725	[3rd Oct., 1725] [3rd Oct., 1725] [10th Oct., 1725] [17th Oct., 1725] [24th Oct., 1725] 9th Jan., 1726 9th Jan., 1726 6th Feb., 1726 27th Feb., 1726 1st May, 1726 8th May, 1726 15th May, 1726 29th May, 1726 12th Feb., 1727 12th Feb., 1727	[Fleet-Marston] [Winchendon] [Shipton] [Thame (twice)] [Shipton (twice)] <i>Buckland</i> <i>Stanton</i> <i>St. Thomas, Oxford</i> <i>Weston</i> <i>Wroot</i> <i>Epworth</i> <i>Haxey</i> <i>Finningley</i> <i>Stanton-Harcourt</i> <i>South Leigh</i>	J.W. MS., Wesley College, Bristol. Cf. <i>A Sermon Preached at St. Mary's in Oxford, on Sunday, September 21, 1735.</i> London: Rivington, 1735. (A different sermon.)
2.	Seek Ye First (Matthew vi. 33)	7th—21st Nov., 1725	21st Nov., 1725 — 1725 16th Jan., 1726 [16th Jan., 1726] [24th April, 1726] [12th June, 1726] [31st July, 1726] [5th Feb., 1727] [— 1727] 20th Aug., 1727	<i>Binsey</i> <i>Buckland</i> <i>Stanton</i> <i>Broadway</i> <i>Wroot</i> <i>Haxey</i> <i>Epworth</i> <i>Stanton-Harcourt</i> <i>South Leigh</i> <i>Whatton</i>	J.W. MS., Colman Misc. ¹ <i>John Wesley's First Sermon.</i> London, 1903. (Reproduces the body of the MS. sermon.)
3.	I am not ashamed (Romans i. 16)	7th June— 25th July, 1726	[31st July, 1726]	[Epworth]	
4.	Ye know not what ("On Universal Charity") (Luke ix. 55)	14th—24th Aug., 1726	28th Aug., 1726	[Epworth]	

JOHN WESLEY'S EARLY SERMONS

No.	Title, text, or subject	Date written or transcribed	Date preached	Place preached	Manuscripts and Published Sermons on text or subject
5.	There is One Lawgiver ("Against Rash Judging") (James iv. 12)	13th-15th Sept., 1726	18th Sept., 1726	[Epworth]	
[6].	<i>On Guardian Angels</i> (Psalm xci. 11)		29th Sept., 1726 [25th Dec., 1826]	<i>St. Michael's Epworth Wroot Stanton Shipton Wychwood Gloucester</i>	C.W. MS., Meth. Archives. C.W. <i>Sermons</i> (London: Baldwin, 1816), pp. 22-42 (Sermon II).
7.	Now he is Gone (II Samuel xii. 23)	10th-12th Jan., 1727 (end writing, 11th Jan., 1727, Wednesday, 10 [a.m.?)	15th Jan., 1727 ^a	Broadway ^a	J.W. MS., Colman Misc. J.W. <i>Sermons</i> (ed. Thomas Jackson, 1872), ^a CXXXV, "On Mourning for the Dead". (First published in <i>Arminian Magazine</i> , 1797.)
8.	So God loved the World (John iii. 16)				
9.	Rivers of Water run (Psalm cxix. 136)				
10.	Acquaint thyself with Him (Job xxii. 21)				
11.	Fools make a Mock at Sin (Proverbs xiv. 9)				
12.	For we are not as many, etc. (II Corinthians ii. 17)	<i>Tr. Sat., 6th Oct., 1727</i>	[7th Oct., 1727] 5th Jan., 1729	<i>Epworth Wroot</i>	J.W. MS., Colman Misc. J.W. <i>Sermons</i> , CXXXVI, "On Corrupting the Word of God". (First published in <i>Arminian Magazine</i> , 1798.)

JOHN WESLEY'S EARLY SERMONS

No.	Title, text, or subject	Date written or transcribed	Date preached	Place preached	Manuscripts and Published Sermons on text or subject
13.	I am a Stranger and a Sojourner as all (Psalm xxxix. 12)				
14.	Of Affliction				
15.	Hear, O Heavens (Isaiah i. 2)				
16. 17. 18.	Behold an Israelite (John i. 47)	<i>17th Jan., 1728, 2.30 p.m. (end tr.) 22 minutes (length)</i>	?	<i>Epworth</i>	J.W. MS., Wesley College, Bristol. J.W. <i>Sermons</i> , XC, "An Israelite Indeed". (First published in <i>Arminian Magazine</i> , 1785). (A different sermon.)
19.	Died Abner (II Samuel iii. 33)				
20.	James v. 14/Genesis iii. 19				§J.W. <i>Sermons</i> , LVII, "On the Fall of Man" (Genesis iii. 19). (First published in <i>Arminian Magazine</i> , 1782.)
21.	Decently and in order (I Corinthians xiv. 40)				
22.	What shall a man give (Matthew xvi. 26)				§J.W. <i>Sermons</i> , LXXXIV, "The Important Question". (First published separately in 1775.)
23.	On the Sacrament				
24.	On Fasting				
25.	Self-Denial (Cf. Luke ix. 23, Mark viii. 34, Matthew xvi. 24)				§J.W. <i>Sermons</i> , XLVIII, "On Self Denial". (First published in <i>Sermons on Several Occasions</i> , 1760.)

JOHN WESLEY'S EARLY SERMONS

No.	Title, text, or subject	Date written or transcribed	Date preached	Place preached	Manuscripts and Published Sermons on text or subject
26.	Evil Thoughts				
27.	When the Unclean Spirit (Matthew xii. 43 or Luke xi. 24)				
28.	Psalm viii. 3				§J.W. <i>Sermons</i> , CIII, "What is Man?" (cf. CIX). (First published in <i>Arminian Magazine</i> , 1788.)
29.	On Christ				
30.	Humility				
30.	Good Friday^a				
31.	On Easter Day				
32.	Anger				
33.	Do it with thy Might (Ecclesiastes ix. 10)				
	Lovers of Pleasure more^b (II Timothy iii. 4)				
	I preach not myself, but— (II Corinthians iv. 5)				
	The Unprofitable Servant Matthew xxv. 14-30				
	Ezekiel xviii				
	Verily Every man Living				

JOHN WESLEY'S EARLY SERMONS

No.	Title, text, or subject	Date written or transcribed	Date preached	Place preached	Manuscripts and Published Sermons on text or subject
	Poison of Asps (Romans iii. 13)				
	O the Depth (Romans xi. 33)				§J. W. <i>Sermons</i> , LXVIII, "The Wisdom of God's Counsels". (First published in <i>Arminian Magazine</i> , 1784.)
	Whitsunday				
	Trinity				
	Luke xii. 19 ("Eat, drink, and be merry.")				
	Luke xiii. 24 ("Enter in at the strait gate.")				
	Luke xv. 10 ("Joy . . . over one sinner that repenteth.")				
	Ephesians v. 15 "Walk circumspectly . . . redeeming the time.")				§J.W. <i>Sermons</i> , XCIII, "On Redeeming the Time". (First published in <i>Arminian Magazine</i> , 1782.)
	No resistance				
	Suffering				
[46].	On Providence	7th-22nd Aug., 1729	[24th Aug., 1729]	[Stanton]	§J.W. <i>Sermons</i> , LXVII, "On Divine Providence". Luke xii. 7. (First published in <i>Arminian Magazine</i> , 1786.)

JOHN WESLEY'S EARLY SERMONS

No.	Title, text, or subject	Date written or transcribed	Date preached	Place preached	Manuscripts and Published Sermons on text or subject
[47].	On Pride	2nd Jan., 1730 "writ down"			
[48].	Negative Goodness	23rd-27th Feb. 1730			
[48a]*		21st-26th June, 1730			
[49].	On the Sabbath (Exodus xx. 8)	1st-4th July, 1730	19th July, 1730 — 1730 28th Mar., 1731 — Mar., 1731 4th April, 1731 11th April, 1731 30th May, 1731 6th Feb., 1732 19th Mar., 1732 8th July, 1733 9th Sept., 1733	Epworth Pyrton St. Thomas St. Miles Combe and Wilcot All Saints Stanton St. Aldate's Fleet-Marston Ferry Hinksey St. Ebbes	C.W. MS., Meth. Archives. C.W. Sermons, pp. 165-85 (Sermon X).
50.	What I do, thou canst not know (John xiii. 7).	26th Sept.- 13th Oct., 1730	1st Nov., 1730 — 1735	All Saints, Oxford Epworth Stanton Manchester	C.W. MS., Meth. Archives. C.W. Sermons, pp. 95-113 (Sermon VI).
51.	In the Image of God made he Man ("On Original Sin"). (Genesis i. 27)	27th-31st Oct., 1730 1st Nov., 3.30 p.m. 33 minutes (length)	15th Nov., 1730 7th Feb., 1731 30th July, 1732 7th Jan., 1733	St. Mary's, Oxford Queen's Square Chapel, London Stanton St. Margaret's Old Fleet Street, London St. Miles, Oxford	J.W. MS., Colman Misc.

JOHN WESLEY'S EARLY SERMONS

No.	Title, text, or subject	Date written or transcribed	Date preached	Place preached	Manuscripts and Published Sermons on text or subject
52.		3rd-14th Mar., 1731			
53.		20th-27th Mar., 1731			
54.	He that Winneth Souls is Wise⁷ ("Sermon for Ordination"). Proverbs xi. 30	5th-12th July, 1731	19th Sept., 1731 26th Sept., 1731 9th July, 1732	<i>Christ Church, Oxford</i> <i>St. Miles, Oxford</i> <i>St. Mary's, Gloucester</i>	C.W. MS., Meth. Archives. C.W. <i>Sermons</i> , pp. 1-21 (Sermon I).
55.	Known unto the Lord are all⁸ Acts xv. 18	10th-29th Aug., 1731			
56.	Where the worm dyeth not (Mark ix. 48)	24th-25th Sept., 1731	[26th Sept., 1731]	[Castle]	§J.W. <i>Sermons</i> , LXXIII, "Of Hell". (First published in <i>Arminian Magazine</i> , 1782.)
*	<i>The Duty of Receiving the Lord's Supper</i> (Abridged from Robert Nelson, <i>The Great Duty of Frequenting the Christian Sacrifice</i> , and others.)	31st Jan.- 19th Feb., 1732 <i>19th Feb., 1732</i> (Index, <i>21st Feb., 1732</i>) ⁹			J.W. MS., Colman XX. J.W. <i>Sermons</i> , CI, "The Duty of Constant Communion", as abridged from essay. (First published in <i>Arminian Magazine</i> , 1787.)
*	Let me die the death of the righteous . . . (Numbers xxxiii. 10) (Collected from Benjamin Calamy, <i>Sermons Preached upon Several Occasions</i> , VII.)	11th-12th Mar., 1731 <i>tr. 12th Mar., 1731</i> ² 9.30 a.m.	<i>12th Mar., 1732</i> <i>15th Sept., 1734</i>	<i>Castle</i> <i>Castle</i>	J.W. MS., Colman XIX, pp. 15-30. Cf. J.W. <i>Sermons</i> , LIII, "On the Death of Mr. Whitefield". (A different sermon, first published in 1770.)

JOHN WESLEY'S EARLY SERMONS

No.	Title, text, or subject	Date written or transcribed	Date preached	Place preached	Manuscripts and Published Sermons on text or subject
*	And they went out, and preached that men should repent (Mark vi. 12) (Collected from Benjamin Calamy, <i>Sermons</i> , X.)	1st-2nd April, 1732 2nd April, 1732, 7 a.m.	2nd April, 1732 16th June, 1734	Castle Castle	J.W. MS., Colman XIX, pp. 31-46.
*	Who went about doing good (Acts x. 38). (Collected from Benjamin Calamy, <i>Sermons</i> , I.)	2nd-5th June, 1732 5th June, 7.30 a.m.			J.W. MS., Colman XIX, pp. 1-12. J.W., <i>The Christian Library</i> (Bristol: E. Farley, 1754), XXXIX, pp. 207-35.
*	But some man will say, How are the dead raised up? (I Corinthians xv. 35). (Collected from Benjamin Calamy, <i>Sermons</i> , XI.)	[5th]-7th June, 1732 7th June, 1732, 12 noon			J.W. MS., Colman XIX, pp. 47-63. J.W. <i>Sermons</i> , CXXXVII, "On the Resurrection of the Dead". (First published in <i>Christian Library</i> , XXXIX, pp. 246-73.)
57.	Consecration Sermon ("for Mr. B.")	17th-19th July, 1732	[23rd July, 1732]	[St. Mary's, Oxford]	
*	("Collected a sermon of William Tilly.") (From <i>Sixteen Sermons . . . preached before the University of Oxford.</i>) ¹⁰	15th-20th July, 1732			
*	Work out your own salvation (I). (Philippians ii. 12, 13.) (Collected from William Tilly, <i>Sermons</i> , VIII.)	12th-14th Aug., 1732 14th Aug., 7 a.m.	19th Nov., 1732 3rd Feb., 1734	Castle Castle	J.W. MS., Colman XIX, pp. 81-92. Cf. J.W. <i>Sermons</i> , LXXXV, "On Working out our own Salvation". (A different sermon.)

JOHN WESLEY'S EARLY SERMONS

No.	Title, text, or subject	Date written or transcribed	Date preached	Place preached	Manuscripts and Published Sermons on text or subject
58.		2nd-3rd Sept., 1732			
*	Work out your own salvation (II). (Philippians ii. 12, 13.) (Collected from William Tilly, <i>Sermons</i> , IX.)	29th Sept.- 1st Oct., 1732 1st Oct., 1732, Sunday, 7 a.m.	1st Oct., 1732 3rd Mar., 1734	Castle Castle	J.W. MS., Colman XIX, pp. 93-101. Cf. above for similar published sermon.
*	Grieve not the Holy Spirit of God (Ephesians iv. 30). (Transcribed from William Tilly, <i>Sermons</i> , XI.)	27th-28th Oct., 1732 28th Oct., 1732, 30 minutes (length)	29th Oct., 1732 17th Mar., 1734	Castle Castle	J.W. MS., Colman XIX, pp. 103-14. J.W. <i>Sermons</i> , CXXXVIII, "On Grieving the Holy Spirit." (First published in <i>Arminian Magazine</i> , 1798.)
123 *	If any man thinketh he knoweth anything . . . (I Corinthians viii. 2.) Transcribed from William Tilly, <i>Sermons</i> , XIII.)	17th-18th Nov., 1732 18th Nov., 10.30 a.m.	31st Dec., 1732 22nd Sept., 1734	Castle Castle	J.W. MS., Colman XIX, pp. 115-24.
59.	[The Circumcision of the Heart] (Romans ii. 29.)	26th Nov.- 31st Dec., 1732	1st Jan., 1733	St. Mary's, Oxford	J.W. <i>Sermons</i> , XVII. (First published in <i>Sermons on Several Occasions</i> , 1746.)
60. ^{1a}		10th-17th Feb., 1733			
[60a].		19th April- 3rd May, 1733			
*	[Extemporaneous sermon?]	26th May, 1733 (planned sermon)	27th May, 1733	Epworth	

JOHN WESLEY'S EARLY SERMONS

No.	Title, text, or subject	Date written or transcribed	Date preached	Place preached	Manuscripts and Published Sermons on text or subject
61.	Love of God and Neighbour (Mark xii. 30.)	2nd-15th Sept., 1733	— 1733 [6th Jan., 1734] [10th Feb., 1734] — 1735	<i>All Saints Hampton Gay St. Mary's, Oxford St. Sepulchre's Epworth</i>	C.W. MS., Meth. Archives. C.W. <i>Sermons</i> , pp. 136-64 (Sermon IX).
62.	<i>Thy Will be Done</i> (Matthew vi. 10.)	19th-20th April, 1734			J.W. MS. (Outline), Colman Misc.
63.	Martha, Martha (<i>The One Thing Needful</i>) (Luke x. 42)	— May, 1734	— 1734 — June, 1734 — June, 1734 — Aug., 1734 [— 1735] ¹⁸	<i>St. Sepulchre's St. Mary's St. Miles Stanton Harcourt Marston Epworth Gainsborough Berkswell</i>	C.W. MS., Meth. Archives. C.W. <i>Sermons</i> , pp. 81-94 (Sermon V).
64.		— Aug., 1734			
[65].		15th-29th Oct., 1734			
*	[Extemporaneous sermon] (Matthew v. 12)		10th Nov., 1734	Castle	§J.W. <i>Sermons</i> , XXI-XXIII, on the "Sermon on the Mount". (First published in <i>Sermons on Several Occasions</i> , 1746.)
[66].		6th-9th Jan., 1735			
[67].	Sermon for Sister Molly	24th-27th Feb., 1735			

a. Anacron Quicksilver
 b. French
 c. Sallust, Vell. Polare. Juny, Sully, Justin, Com. Nepos
 Casar, Pliny, Martial, Juvenal & Lucan Luc. Stor.
 1. 3^d Wicked - 4th knows it -
 a Jack ya Fool - 2^d says he is gone -
 3 I a o a k a m d 5 It is the Engiour
 4. 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
 9. 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
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JOHN WESLEY'S EARLY SERMONS—DIARY "LIST A".

JOHN WESLEY'S EARLY SERMONS

No.	Title, text, or subject	Date written or transcribed	Date preached	Place preached	Manuscripts and Published Sermons on text or subject
	Perfect Freedom ¹⁴ James ii. 12				
	A Good Understanding ⁷ (Psalm cxi. 10)				
	And in Hell he lift ⁷ (Luke xvi. 23)				§J.W. <i>Sermons</i> , CXII, "The Rich Man and Lazarus". (First published in <i>Arminian Magazine</i> , 1789.)
	Be Ye Angry (Ephesians iv. 26)				
	Thou art not far from the Kingdom Mark xii. 34				
	Psalms xix. 8 ("The precepts of the Lord are right").				
	Denying the Power of it ⁷ (II Timothy iii. 5)				
	Who teacheth like Him (Luke xii. 12)				
	Man is born to trouble ⁷ (Job v. 7)				
	Whence hath it the Tares? (Matthew xiii. 27)				

JOHN WESLEY'S EARLY SERMONS

No.	Title, text, or subject	Date written or transcribed	Date preached	Place preached	Manuscripts and Published Sermons on text or subject
	Perfect Freedom¹⁴ James ii. 12				
	A Good Understanding⁷ (Psalm cxi. 10)				
	And in Hell he lift⁷ (Luke xvi. 23)				§J.W. <i>Sermons</i> , CXII, "The Rich Man and Lazarus". (First published in <i>Arminian Magazine</i> , 1789.)
	Be Ye Angry (Ephesians iv. 26)				
	Thou art not far from the Kingdom Mark xii. 34				
	Psalms xix. 8 ("The precepts of the Lord are right").				
	Denying the Power of it⁷ (II Timothy iii. 5)				
	Who teacheth like Him (Luke xii. 12)				
	Man is born to trouble⁷ (Job v. 7)				
	Whence hath it the Tares? (Matthew xiii. 27)				

JOHN WESLEY'S EARLY SERMONS

No.	Title, text, or subject	Date written or transcribed	Date preached	Place preached	Manuscripts and Published Sermons on text or subject
	By their Fruits ye shall know them (Matthew vii. 20)				
	God no Respector of persons (Acts x. 34)				
	Ye are not your own (I Corinthians vi. 19)				
	Supererogation				
	Vain Philosophy Colossians ii. 8				
	Whoso mocketh the Poor⁷ (Proverbs xvii. 5)				
	Faith, Hope, Charity⁷ (I Corinthians xiii. 13)				
	He has ordained his arrows against the persecutors (Psalm vii. 13)				
	Thou art unto them Ezekiel xxxiii. 32				
	Grow in grace II Peter iii. 18				
	Be not righteous over much (Ecclesiastes vii. 16)				

JOHN WESLEY'S EARLY SERMONS

No.	Title, text, or subject	Date written or transcribed	Date preached	Place preached	Manuscripts and Published Sermons on text or subject
	A Reasonable Sacrifice (Romans xii. 1)				
	Though an angel from Heaven (Galatians i. 8)				
	Wiser than the Children of Light (Luke xvi. 8)				C.W. MS., Meth. Archives. ¹⁵
	Left us an Example that we tread (I Peter ii. 21)				
	Dead, alive in God Romans vi. 11				
	A New Creature (Galatians vi. 15, or II Corinthians v. 17)				J.W. <i>Sermons</i> , XIII, "On Sin in Believers". (First published in <i>Works</i> (Pine ed.), 1771.)
	Other foundation than this can no man lay (I Corinthians iii. 11)				
	Laodicea (Revelation iii. 14f)				
?	There the weary (Job iii. 17)		21st Sept., 1735	St. Mary's, Oxford	First published sermon. London: Rivington, 1735. J.W. <i>Sermons</i> , CXXVII, "The Trouble and Rest of Good Men".

JOHN WESLEY'S EARLY SERMONS

FOOTNOTES to chart on pp. 115-27

¹ Colman Collection, Methodist Archives, London (hereafter noted either by volume number or as miscellaneous manuscripts). J.W. for John Wesley; C.W. for Charles Wesley.

² Not 11th January at Epworth which Jackson notes, following Joseph Benson's edition. The date on the manuscript is the completion date for writing.

³ Unless noted otherwise, J.W. *Sermons* will refer to this edition by Thomas Jackson, found in the fourteen-volume "Third edition" of Wesley's *Works*, 1872.

⁴ There are two entries numbered 30 on "list A".

⁵ The next fourteen titles are the remaining entries from Diary "list A", not including those also found on "list B". Some of the latter may indeed have been written and preached during this period, 1727-9, but are included with the entries from "list B" at the end of the chart.

⁶ Mentioned in the monthly diary summary for June 1730, but omitted from the yearly summary.

⁷ This entry has a line drawn through it in the list, as do six others, indicating perhaps a proximity in time of writing.

⁸ This may be the text for No. 56 and vice versa. Diary evidence is inconclusive.

⁹ Wesley notes transcribing "sermon on Sacrament", 24th March 1732, and talking with James Hervey about "sermon on Sacrament", 30th March 1734.

¹⁰ Since Wesley collected four more of Tilly's sermons in numerical order, beginning with sermon VIII, it is probable that this one was from the first seven.

¹¹ The manuscript note has the date as 13th December (a Thursday in 1732), an apparent transposition of the digits, since he did preach on 31st December at the Castle prison.

¹² Noted by mistake in the daily diary as No. 58. In the monthly summary for February 1733, "58" has been changed to "60". A sermon written in May is also noted as No. 60. The September summary notes Sermon 61. To add to the confusion, the yearly summary for 1733 lists only two sermons written during the year, No. 59 (actually written in 1732) and No. 60. The summary for 1734 begins with Sermon 62.

¹³ Wesley refers to preaching his farewell sermon at Epworth in 1735 on "pursuing the one end of our life in all our words and actions". (*Letters*, v, p. 299 (to John Newton, 14th May 1765.))

¹⁴ The following twenty-nine texts are the remaining entries from diary "list B".

¹⁵ Charles transcribed this from John's copy on 6th May 1736.

Our Exhibitions Secretary, Mr. William Leary, has produced a study of Methodism in the city which he knows and loves so well—*Methodism in the City of Lincoln* (pp. 80, published by the author at Woodlands, Riseholme, Lincoln, from which address copies may be obtained, price 2rs.).

Mr. Leary begins with the epic story of how Methodism came to Lincoln, late in Wesley's lifetime, and then traces the development of the movement until Lincoln became one of the strongholds of the connexion. The rise and decline of such chapels as "Big Wesley" and "Hannah Memorial", and of the Day School, are faithfully chronicled. The story of Primitive Methodism is told in chapter IV, and the volume is enriched by thirteen illustrations. It is to be hoped that this book will be bought not only by those who are especially interested in Lincoln itself, but by all who enjoy reading or writing that most fascinating of all studies, local Methodist history.

BOOK NOTICES

The Liturgical Movement and Methodism, by Raymond J. Billington.
(Epworth Press, pp. xiv. 217, 40s.)

This book is a timely one, packed with interesting and relevant material. The Liturgical Movement, which aims at placing the Lord's Supper at the centre of our worship, has, by all the tokens, come to stay, though, as the author reminds us, the Liturgy is set forth by Word as well as by Sacrament. He gives a brief sketch of the history of the Holy Communion service, noting the various interpretations of the Reformers (Luther, Calvin and the rest) and of the variations found in the Church of England rite and those of the Puritans. He then passes on to the emergence of the Liturgical Movement in the nineteenth century and the aspects that it has worn both before and after the second world war.

He comes to the heart of his thesis with a chapter on the implications of Methodism, and, with a wealth of illustration, shows the vital part that the Lord's Supper played in the life of John Wesley from youth to old age. (It is worthy of note that the *Hymns on the Lord's Supper*, which were first published in 1745, were re-published by the Methodist Sacramental Fellowship in 1935.) The author pleads for a much more frequent celebration in our churches, and gives one or two orders (including the Taizé office) which might usefully be adopted for our use. No mention, however, is made of our own *Sunday Service* (issued under the auspices of Conference), which would be more in keeping with our traditions.

One or two utterances may be called into question. Paul van Buren is quoted with approval as saying that "the mission of the Church is not the way of trying to make others into Christians" (p. 105), which is a strange commentary on our Lord's command "Go ye therefore and make disciples of all the nations" (Matthew xxviii. 19). He tells us that the inadequacy of humanism lies in its ignoring the fact of sin (p. 107), yet he disparages the use of the hymn "When I survey the wondrous Cross", and regards Billy Graham's methods of producing a feeling of guilt as artificial (p. 61). He has some further derogatory remarks about the Billy Graham method of evangelism when he says that the evangelism of the Order of Christian Witness has an honesty of approach to the people which the former does not possess (p. 140). Is this fair? More serious still is his desire to get rid of the Covenant Service because of its individual emphasis. Surely the personal aspect of religion cannot be eradicated in this fashion: the fact that it is vitally linked to the Lord's Supper proves its corporate aspect as well. It is not without significance that the Anglican Church is wanting to adopt it (p. 145).

The author will have to do some more thinking on the place of music in worship, especially when he talks about the positioning of the choir and the desirability of using a clarinet to accompany some of the hymns. Nevertheless, one can be grateful for the provocative challenge of the treatise and for the insights that it contains.

FRANCIS B. WESTBROOK.

Methodist Plans for a Mission in Madagascar, [1816-28]. (Article by J. T. Hardyman.)

A little while ago there appeared in a national paper an article by a well-known clergyman under the title "The Failure of a Mission". Some readers wondered whether such a title could ever be justified theologically,

whatever the facts. If ever it *could* be justified, perhaps the Methodist attempt at a mission in Madagascar might be thought to qualify for such a description.

The events are related in an article, "Methodist Plans for a Mission in Madagascar", written (in English) by J. T. Hardyman, and published in *Neue Zeitschrift für Missionswissenschaft*, volume XXV (1969). Mr. Hardyman is himself a missionary of the London Missionary Society working in Madagascar. He is an acknowledged authority, with a wide knowledge of the history of missionary activity there, and we welcome this competent presentation of facts that are not well enough known.

The paper, which can be seen in the reference library at the Mission House, 25, Marylebone Road, London, N.W. 1, is one of a series of detailed preliminary studies of plans made for Madagascar by various Christian bodies during the period 1795 to 1825 or so. These, it is hoped, are preparing the way for a comprehensive history. The article under review is a worthy piece of such a jig-saw puzzle. Not surprisingly, the writer finds some difficulty in believing that the term "Calvinistic Welsh Methodist" is not a figment of some feeble theological mind, but he shows a clear grasp of the situation and characters in this fascinating story.

Inevitably, much comes into the account about the LMS, who in the period 1816 to 1828 were at work in Madagascar, and are there still. It is interesting to see how the two societies reacted on each other, and how, at that early stage, they approached, with courtesy and common sense, the question of comity.

A further issue which, as Hardyman shows, is raised by the story of Threlfall's intense sense of call to work in Madagascar, and the way his missionary vocation actually worked out, is why the Methodist Missionary Society did not allow him to found a faith mission, paying his own fare and supporting himself at the other end. The answer, of course, lies in the fact that the Methodist ministry is an Order. This also is the answer to the question Hardyman raises as to whether the more normal (from a Methodist point of view) calls and appointments of other missionaries at that time—and of course since—were a little "flat" by comparison with Threlfall's passionate desire to serve in this one place.

We must all agree with Hardyman that Threlfall's devotion is still intensely moving and inspiring. To read the facts, simply and clearly related as they are in this article, is to know that to talk in this connexion about the failure of a mission because Methodism never managed to land one of its missionaries on the island of Madagascar is to miss the whole significance of Threlfall's dedicated life. N. ALLEN BIRTWHISTLE.

The Planting of Christianity in Yorubaland, 1842-1888, by Modupe Oduyoye. (Daystar Press, Ibadan, Nigeria, pp. 77, 3s.)

This study is based on a careful reading of most of the available secondary sources. It is of interest to readers of this journal for two reasons: firstly, for its examination of the interaction of Wesleyan and other (especially CMS) missionary work, and secondly, for its balanced assessment, from an African standpoint, of the divergent personalities and writings of missionaries, African Christians, missionary statesmen such as Henry Venn, and hostile witnesses such as Richard Burton. Slips are very few: on page 62, for "Bouch" read "Bouche".

PAUL ELLINGWORTH.

NOTES AND QUERIES

1207. THE CHRISTIAN METHODIST CHURCH.

While working on other historical research last year, I found evidence for the existence of a small society calling themselves the Christian Methodist Church, Bickerton (Cheshire). Much information, and all the documentation, came from Miss Clara Jones of Bickerton, whose parents had been among the society's leaders. Other older people of the area also well remembered its activities. Facts about the beginnings of the society are somewhat obscure, but memories suggest that the Christian Methodists left the Brown Knowl PM society in the late 1870s or early 1880s, the point at issue being the way hymns were announced in the services. The dissentients favoured the giving-out by the preacher of two lines at a time, which the congregation would sing before hearing the next two lines read. As it was thought all were now able to read, the Brown Knowl leaders sought to introduce the current practice of reading the first verse only.

Leader of the Christian Methodists was Robert Thomas, an able layman and acceptable preacher in the Whitchurch circuit. He had much help from Miss Jones's parents, Joseph and Ellen, who were neighbours of his.

This group continued Primitive Methodist practices. A quarterly class ticket was issued to members, whose names were kept in a class-book, with a class leader in pastoral charge of them. I have one of the later class-books, which belonged to Joseph Jones, recording names and weekly or quarterly contributions to the "Church", also a collection of class tickets, from 1885 to 1895, printed on stiff card, but otherwise similar to the usual Methodist class ticket. Then there are tickets for the "Annual Tea Meeting", which was in camp-meeting tradition. The earliest of these is dated Wednesday, 13th August 1884, but the 3 of 13th and the 4 of 1884 are inserted in pencil in place of an earlier date erased. The cost of the tea at 4 p.m. was one shilling, and the gathering was afterwards "to be addressed by a large number of friends". The meetings were in the open air, and Joseph Jones, a gifted violinist, accompanied the singing. The last surviving ticket was for Monday, 21st July 1902, in a field at George Dodd's, Bickerton. (Dodd's cottage is now Bickerton Post Office.)

The most important piece of evidence to survive is the "Christian Methodist Preachers' Plan, Bickerton, 1902" for the quarter March to May. This has obvious Primitive Methodist origins, and "Places of Worship" were the homes of Robert Thomas and supporters in other villages. Seven preachers are named, with sixteen "Helpers", most of whom appear to be PM preachers from neighbouring circuits. A "Plan for Week Nights" is included, but only the places for meeting are listed, and no arrangements for the leaders of the services are made. The plan measures 8½ by 12 ins.

At the time this plan was produced, Robert Thomas lay ill, and the records of Brown Knowl burial-ground show that he died on 3rd July 1902, and was buried there on the 7th. His funeral card informs us that he was 80 years old, and had been a "Preacher of the Gospel for 60 years". His death signified the end of the Christian Methodists of Bickerton. Over the years relations with the Brown Knowl society had improved, and Robert Thomas's congregation was absorbed again by Brown Knowl and other village churches in the area. But it is remarkable that for at least 19 years Robert Thomas was "superintendent" of his own little circuit, and with his helpers missioned the area which had seen the beginning of John Wedgwood's "Cheshire Mission" for Primitive Methodism some sixty years before.

RONALD F. LEATHWOOD.

1208. THE GRAVES FAMILY AND THE WESLEYS.

The Spiritual Quixote, by the Rev. Richard Graves, was a gentle satire on early Methodism, published nearly two centuries ago—in 1773. Dr. Shepherd, in his *Methodism and the Literature of the Eighteenth Century*, remarked that Graves made “no personal attack on Wesley at all, and seems sympathetic towards the Arminian branch. Behind the satire there is a constant note of approval of many of the qualities of the Methodists and frequently expressions of disapproval of many clergymen and abuses within the Church.” I am engaged in work on the background to *The Spiritual Quixote*, and am anxious to discover evidence of friendship between the Graves family and the Wesleys, other than what appears in obvious printed sources and at the Methodist Archives. There may be manuscript remains in provincial archives and private collections which are not readily available, and of which I would be particularly anxious to learn. In connexion with the same work, I would like to know the whereabouts of documents concerning the *Arminian Magazine* before 1791, especially anything bearing on the Wesleys’ part in choosing contributions for inclusion. Will anyone able to help please write me at Sturton Lane, Scawby, Brigg, Lincolnshire?

NICHOLAS LYONS.

1209. PORTRAIT OF SUSANNA WESLEY OR —

This extremely fine portrait (*Proceedings*, xxxvii, p. 40) indicates an artist of more than average merit. There may be a clue to its identity in the fact that Sir Peter Lely painted Judith, a sister of Susanna, and included her in his *Portraits of Beautiful Women*; and Susanna’s beauty is said to have surpassed that of her sister. A comparison with this portrait, if available, would be helpful. The conventional bonneted likeness of Susanna in her later life hardly helps us, but if we compare the portrait in question with W. H. Gibbs’s engraving which forms the frontispiece to Kirk’s book *The Mother of the Wesleys*, there is perhaps a slight hint of features in common, notably the mouth with its bow-shaped upper lip.

A careful comparison with portraits of John and Charles Wesley might show possible resemblances, but it would have to be with the originals—it is difficult to judge from reproductions. Williams’s painting of John has marked features in common with the above. John’s numerous portraits—many by amateurs—vary considerably, showing wide differences of feature, and Salisbury’s fine painting is synthetic and almost too magnificent.

On the other hand, C. H. Kelly would not have been so positive without reason, and the suggestion that it is a likeness of Charles Wesley’s sister-in-law, Lady Rudd, is intriguing and by no means unlikely. Either way, the origin of this fascinating portrait is of interest. A comparison with other work of early eighteenth-century artists and the views of a professional art critic would be valuable. Is there a Methodist art student who will look into it? On balance, I find the evidence in favour of Susanna too uncertain, and for that reason I did not include the portrait in my book, *Charles Wesley, the First Methodist*.

FREDERICK C. GILL.

1210. INFORMATION WANTED ABOUT THOMAS RANKIN.

Dr. R. K. MacMaster, Assistant Professor of History, Western Carolina University, Cullowhee, NC, 28723, USA, asks if any reader can supply him with information about Thomas Rankin, one of Wesley’s helpers, whose name was dropped from the *Minutes* in 1795 when he “entered into business”. His will indicates that most of his papers were burned by his executors. Can anyone add anything to the note which appeared in *Proceedings*, iii, p. 51 f.?

EDITOR.