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Proceedings

OF THE

Wesley Historical Society

Editor : REV. WESLEY F. SWIFT

Volume XXIX

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EDITORIAL

THIS year of grace is the diamond jubilee year of our Society. Ten years ago the jubilee was celebrated with a "bumper number" of the *Proceedings*, specially bound with a cover printed in gold and containing articles on the history of the Society and its future prospects. We have not felt it necessary to repeat this editorial feat, if only for the fact that spare copies of the jubilee issue of the *Proceedings* are still available for those who wish to purchase them.

Our Society, like most of its kind, began in a small way. Its founder was the Rev. Richard Green, then Governor of Didsbury Colledge, Manchester, and the "manuscript journal" was the medium of communication between the members. At the end of the first year there were twenty-nine members, each paying an annual subscription of one shilling, which was increased to half-a-crown when publication of the *Proceedings* commenced in 1895. The first membership list contains names which are household words in the field of Methodist history—there were giants in those days—and our own beloved President joined the ranks of the pioneers within a couple of years. And now our membership is over seven hundred; our ranks are no longer exclusively "Wesleyan" but include many valued members from the other former branches of British Methodism; we have daughter Societies in Ireland and New Zealand, and the kindred Societies in Australia, Sweden and America owe their existence to our inspiration. "What hath God wrought!" as Wesley would have said.

What of the future? Some of the suggestions made ten years ago are already bearing fruit: the "manuscript journal" has been revived; the number of "specialists" is growing; the Lending Library and "repository" is now an accomplished fact; and with all respect to our distinguished forerunners we confidently assert that the Society has never possessed so many eager workers in so many branches of research. We salute our founders of sixty years ago with affection and gratitude, and hail the future with confidence and hope.

JOHN WESLEY'S PARENTS

Quarrel and Reconciliation

[The following article appeared in the *Manchester Guardian* on 2nd and 3rd July 1953. It seemed desirable that the important newly-discovered documents quoted in it should be permanently preserved in our *Proceedings*, and we are most grateful to the editor of the *Manchester Guardian* and to the author of the articles for their kind permission to reprint them here.—EDITOR.]

MUCH study has been given to the family of John Wesley, the two-hundred-and-fiftieth anniversary of whose birth has recently been commemorated. On both his paternal and maternal sides and among his brothers and sisters there were people of quite extraordinary capacity. A good deal is known about his father and mother, and there has been so much diligent searching of the ground that it hardly seemed possible that new material could turn up. A manuscript that has recently come into my possession throws fresh and rather pathetic light on a famous and disputed episode—the estrangement between John Wesley's parents just before he was born. It was not an estrangement of the usual domestic sort, but a political difference. At family prayers Susanna refused to say "Amen" to the prayer for King William III. Samuel insisted that she must, and because she refused to give way he left home. The new letters give Susanna's side of the case.

John Wesley himself has told the story:

The year before King William died my father observed my mother did not say *Amen* to the prayers for the King. She said she could not for she did not believe the Prince of Orange was King. He vowed he would never cohabit with her till she did. He then took his horse and rode away, nor did she hear anything of him for a twelvemonth. He then came back and lived with her as before. But I fear his vow was not forgotten before God.¹

A more elaborate version was recorded, from John Wesley's lips, by his friend Dr. Adam Clarke:

"Sukey," said my father to my mother one day after family prayer, "why did you not say *Amen* this morning to the prayer for the king?" "Because," said she, "I do not believe the Prince of Orange to be king." "If that be the case," said he, "you and I must part: for if we have two kings, we must have two beds." My mother was inflexible. My father went immediately to his study; and after spending some time with himself, set out for London, where, being convocation man for the diocese of Lincoln, he remained without visiting his own house for the remainder of the year. On March 8 in the following year, 1702, King William died, and as both my father and mother were agreed as to the legitimacy of Queen Anne's title, the cause of the misunderstanding ceased. My father returned to Epworth and conjugal harmony was restored.²

¹ *Arminian Magazine*, 1784, p. 606.

² *Wesley Family*, i, pp. 198-9.

The new documents broadly confirm the story, but show that both John Wesley and Clarke (and all the biographers) were rather out in their chronology. Later Methodist historians (including the *Dictionary of National Biography*) have even been driven to doubt their Founder's veracity. Tyerman in his *Life of Samuel Wesley* (1866) held the story to be "highly improbable", indeed "impossible". It reflected so badly on the "spotless reputation" of Samuel.

Alas, for hagiographical enthusiasm! What the apologists did not understand was the depth of passionate feeling that ran through seventeenth-century England and determined people's characters. Susanna Wesley's father had been an eminent Puritan divine, one of the ejected of 1662. She herself had gone from one extreme to another—from Dissent to deism and then to Anglicanism and to being a non-juror, more Church than the Church. That is, she followed those who objected to taking the oath to William and Mary on the ground that divine right was with James II.

That does not mean that she was of Roman Catholic sympathies; five of the seven bishops whom James II imprisoned became non-jurors. She could be called a Jacobite, but that did not imply that she wanted another Restoration. It was just that her conscience would not let her pray for a monarch she could not regard as *de jure*. There was much of this feeling at the time, and it is not easy for us to follow the fine-drawn metaphysical distinctions. Samuel Wesley, on the other hand, had no such doubts; moreover he owed his Church preferment to William's party, and had written a sycophantic "elegy" on Queen Mary. The Wesley family quarrel took place in the first six months of 1702. By then the exiled James II had just died, and his son was only a boy. William III died on 8th March, and Anne succeeded.

But let Susanna tell her own story. In the middle of her troubles she was writing to Lady Yarborough of Snaith (fourteen miles to the north-east of Epworth).³ We must remember that Susanna was

³ In a long "editorial" on these articles the *Manchester Guardian* said: "Lady Yarborough, to whom as a pious neighbour Susanna appealed, takes us out of the society of learned divines into a much more secular atmosphere. We meet her first in the rather scandalous pages of Anthony Hamilton's 'Memoirs of the Comte de Gramont', that well-known picture of Charles II's Court. At the beginning of his reign she was a Maid of Honour of the Duchess of York, and Hamilton has some malicious stories about her coquetry. . . . She married, in 1663, Thomas Yarborough, a Yorkshire squire as blond as she—'a marriage which fortune made to see what would be produced from such a pallid union'. Yarborough whisked her away from Court and they settled down in Yorkshire, where he was High Sheriff in 1676 and M.P. for Pontefract, 1685-9. Lady Yarborough was Henrietta Maria Blagge, and a younger sister was Margaret Blagge, the Maid of Honour whom John Evelyn loved and Sidney Godolphin married. It was Henrietta Maria who, to poor John Evelyn's discomfiture, let the cat out of the bag about her sister's secret marriage to Godolphin. Evidently, as a staid matron of sixty or so, she had become a pillar of the non-jurors. But it is an odd link between the mother of John Wesley and the coquette of the Restoration Court."

then a woman of 32 who had been married to Samuel for twelve years and had borne him thirteen or fourteen children (including two sets of twins), of whom six survived. Samuel was 39 and had been rector of Epworth for about five years.

Here is the first of the new letters (paragraphing has been introduced):

SUSANNA WESLEY TO LADY YARBOROUGH

To the lady Yarborough.

Saturday night March 7, 1701-2.

Madam

I'm infinitely obliged to your Ladyship for your charming civility to a person so utterly unworthy of your favours, but oh Madam! I must tell your Ladyship you have somewhat mistaken my case. You advise me to continue with my husband and God knows how gladly I would do it but there, there is my extreme affliction he will not live with me. 'Tis but a little while since he one evening observed in our Family prayers I did not say Amen to his prayer for KW [King William] as I usually do to all others; upon which he retired to his study, and calling me to him asked me the reason of my not saying Amen to the Prayer. I was a little surprised at the question and don't well know what I answered, but too too well I remember what followed: He immediately kneeled down and imprecated the divine Vengeance upon himself and all his posterity if ever he touched me more or came into a bed with me before I had begged God's pardon and his, for not saying Amen to the prayer for the Kg.

This Madam is my unhappy case. I've unsuccessfully represented to him the unlawfulness and unreasonableness of his Oath; that the Man in that case has no more power over his own body than the Woman over her's; that since I'm willing to let him quietly enjoy his opinions, he ought not to deprive me of my little liberty of conscience. But he has opened his mouth to the Lord and wt (sic) help? What's past is Fate, nor can God or man recall the time that is actually elapsed, or undo an action once performed. I should be eternally obliged to your Ladyship would you be pleased to consult one of our Divines about it that might be trusted with such an important secret. 'Tis a fearful thing to fall into the hands of the living God, or to trifle with the divine Vengeance which we can never sufficiently deprecate. He is too great to be affronted or mocked, to[o] wise to be deceived, no artifice or evasion could possibly pass upon him were I so impious to attempt it. I have no resentment against my Master, so far from it that the very next day I went with him to the Communion, though he that night forsook my bed to which he has been a stranger ever since.

I'm almost ashamed to own what extreme disturbance this accident has given me, yet I value not the world. I value neither reputation friends or anything in comparison of the single satisfaction, of preserving a conscience void of offence towards God and man; and how I can do that if I mock almighty God, by begging pardon for what I think no sin, is past my discerning. But I am inexpressibly miserable, for I can see no possibility of reconciling these differences, though I would submit to anything or do anything in the world to oblige him to live in the house with me. I appeal to your Ladyship if my circumstances are not strangely unhappy. I believe myself an Original of misery. I don't think there's any precedent of such a case in the

whole world: and may I not say as the Prophet, I am the person that has seen affliction. I'm almost afraid I've already complied with him too far, but most humbly beg your Ladyship's direction.

I am etc.

S. WESLEY.

I've a great deal more to say but am afraid of being troublesome, and ask pardon for what I've already given your Ladyship. My Master is for London at Easter, when I hope I shall be able to wait on your Ladyship if I can live so long, and in the meantime earnestly desire your prayers and direction.

Lady Yarborough apparently submitted Susanna's case to a sympathetic friend, and a week later Susanna wrote a second letter:

SUSANNA WESLEY TO LADY YARBOROUGH

March 15 [1701-2]

Madam

The shortness of my time will I hope excuse the brevity of my answer. I'm extremely obliged to your Ladyship for your generous concern and pity of my misfortunes, and return my humblest thanks for your Letters, which have been a great cordial to me and given me unspeakable satisfaction. I find the Gentleman that has seen my Letters is of opinion that I ought not to comply any further, but persevere in following the dictates of my own conscience, which I hope is not erroneous. I thank God I'm much better satisfied in all things than I was, and find God has by these unusual afflictions vouchsafed me many favours; they have greatly inclined my mind to patience and a more entire resignation to the divine Will, I am not so much affected as formerly with these sublunary affairs, which as your Ladyship rightly observes are but for a time, and a very little inconsiderable time indeed. I've represented as long as I could be heard the sin of the Oath and ill consequences of it to my Master, but he cannot be convinced he has done ill, nor does the present change in State [the King's death on March 8] make any alteration in his mind; I am persuaded nothing but an omnipotent power can move him and there I leave it. He is for London at Easter where he designs to try if he can get a Chaplain's place in a Man of War.

I'm more easy in the thoughts of parting because I think we are not likely to live happily together. I have six very little children, which though he tells me he will take good care of, yet if anything should befall him at Sea we should be in no very good condition, but still I believe that that charitable Being which feeds the Ravens and clothes the Lilies will never think me or mine below his care and Providence, though none in the world is more unworthy of either. I've offered since I last writ to your Ladyship to put this business to a reference, provided I might chuse one Referee and my Master another, but I fancy he'll never agree to it. He is fearful of my communicating it to any person, which makes me somewhat more confined than usually, but when he is gone I hope I shall be able to wait on your Ladyship to discourse more fully of things, and to return you my repeated thanks as well as to confirm my sincere profession of being, Madam, your Ladyship's

S.W.

I am extremely concerned for Sir Thomas's illness and pray God to mitigate it, and in the meantime to sanctify all his afflictions. I humbly beg the Gentleman would be careful that the world may

know nothing which may reflect upon my Master, but that the business may be concealed.

The death of King William had made no difference to the obdurate Samuel. In this John Wesley's version was wrong. The miserable story was to run on for another four or five months. When Samuel threatened to go as chaplain on a man-of-war he was proposing to return to an early experience when he was a young curate. His absences from home did not, however, mount up to "the twelve-month" of which John Wesley spoke. They were long enough to bring distress and pain to his pitiful family.

Samuel Wesley had taken his rash oath in condemnation of his wife early in 1702. He continued at Epworth in a state of estrangement from her until Easter (5th April), when he went to London. Susanna was left behind with her six small children. Her distress was acute and she continued to seek guidance as to what she should do—surrender her conscience to his or hold firm whatever the consequences. Her friend Lady Yarborough had put her case before the eminent non-juring divine, George Hickes, the deprived Dean of Worcester and now non-juring Suffragan Bishop of Thetford. Susanna wrote to Hickes, possibly about Easter:

SUSANNA WESLEY TO GEORGE HICKES

To the Revd Mr Dean Hickes

Revd Sir, I should not at this time trouble or divert your better thoughts, but you having been already acquainted by the Lady Yarborough with some uneasy circumstances I at present am under, and expressing so generous a pity and compassion for an unfortunate stranger, makes me presume to beg your direction in this particular. My Master will not be persuaded he has no power over the conscience of his Wife, and though I believe he's somewhat troubled at his Oath yet cannot be persuaded 'tis not obligatory. He is now for referring the whole to the Archbishop of York and Bishop of Lincoln, and says if I will not be determined by them, he will do anything rather than live with a person that is the declared enemy of his country, which he believes himself obliged to love before all the world.

I very well know before such Judges I'm sure to be condemned without a fair hearing; nor can I see any reason I have to ask either God Almighty's or his pardon for acting according to the best knowledge I have of things of that nature. If I thought or could be persuaded I'm in an error I would freely retract it and ask his pardon before the whole world. He accuses me of pride and obstinacy and insists upon my making him satisfaction for the injury he believes I've done him. I dare not plead not guilty to such an Indictment, but yet I hope however I may in other instances be culpable, in this I'm pretty innocent. I most humbly beg the favour of your direction and prayers, and your acceptance of most humble thanks and service from, Sir, your most humble Servant
(Snaith).

S. WESLEY.

My Master is at London, and the extreme difficulty of receiving a Letter when he's at home without his knowledge is the reason I would humbly beg the favour of a speedy answer.

She addressed her letter from Lady Yarborough's house at Snaith.

Hickes replied at some length on 29th April with caustic strictures on Samuel Wesley. His oath was

wholly contrary to the prior obligation of his marriage-promise, and the relative duties of an husband resulting from thence. It was perjury in him to make it, and will be a continuance of perjury for him to persist in the performance of it.

Hickes advised her to consult the Archbishop of York and the Bishop of Lincoln,

and to beseech them, if they think his oath unlawful to be kept, they will . . . charge him to loose himself from the bond of sin, by which he cannot bind himself by the law of God and Man.

If that failed she should hold to her principles:

Wherefore good Madam, stick to God and your conscience which are your best friends, whatever you may suffer for adhering to them.

Susanna's next letter, of 31st July, is dramatic. She describes how Samuel came back for two days, left intending to return no more, was persuaded to stay, and how a fire broke out at the parsonage. This, though she did not know it then, was to change everything.

SUSANNA WESLEY TO GEORGE HICKES

Rev'd. Sir, 'Twas not want of the most grateful sense of your great charity and goodness made me so long defer writing, but some other reason which I shall acquaint you with when I wait on you. This however comes at last, though 'tis long first, with my humblest thanks for the great favour of yours which found me in circumstances that very much needed advice. My Master was then at London and had given me time to consider what to do, whether I would submit to his judgment and implicitly obey him in matters of conscience. I foresaw a great many evils would inevitably befall me if I refused to satisfy his desires, and had scarce courage enough to support me in the melancholy prospect when your Letter came, which was the noblest cordial, and gave me the greatest satisfaction of any thing in my whole life. When he returned he absolutely refused a reference, and so I thought it unnecessary to write to the Archbishop. He stayed two days and then left me early one morning with a resolution never to see me more, but the infinite Power that disposes and overrules the minds of men as he pleases, and can speak to their wild unreasonable passions as he does to the waves of the sea, hitherto shalt thou go and no farther, so ordered it, that in his way he met a Clergyman to whom he communicated his intentions, and the reason that induced him to leave his Family: He extremely pitied him and condemned me, but however, he prevailed with him to return.

But as it often happens that great mischiefs take their rise from very small beginnings, so his long absenting himself upon that account occasioned abundance of trouble to himself and Family; the particulars of which I shall not, Sir, at present trouble you with, but if I live to see you as I hope I shall, I must beg the liberty of informing you of as strange a complication of misfortunes as perhaps as ever happened to any persons in the world. Yet though I've had so much trouble, since Sir you have fully satisfied me I do my duty in following the dictates of my conscience, I will as you advise persevere, and

against hope believe in hope, since I know after all there is an inseparable connection betwixt virtue and happiness; for let it be granted that a vicious person may and often does find a great deal of present satisfaction in the enjoyment of their irregular inclinations and desires, yet we can by no means allow that to be any part of a rational Happiness that is immediately succeeded by ungrateful reflections, and must inevitably end in unspeakable eternal misery: so on the other side though Virtue may be here oppressed and despised, yet as sure as God himself has said it the end of Virtue is peace and endless Felicity.

I'm afraid I'm troublesome already, yet must once more beg direction in some other cases when I know how to write; I'm forced at present to give my Lady Yarborough the trouble of superscribing my Letter. Before I've finished my Letters I'm alarmed by a new misfortune; my house is now fired by one of my servants, I think not carelessly but by so odd an accident as I may say of it, as the Magicians of Moses's fourth Miracle, This is the finger of God. Two thirds are burnt, and most of our goods though they have escaped the flames are utterly spoiled. May heaven avert all evil from my children and grant that the heavy curse my Master has wished upon himself and Family may terminate in this life. I most earnestly beg the continuance of your prayers, that God may at last have mercy upon us, at least that he would spare the innocent Children however he is pleased to deal with the unhappy parents.

I am Sir

Your most obliged humble Servant

S. WESLEY.

Epworth, July ult 1702.

The fire brought Samuel to his senses. His curse on his posterity had come too close to realization. On 7th August he wrote to Sharpe, Archbishop of York, telling him of gifts he had received towards his debts:

With these and other sums I made up about £60, and came home joyful enough,—thanked God,—paid as many debts as I could,—quieted the rest of my creditors, took the management of my house into my own hands,—and had ten guineas left to take my harvest.

He then describes the fire:

On the last of July, 1702, fire broke out in my house, by some sparks which took hold of the thatch, and consumed about two-thirds of it before it could be quenched. I was at the lower end of the town visiting a sick person, and went thence to R. Cogan's. As I was returning, they brought me the news. I got one of his horses, rode up, and heard, by the way, that my wife, children, and books were saved: for which God be praised, as well as for what He has taken. . . . When it broke out Mrs Wesley got two of the children in her arms, and ran through the smoke and fire; but one of them was left in the hurry, till the other cried for her, when the neighbours ran in, and got her out through the fire. . . .

I find it is some happiness to have been miserable, for my mind has been so blunted with former misfortunes, that this scarce made any impression upon me.

Samuel settled down with his wife in the half-burned parsonage, and on 17th June in the following year John Wesley was born.

Had the estrangement not been healed modern religious history might have been very different; John was the first-fruits of the reconciliation.

Samuel and Susanna were to live together for another thirty-three years, and Susanna to survive for another seven. It was a hard partnership. Children went on being born until the total reached nineteen (in twenty-one years). Samuel went to prison for debt in 1705. The parsonage was again attacked by fire in 1709, and young John rescued as "a brand from the burning". And in 1716-7 the parsonage was afflicted by preternatural noises—knocking during family prayers when the prayer for King George was reached, with a "thundering thump at the Amen". No wonder Samuel was angry; perhaps Susanna was pleased! And John always believed that it was the visitation of a messenger of Satan sent to plague his father for his rash oath of fifteen years before.

But in spite of all her trials Susanna did not recant. In 1709 she was still professing a theoretical attachment to divine right:

Whether they did well in driving a Prince from his hereditary throne, I leave to their consciences to determine; though I cannot tell how to think that a King of England can ever be accountable to his subjects for any mal-administrations or abuse of power: but as he derives his power from God, so to Him only must he answer for using it.

She disapproved strongly of the war against France and, in particular, of the claim that it was a war for religion. She absented herself from church on a national fast-day.

Years after, in 1730, when Samuel, now an old man of nearly seventy, was trying to get permission to dedicate his monumental *opus* on the Book of Job to Queen Caroline, he boasted to his son Samuel of his loyalty. He told how he had written "the first thing that appeared in defence of the Government after the accession of King William and Queen Mary to the crown", and declared that

I ever had the most tender affection and the deepest veneration for my sovereign and the royal family; on which account (it is no secret to you, though it is to most others,) I have undergone the most sensible pains and inconveniences of my whole life, and that for a great many years together; and yet have still, I thank God, retained my integrity firm and immovable, till I have conquered at the last.

Whether he meant that he had "conquered" Susanna's "little liberty of conscience" one does not know. One would suspect he had not.

It remains to add a note on the source of the new letters of Susanna Wesley here quoted. They come from an unpublished MS. book of 257 quarto pages, composed sometime in the eighteenth century, entitled "The Genuine Remains of the Late Pious and Learned George Hickes, D.D., and Suffragan Bishop of Thetford, consisting of Controversial Letters and Other Discourses." Many of Hickes's voluminous unpublished writings are in public collections, but the papers from which this work was compiled do not seem to be recorded.

ROBERT WALMSLEY.

THE PROVERBIAL ELEMENT IN WESLEY'S "JOURNAL"

ATTENTION has already been drawn¹ to the remarkably extensive and telling use which Wesley makes of proverbs in his *Letters* and *Sermons*. Here we have a striking—if not a unique—feature in English epistolary and sermonic literature. The *Journal*, in much that is distinctive as well as in much material which it has in common with the *Letters* and *Sermons*, strengthens this view. This paper seeks to examine the *Journal* from this angle. All references are to the Standard Edition. All references to the *Oxford Dictionary of English Proverbs* are to the second edition.

I

There is a footnote given in the *Journal* (vi, p. 10)² which now appears in an altogether fresh light. A letter from Thomas Walsh is quoted which might indeed have been the starting-point for these studies, but which in fact has been noticed only in confirmation of them. The letter states that Walsh was so intrigued and stimulated by Wesley's witty proverbs that it drew him from that seriousness which Wesley said a preacher ought to cultivate. It is no ordinary man who says this, but an accomplished linguist. Many of Wesley's allusions and adaptations are so clever that only a scholar would appreciate their full force. This may account for the fact that there is hardly a single contemporary notice of this remarkable capacity. Wesley's phrase-making and aphoristic genius has been often noticed, and his style has frequently been described. But Walsh's testimony is distinctive. After an intensive study of this proverbial element, we can understand better why he was so captivated.

The *O.D.E.P.* makes use of Wesley's *Journal* in five places. 1. The proverb "Hell is paved with good intentions" occurs in i, p. 246. The *Dictionary* (p. 290) gives this reference as its earliest example. 2. "To mend them or end them" (v, p. 350; *O.D.E.P.* p. 419). 3. The proverb "Every bullet has its billet" is given by Wesley (v, p. 130) as a favourite and odd maxim of King William to describe divine providence on the battle-field. *O.D.E.P.* (p. 68) uses this passage by way of example. 4. *O.D.E.P.* (p. 508) uses the *Journal* (vi, p. 83) to illustrate the proverb "to plough the sand". Probably this passage was simply noticed by a reader. But the proverb occurs in six other places in the *Journal*. The earliest is at v, p. 87. Variations occur in addition. For instance, Wesley also uses the phrase "written on sand" in the same sense of futile enterprise (iii, p. 485), and elsewhere (v, p. 369) he conveys the same idea by the phrase "sowing on the sand". 5. Finally, *O.D.E.P.* (p. 671) uses the *Journal* (iv, p. 100) to illustrate the use of the proverb "Troy was", but it mistakenly gives the date as July 1754, whereas it actually occurs in the entry for 2nd October 1754. The *Journal* footnote gives the Latin *ubi Troja fuit* (where Troy was),

¹ *Proceedings*, xxvi, pp. 111-14, 129-34; xxviii, pp. 2-7, 25-7.

² All references are to the Standard *Journal* unless otherwise stated.

but does not note its proverbial character. It goes back to Virgil.

II

The total number of proverbs used in the *Journal* is at least one hundred and twenty-eight. Besides these, innumerable sayings and phrases of a proverbial kind are to be found. Of this total, sixty-three occur exclusively in the *Journal*, and these will form the main consideration of this paper. It thus appears that the *Letters*, *Sermons* and *Journal* contain three hundred and seventy-six different English proverbs given *currente calamo*, as it were, besides the less definite proverbial material. Some of these proverbs are used many times.

Twenty-six proverbs are common to the *Letters*, *Sermons* and *Journal*. Among those of Biblical origin we find "to their wits end" (ii, p. 345), "turn back as a dog to his vomit" (iii, p. 80, etc.), and the inevitable "Abraham's bosom" which occurs in the *Journal* twenty-two times (iv, p. 96, etc.). Others are "turn the tables" (i, p. 395, etc.), "friends at a distance" (vi, p. 173) and "naked truth" (ii, p. 19, etc.), the correct form of which is "Truth shows best being naked". Frequently Wesley speaks of God as a "Good Master" (v, p. 50, etc.), recalling the proverb "He who serves God, serves a good master", and quite often of "a castle in the air" (v, p. 265, etc.). Perhaps the most interesting in this class occurs at vi, p. 114, where he speaks of "the ball of contention being thrown in". The proverb, of course, is "bone of contention". The phrase "toss the ball of contention to and fro" is found in the *Sermons* (*Works*, 3rd ed., vii, p. 185). How does he come to substitute "ball" for "bone"? Is this a reference to traditional street football, or perhaps the ball-game known as "Awly-awly" which was a speciality at Winchester up to 1840? He actually uses the phrase "Awly-pawly" at one place (*Letters*, i, p. 14), where it reads as though it were a vulgar name for one who jumped from scheme to scheme. The reference in the *Journal* is to Tadcaster. Is there any local factor which would account for it?

The following examples may be given of proverbs which occur in both the *Journal* and the *Letters*. From the Book of Proverbs come "the hand of the diligent maketh rich" (*Journal*, i, p. 396), "fed them with food convenient for them" (ii, p. 310, etc.), and "In a multitude of counsellors is safety" (v, p. 405). From Genesis comes "unstable as water" (iii, p. 321, etc.). More general proverbs in this class are "I cut the knot" (iv, p. 224, etc.), a colloquial form of "to cut the Gordian knot", "Would they not rather sleep in a whole skin?" (iii, p. 347), and "I had only my labour for my pains" (vi, p. 446).

Nine proverbs only are common to the *Journal* and *Sermons*. Among them we find "tearing open the sore" (ii, p. 509) which the *O.D.E.P.* (p. 544) gives as "Rip not up old sores", for which it has no example between 1679 and 1830, and "to make a virtue of necessity" (v, p. 356), for which it has no reference after 1642.

Beyond the total of one hundred and twenty-eight given above, the *Journal* has quite a few passages from Hebrew Wisdom literature. Usually they are not quoted, but run off proverb-fashion, e.g. "He

that despiseth little things shall fall by little and little" (Wisdom xi. 16; *Journal*, i, p. 189), "drank in iniquity like water" (Job xv. 16; *Journal*, vi, p. 191), and "better the house of mourning than the house of feasting" (Eccles. vii. 2; *Journal*, vi, p. 348). This is his Biblical reinforcement of an attitude which he elsewhere expresses thus—"I love the poor and bear the rich". Another passage from Ecclesiastes (vii. 26) occurs at *Journal*, i, p. 266: "Whose heart is snares and knots and her hands as bands". Spangenberg had used it of a dangerous member of his Frederikan flock. Now the word "knots" is a mistake; it should read "nets". Perhaps Wesley has repeated Spangenberg's error, for he had an acute memory for what he heard. Other proverbial phrases which he often used are "a Mother in Israel" (iii, p. 322, etc.), and "a den of lions" (iv, p. 370, etc.), which is his favourite metaphor for an unruly society.

III

Turning now to consider the sixty-three proverbs which are distinctive of the *Journal*, we find that seven of them are Biblical. The first, "as a thread of tow that has touched the fire", derives from Judges xvi. 9, and has become concentrated into the English proverb "all fire and tow". Another is the frequently used "balm in Gilead" (iv, p. 394, etc.), which the *O.D.E.P.* illustrates only from Charlotte Brontë after the Geneva Bible of 1560. The other five are from the Book of Proverbs: "Cast out the scorner and contentions go out" (i, p. 393); "grey hairs are indeed a crown of honour" (v, p. 39, etc.), correctly; "a hoary head is a crown of glory"; "holding the wind in his fist" (vi, p. 21); "the eye is not satisfied with seeing" (v, p. 139); and "buy the truth and sell it not" (viii, p. 91).

The remaining fifty-one proverbs under this heading nearly all relate to the difficulties or opportunities of the growth of Methodism, or to Wesley's reactions to these. Though drawn from a somewhat narrower sphere than those in the *Letters*, they are impressive and characteristic in their use.

We find a few proverbs of classical origin. In some observations upon the conduct of the Brethren, he charges them with conformity to the non-scriptural maxim, *Sinere mundum vadere ut vult; Num vult vadere* (Let the world go as it will, for it will go). Lawrence Ford (*Proceedings*, vii, p. 38) gave this as an untraced quotation. It is still untraced to its source, but Wesley may perhaps have been putting a proverb into Latin, rather than quoting. The English forms of the proverb are given in *O.D.E.P.* (p. 732) as "let the world wag", "slide", "shog", etc.

Speaking of a much-reduced but greatly enhanced society, he says (iii, p. 285): "the half is more than the whole", calling it an old proverb. It has been traced to Hesiod. The *O.D.E.P.* (p. 271) has no example of its use between 1550 and 1791.

In reading over Zinzendorf's *Life* (iii, p. 495), Wesley is stirred into annoyance at the Count's aliases. He bursts out: "Was there ever such a Proteus . . . he has almost as many names as he has faces or shapes."

In preparation for its inclusion in the "Christian Library", Wesley abridged Foxe's *Book of Martyrs* (iii, p. 507). He says: "I set upon cleansing Augeas's stable." The reference goes back to Seneca. The *O.D.E.P.* does not include it, but it is reckoned as a proverb by some proverb-collectors.

Two proverbs, not classical in form so much as in matter, occur at iv, p. 100, and v, p. 339. The former, "Troy was", has already been referred to. The latter, "as strong as an ox", is apparently due to the fusion of the English proverb "as strong as a horse" with the recollection of the escape of Ulysses from Polyphemus. But why "ox"? The *O.D.E.P.* (p. 627) has only one reference for the English proverb, that of Ward, 1703.

By way of contrast, a good many of the *Journal* proverbs are extremely colloquial. For example: "receive them with open arms" (ii, p. 408); "the worse is my luck" (iii, p. 67), which is interesting as being about halfway between the full form, "the worse luck now, the better another time" and the modern "worse luck"; "open and above board" (vi, p. 301). All examples of this proverb read "Fair and", etc. Is this variation due to locality, or simply colloquial? Similarly with the exclamation "Bedlam was broke loose" (iv, p. 431). Wesley would use that form feelingly, and with greater effect, than the regular "Hell is broke loose". Finally under this heading may be noticed his use of the phrase "an unlicked mass" (iv, p. 284). This is a version of the proverb "to lick a [person or thing] into shape", which Wesley also uses of one of William Law's efforts (*Works*, ix, p. 509). The *O.D.E.P.* (p. 363) uses this latter example of its use.

Next may be noticed those proverbs which relate more particularly to Wesley personally, or to his preaching journeys. Like many travellers, he was often intrigued and annoyed by the mile-stones. Twice in volume iii (pp. 76 and 457) he refers to the proverbial length of "Welsh miles". But the same thing applied elsewhere. On nine occasions (iii, p. 479, etc.) he speaks of "Irish miles", and once of "old Scotch miles" (v, p. 74). These latter are not strictly proverbial, but the phrase "a Welsh mile" is. Another travel experience, recorded as a plain matter of fact, has nevertheless a proverbial ring. In climbing Enterken "We got," he says, "into a Scottish mist and we were dropping wet before we came to the Leadhills." (v, p. 362). He would know, as he certainly at this point exemplified, the proverb "A Scottish mist will wet an Englishman to the skin."

Very occasionally we read that Wesley did not want to get up for the five a.m. preaching (e.g. iii, p. 339). This early rising, which has become proverbial, he alludes to in proverbial terms, i.e. "I kept my hour". He is recalling the proverb "He never broke his hour that kept his day". By "keeping his hour" he believed he secured his day. The *O.D.E.P.* has only *Ray's Collection*, 1670, to illustrate this proverb.

An example of his tact in the face of open-air opposition is seen in iv, p. 54. It was simply common sense to move away, but not every-

one, in recording the fact, would have resorted to a proverb. He writes "So I gave them the ground". The full proverb runs "The best remedy against an ill man is much ground between". The *O.D.E.P.* has no strictly literary example, but only Herbert's *Jacula Prudentia*.

In three places (e.g. v, p. 316) Wesley refers in the words "that I might not overshoot them" to the way in which he preached to the level of his congregation. This is part of the old proverb, not given in *O.D.E.P.*: "The archer who overshoots the mark misses as well as he that falls short."

Our last example under this heading may be a reference to physical exercise. "The more I walk," he writes (vi, p. 217), "the sounder I sleep." There is a significant omission in this rendering, the complete proverb is (*O.D.E.P.*, p. 689) "Walk groundly; talk profoundly; drink roundly; sleep soundly." Now he often talked wisely and wittily, but not profoundly in the Johnsonian sense. And as for drinking roundly, he knew too much about health to advise that.

IV

At this point attention may be drawn more particularly to the way in which Wesley twists or otherwise adapts proverbs to serve his own ends. The examples selected are all of proverbs which are distinctive to the *Journal*, but the same thing is true of others.

There is a proverb which reads: "He that the devil drives feels no lead at his heels". In writing of a condemned malefactor whose flight to evil had been arrested, he resorts to this proverb to describe, not the process of the flight, but the conclusion of it, in this case most unexpected. "Perhaps by driving him too fast, Satan has driven him to God" (iii, p. 239). The *O.D.E.P.* has only one literary example of this proverb, dated 1606.

In another place (iii, p. 275) he tells of calling to see a pathetically fallen Methodist whom he found to be "very loving and very drunk". He comments: "he may fall foully but not finally!" This, given in single commas, may be a quotation. On the other hand, it may equally well be a version of the proverb "He that falls into the dirt, the longer he stays there the fouler he is". The man's drunkenness probably starts off the train of thought. The *O.D.E.P.* (p. 189) has no literary example of the use of this proverb.

A most interesting example of how Wesley can give a local application and a decided twist to a proverb occurs at iv, p. 101. Writing of someone, thought to be his uncle, who had had a recurrence of a disease, he says: "it will probably now be cured no more but by the universal remedy—death". The proverb "There is a remedy for all things but death" flashes into his mind, and it is on the paper, in the form that makes death itself the remedy, almost before he is aware of it. That does not represent his real view, for it is grace not death which is the universal remedy.

An example of how he sometimes runs two proverbs together may now be considered. Writing of a clergyman who thundered against the Methodists, he states that "he painted them as black as devils" (v, p. 321). The proverb "as black as the devil" is the foundation

of the phrase. The word "painted" is suggested by the proverb "the devil is not so black as he is painted". He thus combines two disparate views of the devil to describe this man's libellous preaching.

Lastly may be noticed a case of an exceedingly clever misuse of the proverb "Fear hath a quick ear". Preaching at Gwennap in 1745 (iii, p. 192), he found his congregation melting away. They had heard a rumour of the approach of a hired, drink-primed mob. "Fear had no ears," he says. Their ear was indeed quick concerning what they feared, but deaf to the Gospel message.

V

Any value which the *Journal* has for the study of the literary history of proverbs has been suggested only incidentally up to this point. It might therefore be useful to group some items together in order to make this clear.

A. (1) The *O.D.E.P.* (p. 332) gives the proverb "keep your pecker up", and it has no example of its use prior to 1853. Wesley does not use the word "pecker", but he does use the phrase "let them keep their courage" (iii, p. 341). "Pecker" means courage or resolution. When some of his followers at Moate, in Ireland, showed fight against a man whose opposition was quite mild, he thought of Walsall and Shepton Mallet. He uses the proverb, not in the sense of encouragement, but as a warning that they hadn't seen anything yet!

(2) When journeying in Ireland in 1765, the house next door but one to his lodging caught fire in the night, and blazed furiously. He records that "the flames shone so that one might see to pick up a pin" (v, p. 135). That, surely, is no common description. Now there is a proverb about picking up a pin which runs on, in one version, to the consequences of letting it lie, and in another to the consequences of picking it up. The *O.D.E.P.* (p. 500) only illustrates the former, and even so its first example is dated 1843. Wesley's use antedates this by seventy-six years.

B. We now notice several proverbs used in the *Journal*, for which the *O.D.E.P.* has only references to collections of proverbs.

(1) *O.D.E.P.* (p. 227) gives "a friend will help out at a dead lift", with Camden, 1636, as the only reference. Wesley uses this proverb in his entry for 5th July 1764 (v, p. 81). In describing certain abnormal psychological experiences, he writes: "How often must even the physicians acknowledge spiritual agents, did not the nerves help them out as a dead lift!"

(2) *O.D.E.P.* (p. 264): "Great men have great faults"; Draxe's *Bibliotheca Scholastica*, 1616, and Clarke's *Paræmiologia*, 1636, are the only references. In commenting on Dr. Cadogan's condemnation of wine and bread as being valueless from the point of view of nutrition, Wesley adds (v, p. 430) "Great whims belong to great men". The change from "faults" to "whims" may be deliberate.

C. There are many places in the *O.D.E.P.* where only early references are given, or only a single reference, or where there are big gaps. The *Journal* could often be used to make a more complete set of illustrations.

(1) *O.D.E.P.* (p. 617): "He brings a staff to break his own head"; no reference after 1641. Wesley uses it to speak of the repercussions of his extreme high-church practices in America: "And how well have I since been beaten with mine own staff" (iii, p. 434). Incidentally this passage is used as an example in Brewer's *Dictionary of Phrase and Fable* (new edition, p. III).

(2) *O.D.E.P.* (p. 322): "The itch of disputing is the scab of the church". This proverb, part of the epitaph of Sir Henry Wotton, has no reference later than Herbert, 1651. The phrase occurs in Bishop Bramhall's answer to Milletiere. Wesley uses it in 1751 (iv, p. 74) of a society in Portsmouth: "that accursed itch of disputing had wellnigh destroyed all the seed which had been sown".

(3) *O.D.E.P.* (p. 496): "One acre of performance is worth twenty of the land of promise"; one example dated 1596. In 1758 (iv, p. 290) Wesley preaches to a wild congregation near Cork, which surprised him by becoming attentive. He writes: "They performed more than they promised."

(4) *O.D.E.P.* (p. 552): "To run one's head against a stone wall"; one reference only, 1589. In 1745 Zinzendorf prophesied that if Wesley separated from the Moravians he would be running his head against the wall. Wesley gives his words (iii, p. 206), adding "We will not if we can help it."

(5) *O.D.E.P.* (p. 88): "Changeful as the moon"; no example after 1599. Wesley twice uses this proverb (v, p. 100, etc.), where he is describing the fluctuations of the society in Norwich. In 1762 there was a big increase, but "the moon soon changed", he says, and next year there was a big drop. We can almost see his mind making its associations, when he anticipates the next change in the proverbial phrase "now probably the tide will turn again".

(6) Of the way in which the *Journal* would fill large gaps in the *O.D.E.P.* two examples only need be offered. In 1767 he was preaching in the court-house at Castlebar, Ireland (v, p. 206). He accounts for the absence of the rich by saying that they dare not hear him but once—they find it is "playing with edged tools". There are several proverbs about edged tools, but for the version about playing with them, the *O.D.E.P.* (p. 92) has no reference between 1642 and 1839.

(7) In April 1748, Wesley visited Philipstown, which he calls "a stupid, senseless place". The townspeople, he says, "neither meddle nor make" (i, p. 342, etc.) The *O.D.E.P.* (p. 416) has no literary reference between 1661 and 1849.

(8) An example of a phrase which Wesley gives definitely as a proverb, but which *O.D.E.P.* does not give, occurs at iii, p. 338. Once again it was something he actually heard. A drunken man, zealous for the Church, stammered out "No gown, no crown". Is it an anti-dissenting or anti-Protestant version of *Extra ecclesiam nulla sallus*? The standard reference books do not contain it.

VI

There is a hint in the *Journal* which suggests that in the matter of a brilliant homespun style it was a case of like father, like son. At

any rate in those extracts from his father's letters which he incorporates into the *Journal* we find several proverbial expressions. One of these is very common: "break the ice" (i, p. 93). The others are not so colloquial: "Bear no more sail than is necessary" (i, p. 95), which the *O.D.E.P.* illustrates only from Fuller, after 1609, and "the crackling of thorns under a pot", which has become proverbialized in the form "Thorns make the greatest crackling", and which derives from Eccles. vii. 6.

The *Letters*, *Sermons* and *Journal* have preserved for us a wealth of proverbial allusion. Of his spoken "witty proverbs" the present writer has found no allusion beyond Walsh's, except in the *Memoirs* of the lapsed Methodist bookseller, James Lackington. He recounts a story that when John Wesley was at Charterhouse, a master expressed surprise that he so often kept the company of lower-form boys. John is said to have rapped out: "Better to rule in hell than to serve in heaven", perhaps based on Plutarch's "Better be first in a village than second at Rome". Lackington's scurrility leads to his summary dismissal as a witness to Methodism, but this story, which goes back to Tooke, the Charterhouse usher, has a not altogether improbable ring about it. If Wesley was in fact so challenged by the master, he was capable of saying something equally striking even if he didn't say exactly this.

Lackington also gives an incident which he alleges occurred towards the end of Wesley's life. In the presence of several people who had gathered to meet Wesley, one of the preachers said he wondered why it was that although Wesley was often invited to the noble houses, the preachers were not thus honoured. Lackington writes: "Wesley replied, 'It is the way of the world to court the great, but I say love me, love my dog,' enjoying his triumph with a hearty laugh at their expense." May there not have been some occasion when Wesley's wit flashed in a customary manner, which was the core around which Lackington has twisted his story?

There is a proverb which Wesley exemplified as few others have done, and yet he did not actually use it in writing. It runs "The best thing for the inside of a man is the outside of a horse". So assured was he of the value of this exercise, that, for those who could not ride horseback out of doors he recommended his "chamber-horse"; and surely he must have laughed inwardly at the thought of sedate ladies or pious preachers tossing on a springy plank slung between two of the kitchen chairs.

It is often said that Wesley was not an original writer. The large proverbial element in his style at first sight appears to buttress this view. But if the material which he uses is often "vulgar", his use of it is often most original. His style is full of images, and is often witty. He has an outstanding memory for phrases drawn from many sources—Scripture, the classics, patristic and later literature of the Church, the English poets, etc., the inns, market places and home-steads of Britain. His ear was to the ground, and what he gathers he shapes so as to set forth the glory of God and the salvation of men.

GEORGE LAWTON.

THE HYMNS THAT HANDEL SET TO MUSIC

ILLUSTRATION: "The Fitzwilliam Museum MS. of Handel's Tunes to Charles Wesley's Hymns." [We reprint this plate from volume three of our *Proceedings*, which appeared in 1901-2, and therefore has not been seen by most of our present members. Details of Lampe's *Hymns on the Great Festivals* and further information about Handel's three tunes will be found in *Proceedings*, iii, pp. 237-40 and 245-6.—EDITOR.]

IT is well known that Handel composed three tunes for hymns by Charles Wesley. The music was discovered in MS. by Samuel Wesley, the son of Charles, sixty-seven years after Handel's death. There is no evidence that during Handel's lifetime the public knew that the tunes existed.

About their occasion and purpose both Samuel Wesley and Sarah, his sister, say much the same thing. Samuel tells us explicitly that Mrs. Rich "requested Handel" to set the three hymns to music. Sarah does not go quite so far, but she mentions that Handel and Charles Wesley had a mutual friend in Mrs. Rich, at whose home Charles Wesley used to hear Handel giving "his fine performances". My privilege is to offer an addendum I have never seen in print. I think we can name the source from which Handel took the words he set. It was Lampe's *Hymns on the Great Festivals*, a collection of twenty-four hymns set to original music and published in 1746.

This inference, of course, is drawn from a comparison of Lampe's book with Handel's MS., which survives in his own handwriting. Let me summarize under three heads:

(a) The hymns with which we are concerned are: "Sinners, obey the gospel word"; "O Love divine, how sweet Thou art"; and "Rejoice, the Lord is King". All three are in Lampe's volume, and in no other single volume available during Handel's lifetime. Indeed, so far as is known, Lampe was the first to publish the words of "Sinners, obey the gospel word" and of "O Love divine, how sweet Thou art". Charles Wesley did not publish them until 1749. He published "Rejoice, the Lord is King" in 1746. G. J. Stevenson, I believe, was the first to propagate the mis-statement that this hymn was included in *Moral and Sacred Poems* (1744).

(b) The titles that Handel used for his tunes are exactly what Lampe used when he set the same hymns. To give them in Handel's order, they are *The Invitation*, *Desiring to Love*, and *On the Resurrection*. But *The Invitation* is not found repeated as a title in Charles Wesley's 1749 edition. Apart from Lampe, where did Handel find it? *Desiring to Love* is, in the 1749 edition, an over-all title used to cover six hymns, including "O Love divine, how sweet Thou art". Nor is *On the Resurrection* exactly what Charles Wesley put on the title-page of his 1746 pamphlet. He wrote *Hymns for our Lord's Resurrection*, but gave no individual title to "Rejoice, the Lord is King".

(c) As minor but subsidiary evidence, slight differences in the wording of "O Love divine, how sweet Thou art" may be mentioned. Handel wrote, and Lampe printed, "my longing heart". Charles Wesley in 1749 printed "my willing heart". Handel wrote, and Lampe printed, "I thirst, I faint, and die to prove". Charles Wesley in 1749 printed "I thirst, and faint, and die to prove". It is true that in this latter example Lampe's text, as given under the music, agrees with Charles Wesley's 1749 edition against Handel. But Lampe's text of the words only, which faces the music on the opposite page, agrees with Handel. I think the probability is that Handel copied the words from the large type rather than from the small.

If these tests are held to establish my theory, let me mention briefly three consequences that seem to follow:

1. The period within which to date the Handel MS. is reduced to approximately five years. Let us put the *terminus ad quem* at 1751. It was in that year that Handel's eyesight began to fail him, and by 1753 he was completely blind. I cannot imagine any expert assigning the handwriting of the MS. even to a year as late as 1752. The *terminus a quo*, assuming that Handel used the Lampe book, must be 1746. If we believe that Mrs. Rich was likely to show Handel the Lampe volume soon after its publication, we reach either 1746 or 1747 as the conjectural date for Handel's tunes. That it was Mrs. Rich who showed the volume to Handel is mere guesswork, starting from the words of Samuel and Sarah Wesley quoted above. But it is as good a guess as any other.

2. I should like to comment on an interesting article contributed recently to *The Choir* (vol. 44, no. 2, p. 34). Mr. G. H. Findlay points out how well the rhythm of Handel's tune *The Invitation to "Sinners, obey the gospel word"*, later known as *Fitzwilliam*, suits the first five verses of Charles Wesley's ten-verse hymn, and how "grotesquely wrong" it is for the last five. What is the explanation? Mr. Findlay is tempted to wonder whether Handel had only the first five verses before him when he set the words. But if Handel in fact found the words in Lampe, he saw there all the ten verses. Thus we are shut up to the other possibility that Mr. Findlay mentions—carelessness on Handel's part, or at least a willingness to let the first five verses dictate the rhythm, whatever happened afterwards.

3. Can we attempt to answer an obvious question? Why that gap of sixty-seven years, before Handel's tunes were made public? If Handel had written in response to Mrs. Rich's request (or to Charles Wesley's or Lampe's), is it really credible that the Methodist people and all others should have ignored Handel's offering? Yet evidently it lay buried for more than a generation. The alternative is to query Samuel Wesley's statement about Handel having been asked to compose. After all, we do not know what authority is behind it, and possibly Samuel Wesley was as much in the dark about details as we

are. Is it not at least possible that Handel made these tunes of his own accord, and that the only prompting he had was from his own inward impulse to express himself devotionally in this particular way? Only in imagination can we enter into Handel's mood as he turned the pages of Lampe's volume and read the twenty-four examples of Charles Wesley's hymnody. Was Handel impressed as we are by "Ye servants of God", or by "Lamb of God whose bleeding love"? Looking back after two hundred years, we can say that the three hymns Handel chose to set to music have always been among the most popular with the people called Methodists. What a pity he did not set some of the others too!

R. ERNEST KER.

Our New Zealand branch, whose *Proceedings* take the unusual form of "local histories", has recently launched out in a more ambitious fashion by sponsoring the publication of *Youth Movement*, by E. P. Blamires (pp. 116, 8s.). This is the full-length account of the rise and development of Christian youth work in New Zealand, by one of our own ministers. It is a thrilling story and is fully illustrated. Our brethren in New Zealand would be greatly encouraged by a spate of orders from members of the parent Society. Copies can be obtained at 8s. from the Rev. L. R. M. Gilmore, 1, Tennyson Avenue, Takapuna, N.Z., New Zealand.

WESLEY HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Financial Statement for the year ended 30th June 1953

INCOME				EXPENDITURE			
	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
Balance in Bank, 30th June 1952 ...	92	13	8	Printing of <i>Proceedings</i> (four issues) ...	209	19	1
Subscriptions and Donations... ..	303	7	4	Postages and Stationery ...	78	5	10
Subscriptions (Irish Branch) ...	22	10	0	Editorial Expenses ...	7	8	5
Annual Lecture ...	1	1	10	Lecturer's Honorarium, 1952	5	5	0
War Stock Dividend ...	7	16	6	<i>Proceedings</i> (back num- bers purchased) ...	35	5	6
<i>Proceedings</i> (back num- bers sold)	3	16	0	Filing Cabinet	11	0	0
				Bank Charges		13	6
				Balance in Bank, 30th June 1953 ...	83	8	0
	£431	5	4		£431	5	4

NOTES

In addition to the balance in Bank, the Society holds £225 $\frac{3}{4}$ % War Stock in the name of the Board of Trustees for Methodist Church Purposes.

There are also considerable stocks of back numbers of *Proceedings*, a filing cabinet and other realizable assets.

HERBERT IBBERTSON, *Treasurer.*

JOHN F. MILLS, *Auditor.*

11th July 1953.



THE FITZWILLIAM MUSEUM MS. OF HANDEL'S TUNES TO
CHARLES WESLEY'S HYMNS.

The air is written in C clef, the note on the first line being C. "The Invitation" occupies the first two lines; "Desiring to love" the next four; and "On the Resurrection" (*Gospel*) the last four. The faint writing at the top is that of Samuel Wesley, the poet's son.

ANNUAL MEETING AND LECTURE

HANDSWORTH College, Birmingham, was the place appointed for the Wesley Historical Society Annual Lecture, and on Saturday afternoon, 11th July 1953, about forty members made their way to Handsworth to begin the proceedings with tea, at which they were the guests of Mr. and Mrs. Herbert Ibberson. Tea was served in the College dining-hall, and thanks were expressed to Mr. and Mrs. Ibberson for the kind hospitality so readily afforded year by year; also to the Principal (the Rev. Philip S. Watson) and members of the domestic staff of the College for the excellence of the arrangements made.

The Annual Meeting was held in the assembly hall, with our revered President, the Rev. F. F. Bretherton, B.A., now in his 85th year, in the chair. After prayer by the Rev. Frank H. Cumbers, there followed the reading of the names of members who had died since the previous Annual Meeting. The list extended to sixteen names, among them the Rev. Harold S. Darby, M.A., the Rev. Dr. Henry Bett and the Rev. Dr. J. Scott Lidgett. Standing tribute was paid to the memory of them all.

A notable absence from the gathering was that of the Secretary, the Rev. Dr. Frank Baker, who was on a lecturing visit to America. His place was taken by the Rev. Wesley F. Swift, who read a letter received that day from Dr. Baker, from which it appeared that the scope of our friend's programme amazed even the Americans! There was also a letter from the Rev. L. R. M. Gilmore, the secretary of the New Zealand Branch, which now has a membership of 300.

The meeting accorded a hearty welcome to Mr. Norman Robb of Belfast, and charged him to convey cordial greetings to the Irish Branch.

The financial report (details of which are given on another page) was presented by the Treasurer, Mr. Herbert Ibberson, and the newly-appointed Auditor, Mr. John F. Mills. Once again the receipts and payments account showed a loss on the year of just under £10, but it was pointed out that there were, at the time the report was drawn up, 277 members who had not yet paid their 1953 subscriptions, as well as appreciable numbers who owed for earlier years.

Mr. Rowland C. Swift gave his first report as Registrar; and it was gratifying to hear that during the year the strength of the Society had grown from 693 to 749, consisting of 635 ordinary members, 47 life members and 67 libraries or kindred societies. Great credit is due to Mr. Swift for his painstaking work in regularizing this section of the Society's administration.

Editorial, Secretarial and Librarian's reports were all presented by the Rev. Wesley F. Swift. The Lending Library now comprised 543 volumes, but considerable progress had yet to be made.

All the officers were re-elected to serve for the ensuing year.

It was expected that the 1954 Lecture would be given by the Rev. E. Gordon Rupp, and the 1955 Lecture by Prof. Herbert Butterfield. In this connexion, the Book Steward was thanked for the continued publication of these lectures.

Following the Annual Meeting, the College chapel was filled to capacity to hear the Rev. Dr. R. Newton Flew on "Charles Wesley's Hymns: a study of their structure." The chair was taken by the Rev. Dr. Howard Watkin-Jones, and the President of the Society also spoke. The printed lecture is reviewed elsewhere in this issue.

ALFRED A. TABERER.

BOOK NOTICES

The Hymns of Charles Wesley: a Study of their Structure, by R. Newton Flew. The Wesley Historical Society Lectures, No. 19. (Epworth Press, pp. 80, 6s.)

The 1953 Wesley Historical Society Lecture has provided yet another study in Methodist Hymnody. The title is broad enough to include anything, or, within the small compass of about eighty pages, to omit anything, but the sub-title, which we think might have been woven into the title itself, defines more clearly the limits within which the study is made. The lecturer calls it "a study of their structure". We might have expected a more technical and thorough-going treatment of the theme, and we believe the subject would lend itself to a more serious investigation. As it is, the lecture only just introduces us to the possibilities of such a study. It consists largely of a devotional analysis of a few hymns—about fifteen in all—and as such it makes excellent devotional reading. It will no doubt send many of us back to our hymn-books in reverent reflection on the hymns of Wesley. Dr. Flew affirms that he will feel himself amply rewarded if, as a result of his work, he "could induce twelve Methodists to begin and continue the habit of meditating on one of the great hymns of Charles Wesley every day". Another result, equally to be desired, would be that it might lead any would-be hymn-book editor to study the ethics of "editing" Charles Wesley's hymns. In our books, hymns have suffered through the omission of verses without any apparent understanding of the structure of the hymn as a whole, or even of the sequence of thought from one verse to another.

The most interesting point made by Dr. Flew is the discovery in some of Charles Wesley's hymns of a structure akin to what he calls "orderly sermons with the divisions clearly marked". The first verse usually announces the theme and sub-headings; the succeeding verses develop the sub-headings. Not every hymn, of course, follows this pattern, but it is amazing to find, on examination, how many do.

The other, and less original, point made by Dr. Flew is that there is an order imposed upon many hymns by their source, especially when Wesley is paraphrasing passages of scripture. The author's main contention is that Wesley first chose his subject and then "he would select naturally one of several patterns". The "normal" pattern, the lecturer suggests, is "first the theme in one verse, sometimes in two; then the working out of the theme in two or three or more sections". Some hymns as we have them are the product of considerable revision; others, like that precious miniature "In age and feebleness extreme", the result of momentary inspiration, cast by instinct and much practice into perfect form.

The thesis is developed under the headings of "Occasional Hymns", "Hymns on the Lord's Supper", "Hymns on Various doctrines", "Versions and Paraphrases of Select Psalms", "Short Hymns on Selected Passages of Holy Scripture". Two hymns of John Wesley are introduced as a "study in contrasts" and are not really germane to the general theme.

We detected a few misprints, otherwise the book is well produced. It is good to see that the Publishing House has honoured the Society by publishing this Lecture in cloth boards with a most attractive dust cover, but it is a pity that there is no reference whatever to the Society in the book itself.

JOHN C. BOWMER.

George Whitefield—The Awakener, by Albert D. Belden (second edition, revised). (Rockliff Publishing Corporation, pp. xiv. 302, 30s.)

How inexcusable is our neglect of Whitefield! The little which has been published about him in our generation makes all the more welcome this revised edition of Dr. Belden's valuable work.

It is plain how complementary was the work of Whitefield and Wesley. Though they differed on one theological point, it was in love; and theirs was a true union of heart. But for Whitefield's pioneering of new methods and new fields, and the impulse of his unexampled oratory in the early days, the Revival might have taken a very different turn. For thirty years his was a household name in both Britain and America, and we doubt whether the building of Methodism across the Atlantic could have been so complete and triumphant, even under the incomparable Asbury, had it not been for Whitefield's preparatory work. Like Wesley, his greatest triumphs were amongst humble colliers, peasants and orphans; but unlike Wesley he exercised an extraordinary ministry amongst the most exalted society in the land.

This book is excellently bound, well illustrated, and printed on good paper: a pleasure to look at and to handle. Certain of the notes, however, should have been brought up to date and others made accurate, whilst the index is not sufficiently detailed. The statement on page 197 about the foundation-stone of Kingswood school is impossible; and "Mr. Sidney S. Dimond" (p. 264) should of course be "Dr. Sydney G. Dimond". The over-use, often twice on a page, of the term "The Awakener", is irritating, to say the least.

As we should expect, the author's own passion for evangelism and social righteousness is communicated on every page. This is no mere book of past history; it seeks to relate the past to the present, and its reading will challenge and inspire all who declare and apply the Gospel today.

GEORGE H. LOCKETT.

The Pilgrim Church, by A. Marcus Ward. (Epworth Press, pp. 216, 10s. 6d., or in paper covers, 8s. 6d.)

The Church of South India, which came into being in 1947, is in every sense a true Church "well set on the adventure of union", but for many Christians it is also being regarded as an interesting experiment in Christian unity which may or may not set the pattern for other similar adventures in faith. The story of its inception and development through the first five years of its life is therefore of interest to historians both of the present and of the future. Mr. Marcus Ward has given us a book which is readable, informative, and inspiring; it covers a tremendous amount of ground, and will rank for a long time as a standard book on the subject. A union of churches of this kind involves so many problems: liturgical, doctrinal, and administrative, to name but three, and all these aspects are faithfully dealt with in a manner which is authoritative and at the same time tolerant towards those critics who regard the "C.S.I." as "a menace to true Catholic unity". In one sense the subject of this book is as yet only history in the making; in another sense history has already been decisively made, and Methodism has had no small share in it—for the first time, for example, we have accepted a form of episcopacy after the Anglican pattern. We commend this book as one of the great books of the year. WESLEY F. SWIFT.

NOTES AND QUERIES

934. ARTICLES OF METHODIST HISTORICAL INTEREST.

The following articles of Methodist historical importance have appeared in the *London Quarterly and Holborn Review* since the last list was printed in *Proceedings*, xxvii, p. 180:

JANUARY 1951—"The Administration of the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper in the Methodist Church after the death of John Wesley", by Norman W. Mumford, M.A.

APRIL 1951—"Society for the Reformation of Manners (with a glance at Rev. Samuel Wesley and the Restoration Drama)", by Thomas D. Meadley, B.A., B.D.

APRIL 1951—"Ordination in Methodism", by A. Raymond George, M.A. An exact and important study of a subject of present-day concern.

APRIL 1951—"Fletcher of Madeley—An Interesting Manuscript", by Leslie F. Church, B.A., Ph.D. A description of Fletcher's MS. book of sermon-notes.

JULY 1951—"A Letter from John Wesley", by Leslie F. Church, B.A., Ph.D.

JULY 1951—"Captain Thomas Webb—Envoy Extraordinary to the Anglo-American Peoples", by Leslie F. Church, B.A., Ph.D. An interesting account of a colourful personality of early Methodism.

JULY 1951—"Wesley's Revision of the Communion Service in *The Sunday Service of the Methodists*", by John C. Bowmer, M.A., B.D. Since reprinted in the author's book on *The Sacrament of the Lord's Supper in Early Methodism*.

APRIL 1952—"First and Last Words: A Study of some Wesley Metres", by G. H. Findlay, M.A.

JULY 1952—Several articles appeared in this issue in connexion with the centenary of Hugh Bourne's death.

APRIL 1953—"Wesley's Handwriting", by R. Lee Cole, M.A., B.D. A short but valuable study, by one of our Irish members, of certain characteristics of Wesley's calligraphy.

JULY 1953—"Some Reflections on the Origin and Development of the English Methodist Tradition, 1738-1898", by E. Gordon Rupp, M.A., B.D. Another "gem" in this writer's inimitable style.

WESLEY F. SWIFT.

935. "A GUIDE FOR RESEARCH-TICKET HOLDERS."

"In what Library can I find what I want? This is a question often in the mind of a student or research worker, and it may even be that the answer is a library that he has not even heard of." With this in mind, twenty-two London libraries are trying to help the puzzled researcher by issuing at the nominal fee of 3s. 6d. a "short term research ticket" with which to visit any or all of them. A "guide" to the scheme, giving full details of the location of the participating libraries, hours of opening, and chief subjects, can be obtained from Miss Joan Ferrier, C.M.S. Library, 6, Salisbury Square, London, E.C.4, price 1s. 3d. We heartily commend this splendid scheme, and wish our own library were strong enough to participate in it.

WESLEY F. SWIFT.