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Proceedings

OF THE

Wesley Historical Society

Editor : REV. WESLEY F. SWIFT

Volume XXIX

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WESLEY'S USE OF PROVERBS IN HIS TREATISES AND KINDRED WORKS

[Mr. Lawton's earlier articles on Wesley's use of proverbs have appeared in *Proceedings*, xxvi, pp. 111-14, 129-34; xxviii, 2-7, 25-7; xxix, 58-65. A concluding article with special reference to "Proverb lexicography" will appear in an early issue.—EDITOR.]

JOHAN WESLEY'S wide knowledge of proverbial lore, and his versatility in using it, extends throughout all his writings. Besides being characteristic of his more personal work—the Letters, Sermons and Journal—this feature is found in the most unlikely places. This article attempts to make this fact clear with respect to vols. viii, ix, x, xi and xiv of the collected *Works* (3rd Edition, 1829). The proverbs which occur in these volumes are studied, from the literary angle, in conjunction with the second edition of the *Oxford Dictionary of English Proverbs*.

I

The general picture is this. These volumes contain very diverse pieces of writing, including "Minutes", "Prefaces", theological works, tracts, and grammars. Nevertheless, a colloquial element persists. In the *Farther Appeal to Men of Reason and Religion*, for example, there are no less than twenty-one proverbs. In other writings there are just one or two. In one place (x, p. 374) he heads his work with the proverb "To err is human" (Lat.), followed by a quotation from George Herbert, from whom he gathered much wisdom. There are not many Bible proverbs, except some old favourites, but it is noticeable that his "Address to the Clergy" makes use of four proverbs from the Book of Proverbs. Some favourite proverbs like "to turn the tables", "ignotum per ignotius", "the mouth of the lion", "a castle in the air", "do not play with fire", occur in several places. Over one hundred and sixty different proverbs are here to be found. Just over one hundred are used in either the *Letters*, *Sermons*, or *Journal*. Some of these occur in all three. Some are used many times over. Our concern here will be almost entirely with those proverbs, about sixty in number, which are distinctive of these volumes.

II

Looking first at volume viii, the following items may be selected. An example of a foreign proverb occurs on page 169. Wesley is speaking of honesty in business. He scathingly uses a Turkish proverb to reveal the low level of much bargaining between so-called Christians. A Turk, when asked to accept a price lower than that which he has stated is his lowest, exclaims: "What; do you take me to be a Christian?" This proverb is not given in Ray's list. Wesley had probably read it in some travel book.

On page 185 he uses a proverb in a way very different from its obvious meaning. He is referring to the Quaker emphasis on plainness of language. He asserts that "Quaker language" is merely a specimen of what plainness of speech should be. He then adds: "Is it possible that you should mistake the sample for the whole bale of cloth?" The proverb runs: "The sack is known by the sample". Wesley's rendering perfectly expresses his idea that Quaker rigidity about "thee and thou" arises from confusion of the particular with the universal. The *O.D.E.P.* (p. 554) has no strictly literary example of this proverb before Hazlitt, 1869. Wesley's use antedates this by 124 years.

The phrase "Were they of old time as lions in their houses?" occurs on page 233. Wesley is saying that some amongst the Methodists have never known a change of heart. He contrasts what they say with what they are. The proverb "Every dog is a lion at home" is used to describe the type of man who tyrannizes at home, but who appears in public with a sanctimonious air.

The word "Minutes" suggests nowadays business English and committee work. Wesley's "Minutes of Several Conversations" display the colloquial, proverbial feature we are here considering. If the Methodists were to name any individual as a "perfect man", that man would be "set up as a mark for all to shoot at" (p. 297). A little later, acknowledging an element of truth in the charge that Methodists are no better than other people, he deals with the ethics of horse-dealing, and asks "Who does as he would be done by" in this matter (p. 302). In two places (pp. 310 and 345) he has taken the familiar phrase "play with fire", and shaped it into "cast fire out of our bosoms" and "taking fire into his bosom". This probably owes something to the proverbial "viper in the bosom", especially as some references, e.g. Samuel Johnson (*O.D.E.P.*, p. 601), mention the warmth which renders the snake dangerous. Again, in speaking of the need for fixed times of prayer, he says: "Do you not find by experience that any time is no time?" (p. 316). In the answer to Question 44: "Are there any other advices which you would give to the Assistants?" (p. 320), there are three proverbial expressions: "leave no stone unturned", "cleanliness is next to godliness", and "by little and little". In urging the support of Kingswood School he recalls the rare proverb "A good paymaster needs no surety". "God is a good paymaster," he says, "and in due time he shall pay you again" (p. 334). The next question deals with the need of a general fund, and he pleads that each member

of society will "put his shoulder to the work [wheel]" (p. 335). Once more, with regard to some current shades of thought, which he could not distinguish, on the subject of Justification, he asks "Can you split this hair?" (p. 338). An example of the way Wesley twists proverbs to his own requirements is seen on page 346. The proverb has it that "Names and natures do often agree". Wesley has proverbialized the exceptions to this rule in the phrase "Names change not the nature of things".

One of the most interesting examples of all is found on page 415, where Wesley is pleading for charity in controversy, and writes: "Who does not hit every blot he can, however foreign to the merits of the case?" The proverb runs: "A blot is no blot unless it be hit". The *O.D.E.P.* (p. 52) has no eighteenth-century example of its use. This phrase also occurs in a letter published for the first time in our *Proceedings*, xix, pp. 173-4. The writer of some notes on this letter thinks that it may indicate that Wesley played backgammon. Probably not, any more than his use of the phrase "bear no more sail than is necessary" (*Journal*, i, p. 95) implies that he had handled a boat. In addition to missing the fact that this is a proverbial expression, the writer of the notes has also only partially grasped its significance. The "blot" is that as a Methodist the man ought not to have left so large a fortune. Whilst he was alive the amount was a matter of speculation. Death exposed it and hit it. Hence Wesley's remark: "This scandalizes *me* [Wesley's italics] more than ten bankruptcies". That is: "this hits me". For was not Wesley often charged with making a fortune out of the Revival? And did he not insist that a Methodist should give away all he could? Bankrupt Methodists caused Wesley less trouble than wealthy ones did.

Before leaving the eighth volume of the *Works* two further phrases may be mentioned. On page 119 we read: "We will not leave the ship". Though not listed in the *O.D.E.P.* as a proverb, the phrase "to leave a sinking ship" has a proverbial ring.

Among the objections raised against the Revival were those of novelty and the youthfulness of its leaders. On page 217 Wesley appears to refer to a Latin tag which had been used by a critic. In English it runs: "How old must a book be before it is good for anything?" Part of it occurs again in volume xi, p. 446, where in a footnote it is traced to Horace. Is this the origin of the proverb "When a new book appears, read an old one"? The *O.D.E.P.* (p. 450) illustrates this only from A. C. Benson's remark that Charles Lamb's prejudice against things modern was wittily expressed in this way.

III

Wesley's largest theological work, the *Doctrine of Original Sin*, is the main item in volume ix of the *Works*. Its literary form provides some quite fresh material for the present study. Out of twenty unmistakable proverbs, seven occur here and nowhere else. On page 213 he surveys the boasted wisdom and accomplishments of several civilizations, and pulverizes these by irony and sarcasm. In

this vein he quotes a Chinese proverb: "The Chinese have two eyes, the Europeans one, and other men none at all".

A few pages later (p. 230) he refutes the view that the nobility and gentry are necessarily characterized by good sense and religion. "As a gay coat may cover a bad heart, so a fair peruke may adorn a weak head." The proverb he has in mind runs: "It is not the gay coat that makes the gentleman". He then proceeds to show that relatives and servants also have the taint of original sin. A servant who studies his master's interests as he does his own is a very rare bird indeed. Wesley recalls the words of Juvenal as he writes: "I am afraid, as long as you have lived in the world you have seen few of these black swans yet" (p. 232).

On page 234 he states that even on a superficial knowledge it is glaringly true that man is morally corrupt. What, then, if we could make a true, inward judgement? For, he writes, "the generality of men do not wear their worst side outward". This would make a good proverb. But he emphasizes this by adding: "What a figure then would they make were we able to touch them with Ithuriel's spear!" This proverbial expression for the exposure of deceit is generally traced to Milton, as for example in the *O.D.E.P.* (p. 322). Wesley's use of it in 1757 antedates the examples given in the standard reference books by over one hundred years.

It is axiomatic with Wesley that "no wicked man is happy" (p. 235), and that the thirst for pleasure is a futile thing. "It is pouring water into a sieve" (p. 237). Elsewhere (x, p. 489) he renders this proverb as "pouring water into a leaky vessel".

Some of the most colloquial of all proverbs relate to the ass. On page 301 Wesley comments, or perhaps repeats Hervey's comments, on Job xi, 12. Man is a mere "wild ass's colt". He points the figure with the remark that the ass is an animal "stupid even to a proverb" (p. 301).

It is probable that Wesley re-read *Paradise Lost* as he was writing the treatise on "Original Sin". On page 346 he uses the proverb, rare now, whatever it was in the eighteenth century: "fly up and kick the beam", and he puts it within quotation marks. This proverb is given in *O.D.E.P.* (p. 334), and illustrated from the *Spectator*, 1712. It is not traced back beyond Milton.

Before leaving volume ix, it may be pointed out that this volume contains the only example of a proverb used by Wesley in any work other than the *Letters*, *Sermons*, and *Journal*, which the *O.D.E.P.* has used. That is: "Mr. Law, by taking immense pains, has licked it [Behmen's writings] into some shape" (p. 509).

IV

We turn now to notice some of the proverbs which occur only in volume x of the *Works*. In the "Dialogue between an Antinomian and his Friend", Wesley makes the Antinomian exclaim (p. 274): "I see you are as blind as a beetle still". This is the kind of proverb which is used much in speech, but little in writing. This example would fill the large gap (1549-1881) in the list used in the *O.D.E.P.* (p. 50).

In the last paragraph (p. 276) of this same Dialogue, the Friend says of the Antinomian: "In the main you are talking much, and saying nothing . . . all that is really uncommon in your doctrine is a heap of broad absurdities." It is possible that the proverb "talk much and err much" was in his mind and has helped to shape his phraseology.

The proverb "Nolens volens" (willing or unwilling) occurs only once in all Wesley's writings, i.e. in his *Remarks on a Defence of Aspasio Vindicated* (p. 348), where it is used of an inescapable logical consequence.

Wesley's *Remarks on Mr. Hill's Review of all the Doctrines Taught by Mr. John Wesley* contains fourteen proverbs, several of which occur only there. Hill strings together charges that Wesley contradicted himself (p. 402), and dismisses him with the taunt "Thus the wheel runs round". Wesley's comment is: "Thus Mr. H's head runs round with more haste than good speed". "The more haste, the less [worse] speed" is one of the most colloquial of all proverbs.

A little farther on (p. 406) Wesley is extremely sarcastic with Mr. Hill, a truly bitter writer, for charging the mild John Fletcher with bitterness. Hill allows himself a little bitterness, but the really mild controversialist is allowed none at all. "Altering the person alters the thing", writes Wesley, and then he continues, as if quoting, "if it was your bull that gored mine, says the judge in the fable, that is another case!" This indicates that the proverb Wesley has in mind is the Shropshire one: "The case is altered, quoth Plowden". This character was the Shropshire-born lawyer who was known as the Oracle of the Common Law. Ray gives two accounts of the origin of this proverb. The one relevant here runs: "Plowden, being asked by a neighbour of his what remedy there was in law against his neighbour for some hogs that had trespassed his ground, answered, he might have very good remedy; but the other replying that they were his hogs, 'Nay then, neighbour' (quoth he) 'the case is altered'." It is not unlikely that Æsop's fable of the bull and the goat, with its moral that it is mean of the strong to take advantage of the weak in distress, has become linked in Wesley's subconscious mind with the Plowden story, which, in spite of divergent accounts, is not fable but history.

In this same work, Wesley, at long last (as he states) declares open warfare against the preachers of Election. Roused by Hill's *Review*, Wesley cries: "We are now forewarned and forearmed" (p. 413). In the context, amidst other military phraseology, this proverb is most apposite. The *O.D.E.P.* (p. 220) has no eighteenth-century example.

When Wesley wishes to express the idea of not caring, he generally does so in some such phrase as "not care a straw" or "a rush". But in the *Thought on Necessity* he uses the proverb "I care not a pin" (p. 478). This is the only place where it occurs.

It has been asserted that Wesley was fond of saying "I care not who speaks, but what is spoken". This is surely his crisp version

of the proverb "If the counsel be good, no matter who gave it". This is reflected in his *Address to the Clergy*. He seeks to remove clerical prejudice with the words "Do not bias your mind by thinking *who* [Wesley's italics] it is that speaks; but impartially consider *what* is spoken" (p. 481). The *O.D.E.P.* (p. 112) has no literary example under this proverb: it merely notes that Fuller records it.

V

This section deals with *Works*, volume xi. In the *Thoughts on Liberty* Wesley refers to the common people as that "many-headed beast", giving the Latin in addition (p. 42). His quotation marks may suggest that he had Horace in mind as he wrote. The English phrase was frequently used, e.g. by Sir Philip Sidney, Shakespeare, and Pope.

The phrase "the fly upon the chariot wheel" is used by Wesley in his *Thoughts on the Present Scarcity of Provisions* (p. 54). The original reference is to the fly's imagining that he raised the dust which swirled up around the wheel. Wesley uses the partial proverb to describe all the unimportant reasons put forth to account for food scarcity; the great reason was distilling.

In the *Thoughts upon Slavery* Wesley speaks of "honest poverty" (p. 74). Two proverbs about honesty, i.e. "Poverty is no sin" and "Poor but honest", have become telescoped. Incidentally this proverb is here linked with the phrase "tears, and sweat, and blood", which most people would call "Churchillian". Is it Classical?

The *Address to the Inhabitants of Ireland* mentions the fear of the White Boys, a secret rebellious agrarian society. This name originates from the proverbial phrase "white boy" or "white-haired boy" which has been traced back as far as 1539. Wesley clearly has the proverb in mind whilst dealing with historical fact. He is saying that the White Boys would need to be fortune's favourites to a fantastic degree in order to bring off a national victory. Until they have such luck "you need no more be afraid of ten thousand White-Boys than of ten thousand crows", he says (p. 152). And why the word "crows" in this asseveration? It may be merely a literary coincidence that there is an old proverb which runs "The crow thinks her own bird whitest". On the other hand, Wesley's combination of black and white is interesting, and may be accounted for, reasonably enough, by the mental association of the two proverbs.

Here in this volume we find the well-known *Thoughts on Nervous Disorders*. On page 518 he refers to the maxim about the amount of sleep which is necessary for good health. The *O.D.E.P.* (p. 593) gives as a proverb: "Six hours sleep for a man, seven for a woman, and eight for a fool". One of its references is Friswell's *Gentle Life*, which alludes to Wesley's views. Here is the original of that. Most reference books trace this proverb to a translation made by Sir Edward Coke (1549-1634), but give no suggestion of where these lines come from. Wesley's Latin version, given on page 518, is nearest to Wodroephe's version, which is the first example used by the *O.D.E.P.*

Nearly all the proverbs which are peculiar to volume xi are interesting, especially in their setting. Space, however, forbids individual treatment. At this point we shall merely list some of them: "a fool's paradise" occurs on page 13; "let not the cobbler go beyond his last" (p. 87); "set the world by the ears" (p. 124); "they cried before they were hurt" (p. 132); "death levels all" (p. 201); "roar like a lion [bull]" (p. 292); "the receiver is as bad as the thief" (p. 177); "dangerous winds may enter at little openings" (p. 439).

This section may close with the notice of an example of Wesley's jugglery with proverbial phrases. On page 183 he uses the saying "either turn or burn", and links with it the remark "a knave might turn with the times". The former is properly a proverb. The latter owes much to the proverb "Knavery may serve for a turn, but honesty is best in the long run".

VI

The use of proverbs is thought by some to indicate vulgarity and inability to master one's language. A volume containing the grammars of five languages, besides a *Compendium of Logic* and other technical items, would therefore appear to be of no value for the present study. All the same, volume xiv contains nearly a score of proverbs. It also affords Wesley's clearest reference to the language of the common people. This runs

Those only who frequently and familiarly converse with men that are wholly uneducated can conceive how many expressions are mere Greek [this is itself proverbial] to them which are quite natural to those who have any share of learning. It is not by reading, much less by musing alone, that we are enabled to suit our discourse to common capacities. It is only by actually talking with the vulgar that we can learn to talk in a manner they can understand (p. 248).

The proverbs which are distinctive in this volume are "eating his own words" (p. 269) and "keep their own counsel" (p. 344). The former refers to Jonathan Edwards's method of dismissing the problem which backsliders cause, upon his theological system, by saying that they never were true believers at all. The latter is Wesley's advice to lovers of doggerel hymns. There is an echo of another proverb on page 272, where he writes of those who are "crucified unto the world" that they are "on the last round of the ladder to heaven". The proverb alluded to originally ran: "The cross is the ladder of heaven", and had come to be "Crosses are the ladders that lead to heaven" (*O.D.E.P.*, p. 120).

Proverbs have even invaded Wesley's *Compendium of Logic*. He illustrates the moods of the syllogism by ringing the changes on the oft-used "No wicked man is happy" (p. 170). The fallacy of arguing from a particular to a general is illustrated by the proverb "to wash a blackamoor white", his actual phrase being "a blackamoor is white as to his teeth" (p. 181).

VII

We turn now to review from the point of view of literary history the proverbial material which these volumes contain.

First may be noted those which antedate the earliest examples used in the *O.D.E.P.*

Vol. x, p. 256. "What must be, must be". This was probably an extremely common saying—so common, in fact, that it is hard to find literary examples of its use. Wesley here puts it into the mouth of a Predestinarian. The *O.D.E.P.* (p. 440) has one reference only, dated 1841.

Vol. x, p. 403. "I think Mr. H. [Hill] is now got to his ne plus ultra, unless he has a mind to prove that Mr. W. [Wesley] is an horse". Such a comparison could best be accounted for by some colloquialism. The *O.D.E.P.* (p. 402) gives the proverb "A man is not a horse because he was born in a stable", with M. Scott, 1829-30, as its first example.

Vol. x, p. 404. ". . . what has Mr. H., the catspaw of the party, been doing all this time?" The *O.D.E.P.* (p. 84) gives Sir Walter Scott's *Journal*, 1831, as its first example.

Vol. xi, p. 52. "Now it is an indisputable truth Nihil dot quod non habet, none gives what he has not". The *O.D.E.P.* (p. 239) gives Samuel Johnson, 1775, as its only example.

Vol. xi, p. 74. ". . . that they [slaves] may die by inches, with heat, and hunger, and thirst". The *O.D.E.P.* (p. 144) gives this proverb, illustrated only by Marryat's *Midshipman Easy*, 1836.

Vol. xi, p. 155. Here Wesley quotes a nobleman as saying of George III: "His Ministers are no fools, but his Majesty is able to wind them all round his finger." The *O.D.E.P.* (p. 677) has only a reference to Motley's *Dutch Republic*, 1855, by way of an example. The date of utterance is unknown: Wesley records it in 1782.

Vol. xi, p. 443. In answer to the charge that the doctrine of Christian Perfection had often been abused, Wesley defends it, in the words, placed within single commas, "'When you wash your child', as one speaks, 'throw away the water, but do not throw away the child'." Such parenthetical phrases as "as one speaks", or "as the cant phrase is", or "as the vulgar say", are the nearest Wesley ever gets to an apology for his style. Truly the Fellow of Lincoln has travelled far along the road into the heart of Vulgar England. The earliest example of the use of this proverb about the baby and the bath water which is given in the *O.D.E.P.* (p. 171) is Bernard Shaw, 1944.

Secondly, the following proverbs would provide a literary usage where the *O.D.E.P.* has at present only references to collections of proverbs. Several in this class have been mentioned incidentally above.

Vol. xi, p. 124. "What has been, you know, may be again". The *O.D.E.P.* (p. 703) does give a literary reference here, but it is not originally an English one, i.e. Florio's *Montaigne*. The only other reference is Fuller.

Vol. xi, p. 138. Wesley here places within quotation marks the phrase "Beware of the wrath of a patient man", i.e. King George III. The proverb is given in the *O.D.E.P.* (p. 735) as

"Take heed of the wrath of a mighty man and the tumult of the people". George Herbert's *Jacula Prudentia* is the only reference. Wesley's memorita quotation is often only approximate: any good phrase is grist to his mill.

Vol. xi, p. 170. "How much more may you desire to be excused from going to hell for company". This is addressed to those who get drunk for the sake of company. The *O.D.E.P.* (p. 290) gives the proverb "There is nobody will go to hell for company", and once again the only reference is to Herbert.

Thirdly, it remains only to notice some proverbs which would provide eighteenth-century examples to fill gaps in the references given in the *O.D.E.P.*

Vol. xi, p. 43. "Neither is Circe's Cup". The reference is to the sorceress of *Ææa* in the story of Ulysees. The *O.D.E.P.* (p. 124) has no reference between 1593 and 1861.

Vol. xi, p. 138. "Rule over you with a rod of iron". The reference is to men of the stamp of William Laud. The *O.D.E.P.* (p. 551) traces this as far back as Tyndale's Bible, 1526. Its only other example is from Kingsley, 1871.

Vol. xi, p. 152. "Stand with their fingers in their mouths". This proverb is given in the *O.D.E.P.* (p. 202), illustrated from Cromwell (1649) and the *Spectator* (1874). On page 115 Wesley gives the curious rendering "stand with their finger in their eye". The point is that soldiers, when their rations are failing, would not be inactive in the face of hunger.

Vol. xi, pp. 474 and 493. "A copy of their countenance", i.e. something said insincerely. The *O.D.E.P.* (p. 109) gives only sixteenth- and seventeenth-century examples of its use.

Vol. xi, p. 516. "Surely that gold is bought too dear if it is the price of blood". The *O.D.E.P.* (p. 73) has no reference between 1662 and 1887, and even so, its references before this are to collections of proverbs.

VIII

Wesley's use of proverbs is one of the most important elements, if not actually the preponderating factor, in his English style. Over four hundred and fifty proverbs are used in an easy and characteristic fashion. Some of these occur scores of times. In addition there are hundreds of allusions and phrases with a proverbial flavour. To trace this literary phenomenon throughout all his writings is to become aware of the formation of a perfect instrument. In his own day this would not increase his reputation as a writer. Since then, however, Archbishop Trench, who apparently never discovered this Wesley mine, has urged the clergy to use more proverbs. He commends Luther, who uses three thousand proverbs in his *Works*. Wesley's achievement may seem modest beside this. All the same, only a genius could move with such ease along classical and "vulgar" levels. There is no other eighteenth-century writer who so uses colloquial speech in the service of religion. And it may be doubted whether there is any one at all who uses it so effectively.

GEORGE LAWTON.

THE "READER" AT CITY ROAD CHAPEL

A Forgotten Appointment

[This article first appeared in *Wesley's Chapel Magazine* in April 1942. A summary of it was given in the *Proceedings* later in that year. There are so many points of interest in the article, however, that we print it here *in extenso*, and gratefully acknowledge the permission so to do.—EDITOR.]

WHILST John and Charles Wesley were alive they, as clergymen of the Church of England, used the forms and services of the Book of Common Prayer in the New Chapel, City Road, London. At the time the chapel was opened both brothers were getting on in years, and as there might be as many as a thousand communicants they required assistance. None of the "assistants", i.e. the itinerant lay preachers, were asked to help in the administration of the sacrament, but the services of a regular episcopally-ordained clergyman of the Church of England were secured. At the time of the death of John Wesley there were four such salaried curates who served the chapel. They were John Richardson, James Creighton, Peard Dickinson and Thomas Vasey. The last-named had been ordained presbyter by Wesley for service in America, and whilst abroad was ordained by Bishop White, of Philadelphia. Richardson died in 1792, Dickinson in 1802 and Creighton in 1819. Vasey itinerated for several years, and in 1811 he was appointed to the office of "Reader" at Wesley's Chapel, his duty being "to perform the liturgical service", and he served in this way for fifteen years. As an ordained clergyman he was not compelled to itinerate. At a meeting of the trustees on 21st December 1825, it was reported that Mr. Vasey had given notice of his intention to resign his engagement in May next, and the trustees voted a donation of £30 and an annuity of £30 to commence on his retirement. Stevenson in his *History of City Road Chapel* says that at the time some of the more influential trustees of City Road chapel cherished a strong feeling of objection to the presence of an unordained preacher within the communion-rail or at the reading desk. This will explain how it came about that the trustees took the action they did, although by this time it was quite a common practice out of London for the preachers appointed by Conference to administer the sacraments. With regard to a successor to Mr. Vasey the trustees decided to "make enquiry for a regularly ordained clergyman of the Church of England and to meet again to hear the report on the third Monday in February next." It would appear as if the society were not at one with the trustees in this matter, for the minutes of a meeting held on 30th December 1825, only nine days later, read:

Mr. Haslope reported that he had received a letter from the Leaders' Meeting signed by the Stewards requesting the permission of the trustees to permit the Revd. Mr. Moore and Dr. Adam Clarke to assist Mr. Vasey in the administration of the Sacrament on the next Sunday.

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THE STANDARD "JOURNAL" OF JOHN WESLEY:

ERRATA AND ADDENDA

An alphabetical list of amendments and corrections to the Index to the Standard *Journal*, compiled by Mr. John A. Vickers, together with miscellaneous notes thereon, will be found on pp. 157-9.

ERRATA—VOL. XXIX

Page 10, footnote 23. For "iii, p. 110" read "ii, p. 110".

Page 159, line 12. For "Crab Tree Inn" read "Crab Mill Inn".

Resolved that the said Stewards be respectfully and affectionately informed that the trustees see no particular necessity to deviate from the practice of former years and that they had requested the Rev. Thos. Vasey to obtain the aid of a Clergyman of the Church of England as heretofore on that occasion. Resolved that the trustees will take into their consideration in the appointment of successor to Mr. Vasey the points alluded to in their address to the Trustees and hope to make such arrangements as will be for the general good and harmony of the Society connected with the Chapel.

When the trustees met on 20th February 1826, it had to be reported that " no clergyman of the Church of England belonging to the Methodist Society had been found to succeed the Rev. Thos. Vasey ". The trustees then resolved:

that a respectful application be made to the Methodist Conference through the Rev. Henry Moore, superintendent of this circuit, requesting them to appoint in conjunction with the trustees a preacher to perform the duties of officiating Minister in this Chapel according to the form hitherto observed.

It was also resolved:

that a preacher so appointed and approved by the Trustees shall be allowed £120 per annum from the Trust fund, also a house rent free and the customary fees.

It would appear as if there may have been some wire-pulling by preachers who thought they had a claim to this desirable appointment, for Mr. Myles (who along with Mr. Moore had been mentioned by name in John Wesley's will to have the right to officiate in Wesley's Chapel) wrote to the trustees, asking them to apply for his appointment to the circuit. The reply of the trustees was that it was for the circuit Quarterly Meeting to make such application. This was in April. When the trustees met again on 24th June, they rescinded the resolution of 20th February, and passed the following resolution in its stead:

That the Conference be respectfully requested to appoint a suitable preacher to succeed the Rev. Thos. Vasey to read the Church Service, to administer the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper in this Chapel as heretofore and to read the funeral service and that such preacher shall not exceed 60 years of age and be competent to perform the said duties in an efficient and acceptable manner. That the person so appointed shall be allowed £120 per annum, the usual surplice fees and the house formerly occupied by Mr. Vasey free of rent and taxes and furnished. The trustees also ask for early notification of the appointment so that they can get the house furnished.

The trustees received the following letter from the Conference:

Liverpool, August 1, 1826.

Dear Brethren,

The Conference have taken your application into their serious consideration and have adopted the following resolution of which we are directed to furnish you with a copy.

Resolved " That an additional Preacher be appointed to the London North Circuit to perform in general the services heretofore performed by Mr. Vasey; and to give such other assistance in that Circuit as may

be found practicable, under the direction of the Superintendent and in conjunction with the other preachers appointed by the Conference.

That this resolution is not intended to deny or prejudice in any manner whatever the right of Mr. Moore and Mr. Myles to officiate in City Road Chapel under Mr. Wesley's will."

By a subsequent vote of the Conference the Rev. Joseph Taylor was appointed to be the additional preacher for the present year and made responsible for the duties formerly discharged by Mr. Vasey.

Signed on behalf of the Conference,

RICHD. WATSON, *President.*

JABEZ BUNTING, *Secretary.*

The trustees approved of the appointment of Mr. Taylor for one year "upon the express condition that he fully performs the duties connected therewith and that no other engagement be permitted to interfere with the same". They also resolved that Mr. Taylor be allowed a salary for the present year of £140 in addition to the usual fees, it being understood that upon this allowance he will be satisfied and will not receive any remuneration from the Book Room.

At the Conference of 1826 Mr. Moore, then seventy-five, was put down as a supernumerary in the London North Circuit, but he was unwilling to vacate the house for the new superintendent to occupy. This led to bitter passages between him and the stewards. It also seems likely that Mr. Moore was offended at the appointment of Mr. Taylor to do the work hitherto done by Mr. Vasey, as he wished for that post himself. Mr. Taylor was finishing his second year as a preacher in the circuit, London North, of which City Road was the head.

In his biography he writes:

the new chapel in the City Road. . . . he [Mr. Wesley] had settled in a particular way; not giving to the Conference the power of appointment after his death, as in the Deeds of the other chapels; but to twelve persons, four of whom were clergymen of the Church of England, who had served him as sons of the Gospel for some years, and for whom he thus made provision; and eight preachers. The clergymen were to continue, as they had work enough in that, and in the other chapels in London; while the preachers so appointed were, by the most sober interpretation, to succeed each other; so that one of them should be always there, together with a number of the other preachers and at the decease (not before) of these twelve men, the Conference should have the power of appointment, as in the other chapels.

At the time of the retirement of Mr. Vasey the only two survivors of the twelve mentioned in Mr. Wesley's will were Mr. Moore and Mr. Myles, and Mr. Moore, firmly convinced in his own mind of the interpretation he had put upon the will and of Mr. Wesley's design in making such a disposition, determined to challenge the action of the trustees and Conference in having made such an appointment. He employed a solicitor, Mr. Sutcliffe, of New Bridge Street, to take the matter up with the trustees. When the trustees met on 5th December 1826, Mr. Haslope read a letter, dated 29th November, from Mr. Sutcliffe in which he threatened a suit in equity against

the trustees relative to Mr. Moore's claims as a preacher in this Chapel under Mr. Wesley's will. The trustees decided to adjourn for a week and in the meantime to instruct and employ Mr. Allen to prepare a proper case to be submitted for Counsel's opinion. The trustees replied to Mr. Sutcliffe that they ventured to suppose it was hardly the intention of himself or his client to involve him or the trust fund hastily in an expensive Chancery suit and notified him that they were seeking legal advice.

The letter of Mr. Sutcliffe is a long one, covering four closely-written foolscap pages, and is remarkably clear from the usual legal phraseology to be found in a deed. Mr. Moore stated that he was unanimously invited by the Quarterly Meeting of March and June to assume the station in regard to the chapel which until the death of Mr. Creighton had invariably been occupied by nominees under Mr. Wesley's will, and since then by the Rev. Thos. Vasey, who had been appointed as Mr. Creighton's assistant. Mr. Moore complained that in this he had been frustrated by the action of the trustees in asking Conference to appoint a Reader, and further asserted that in limiting the age of the person appointed to sixty they had the definite design to exclude Mr. Moore. Other complaints are added, and then the letter contains the following indictment of the trustees:

Now, on reviewing the above grounds of complaint and referring to the deed of settlement, it is very evident that the Conference *possesses no power whatever to appoint preachers to the Chapel during the natural lives of the nominees under Mr. Wesley's Will neither is such a power anywhere given to the trustees.* In calling upon the Conference theretofore to appoint, and permitting the individual so appointed to officiate without the sanction of Mr. Moore, the trustees have clearly violated the fundamental trust on which they hold the Chapel. And in providing a residence, and in paying a salary, to an individual having no legal or valid appointment they have as clearly perverted and misapplied the trust property. With regard to the Trust fund it has long been a matter of complaint that the trustees have for many years kept their accounts private, and excluded the Society and Congregation from all information on the subject. As however every man has an interest in the affairs of a great public Charity, it may be both useful and necessary to bring these accounts to light under the authority and sanction of the Court.

The course to be pursued by Mr. Moore, under all these circumstances is a clear one. He has instructed me to file a Bill in Equity, the specific objects of which will be:

- First. To restrain, by the injunction of the Court, Mr. Joseph Taylor, and all other persons from performing any act of divine worship in the Chapel, Morning Chapel, and Vestries, without the consent of Mr. Moore.
- Second. To compel the Trustees to pass their accounts in the Master's Office under the decree of the Court.
- Third. To pay general directions as to the future administration of the Trust Estate, and particularly in reference to the rights and interests of the surviving nominees under Mr. Wesley's Will.

Mr. Haslope sent the reply of the trustees on 8th December, and on the following day received a reply from Mr. Sutcliffe in which he accused the trustees of trifling in thinking that he could stand still indefinitely until they thought proper to inform him that he might proceed. The trustees however did not meet again till 4th April 1827, when they recorded this letter. At this meeting they considered the opinion of Counsel. This still exists and consists of about seventy folios, and its cost to the trustees was £77 16s. od. The treasurer was asked to consult Mr. Allen as to the answer to be sent to the letter from Mr. Sutcliffe, and at a meeting of the trust a fortnight later he reported that Mr. Allen advised that it was unnecessary for the trustees to make any communication to Mr. Sutcliffe. And there the matter ends, for there is no further reference to the lawsuit.

The case submitted to Mr. Bell (the Counsel) is a document of great interest. It recounts the salient items of the original trust deeds, of Mr. Wesley's will, of the Deed of Declaration and of the Plan of Pacification, and sketches the growth of Conference and its powers. It also summarizes the various stages in the lawsuit between five dissentient trustees and the other twelve old trustees and the newly-appointed eight trustees over the appointment of these new trustees in 1792, and the right of the trustees to charge rent for the houses occupied by the preachers. The five trustees failed in their suit, but made further applications to the Courts which were also rejected. The trustees had to apply for writs of ejectment. After the twelve trustees had won their case a final agreement was made between the parties, and the Case contains the full terms of that agreement with the list of signatories.

Fifteen questions were submitted to Mr. Bell, and his considered opinion was that Mr. Moore had no case at all. If in 1791 he could have persuaded the other eleven nominees under Mr. Wesley's will to exercise their rights it would have meant that they would have had to assume the burden of City Road with its incumbrances and repudiate the power of Conference to post them elsewhere after three years. By their own act the twelve nominees had declared their intention to act in subservience to the Conference in 1791, and he could not expect to claim it after that lapse of time.

Mr. Taylor was Reader for only one year, for the Rev. A. E. Farrar, who was also a preacher in the circuit, was appointed at the Conference of 1827. This appointment was made "under circumstances of peculiar difficulty" without previous consultation with the trustees, and they duly recorded their great disappointment that they had not had an official and early communication relative to the appointment during the sittings of Conference. Mr. Farrar held the office for only one year, but he was formally invited to follow the Rev. W. Toase in 1836. The Conference, however, made a different appointment, and the following letter was sent by the Rev. Jabez Bunting to Mr. Haslope:

Birmingham, August 6th, 1836.

My dear Sir,

I write to you by the special direction of the Conference respecting a proposed appointment of our worthy and very respectable Brother, the Revd. Jacob Stanley, to the office lately filled by Mr. Toase at the City Road Chapel. The Conference after much and careful deliberation are decidedly and unanimously of opinion that there are the strongest reasons for giving to Mr. Stanley one of the vacant stations in London; and there seems to be insuperable difficulties in every case excepting that connected with the Chapel whose concerns you have so usefully superintended in the office of its treasurer. You and the other trustees will exceedingly oblige and gratify myself and every Member of the Conference, if you will consent to Mr. Stanley's appointment, which will also be very agreeable to Mr. Treffry, the new superintendent. In the name of the Conference I earnestly and very respectfully solicit that consent. Mr. Toase, who takes charge of this letter, will personally explain to you the pressing considerations which have induced this application to you and will bring us your answer which I hope will be favourable, with as little delay as possible. The Conference desire me to assure you that they have no wish whatever to interfere with your standing regulations in reference to the non-appointment of a Preacher above 60 years of age as a *general rule* and that this instance, if you kindly accede to it, will be considered most sacredly as an *exception* justified only by very peculiar circumstances and shall not be urged as a precedent. Mr. Stanley was 60 years old only a *few months* ago; and we believe him to be fully able, and as willing as able, to discharge all the duties of the Office to which we are anxious to appoint him. With most respectful regards to Mrs. Haslope and your family,

I am, My dear Sir,

Yours most affectionately,

JABEZ BUNTING.

The answer of the trustees as recorded in their Minutes is as follows:

Resolved that under the peculiar circumstances of the Rev. J. Stanley's case as stated in a letter of the Rev. Jabez Bunting to Lancelot Haslope Esq. and in consideration of the very respectful application to the trustees as set forth in the said letter with the solemn assurance of the President in the name of the Conference that the appointment of the [said] Mr. Stanley shall in no wise be looked upon as forming a precedent, also taking into account that the Conference had sent Mr. Toase as special messenger most respectfully and urgently to request that the trustees would acquiesce in the said appointment. It is hereby agreed that the trustees will with the greatest deference and respect for the Conference accept of Mr. Stanley for the present year as their Reader at the City Road Chapel provided that he, Mr. Stanley, agrees to the full observance of the order, usages and duties heretofore discharged by the trustees Reader at the said Chapel.

Mr. Stanley evidently gave satisfaction to the trustees, for they were unanimous in their request to him to serve for a second year, but he himself felt he could not accept the invitation.

In 1841 the Stationing Committee put down the Rev. John

McOwan as Reader, though the trustees had sent forward three other names in order of preference. The trustees appealed to Conference to try to get their first choice appointed. After some correspondence the trustees, with some demur, agreed to the appointment of Mr. McOwan.

In 1843 new prayer books were purchased for the lectern and for the choir-leader. It may be noted that these books were the prayer books of the Church of England and not John Wesley's "abridgement".

About 1850 the financial affairs of the society were beginning to cause the leaders considerable anxiety. The amounts received in pew rents had fallen considerably, and the society asked the trustees to forgo some of their dues. Ways and means had to be found to make ends meet, and the trustees came to the conclusion that one way of doing this was to abolish the office of Reader. Accordingly they decided in 1852 to make other arrangements when the term of office of the then holder expired, so that the trust funds should be no longer chargeable with the expenses. The trustees therefore sent in 1853 the following resolution to Conference:

That the Trust funds shall no longer be subject to the expenses of a Preacher as Reader to the Chapel after the ensuing Conference in accordance with the previous resolution March 15th, 1852. In consideration of the duties of Reader being performed by the Circuit Preachers, the house be left free of Rent and taxes for the occupation of a resident Minister subject to twelve months notice; and that an inventory be taken of the furniture and effects which shall be allowed to remain for the use of the Minister, the circuit engaging to keep the same in repair.

CHARLES POLLARD.

The Rev. N. Allen Birtwhistle desires to commend *The Christian: Fiji 1835-1867*, by A. R. Tippett. He writes: "For long the secular historian has made statements about the conversion of Fiji to Methodism which betray inaccurate knowledge of Methodism and of Fijian history. Now that the Rev. A. R. Tippett has made this thorough examination of the early documents, some statements in official handbooks and some received opinion on the motives which led Fiji to Christianity must be revised. Though the format of this valuable monograph is not up to the standard of the text, the Methodist historian will welcome the clear statement of facts and the full list of references. Produced to commemorate the centenary of the conversion of the great cannibal chief Thakombau, this study betrays the comprehensive knowledge of early Fijian Methodism that Mr. Tippett has acquired by careful research and by his experience of living at Mbau, which was Thakombau's home. Here are most moving accounts, written by Fijian Christians themselves, of their conversion experiences, the persecutions they faced, and the victorious spirit in which their comrades died. No one who wishes to understand the triumphs of the nineteenth-century missionary movement can afford to miss this work. Copies, price five shillings and threepence including postage, can be obtained from the Methodist Missionary Society, 25, Marylebone Road, London, N.W.1."

THE PORTRAITS OF WILLIAM CLOWES

[Abbreviations: *P.M.M.*—*Primitive Methodist Magazine*; *P.M.W.*—*Primitive Methodist World*; *P.M.L.*—*Primitive Methodist Leader*; Kendall—*The Origin and History of the Primitive Methodist Church*, by H. B. Kendall (2 vols.).]

1. PORTRAIT: STEEL ENGRAVING. æt. 39.

Reproduced in *P.M.M.*, 1897, p. 685; Kendall, vol. i, p. 43; *Proceedings*, xxviii, p. 8. Kendall states that this portrait formed the frontispiece to the *P.M. Minutes* of 1819, but it has not been possible to trace any copy containing it.

2. PORTRAIT IN OILS ON WOOD, 18 ins. by 15 ins. (Plate I.) æt. c. 48.

Painted by Watson Smith (1802-62), an early member of the Leeds society, who was the brother of the Rev. Samuel Smith (1796-1877) and also of Mrs. Reynard, wife of John Reynard (d. 1854), another early figure in Leeds Primitive Methodism. (*P.M.M.*, 1862, pp. 515-17.) This portrait was presented to Hartley Victoria College in 1948 by the Rev. Samuel Walpole, of Tilehurst, Reading, whose wife was a grand-niece of the artist, and is almost certainly that referred to by Dr. J. Wood in *P.M.M.*, 1897, p. 686: "An almost faultless likeness of Mr. Clowes was taken for his friend Mr. John Reynard of Leeds. . . . This portrait is in good keeping by Mr. Reynard's only daughter, Mrs. Brogden, of Moorland Road, Leeds." Considerable inquiry in the locality has failed to trace any surviving member of the Reynard family, who, if found, might have shed light upon the origin of the portrait; but the Rev. Samuel Walpole, in a letter dated 17th November 1948, has stated that it was given, along with a portrait of Hugh Bourne, by the artist to his son, an Anglican clergyman in Norwich, and that afterwards, perhaps about 1870, it found its way into the family of the Rev. Samuel Smith.

3. PORTRAIT IN OILS, 2 ft. 6 ins. by 2 ft. (Plate II.) æt. c. 50.

Artist unknown. Presented to Hartley College, Manchester, about 1890, by Mr. Thomas Buckley, of Woodley, Cheshire. No documentary evidence regarding this portrait seems to be extant, but Mr. Ezra Buckley, of St. Boswells, Roxburghshire, son of the donor, stated in a letter dated 29th October 1950 that his father gave the portrait to the Rev. James Macpherson, Principal of the College 1881-9, "some sixty years ago".

4. PORTRAIT IN OILS, 3 ft. 8 ins. by 3 ft. æt. c. 55.

Painted by Phineas Lowther¹ (1780-1856) of Hull, about 1835, probably for Clowes's friend John Sissons (d. 1882), in whose family it was afterwards retained. (*P.M.M.*, 1897, p. 686.) Kendall reproduces the head and shoulders of this portrait (vol. i, p. 102), and states that it was then (1905) in the possession of Mrs. Norman, of Hull. At her decease it seems to have passed into the possession of Sir John Sherburn, who presented it to the trustees of Clowes chapel, Hull, some time before 1910. (*P.M.L.*, 1910, p. 399.) When the chapel was closed in 1933 it was placed in the custody of the trustees of the Fountain Road chapel, Hull, and the present trustees recently (1950) presented it to Hartley Victoria College.

¹ Phineas Lowther was also a painter of landscape. His studio was in Savile Street, Hull, and he exhibited landscape in 1827 and 1829 at the Hull and East Riding Institution for the Promotion of Fine Art.

Two replicas of the portrait were painted in 1910 by Mr. Arnold Mason,² son of the Rev. W. H. Mason. This was done under commission from Sir William P. Hartley on the occasion of the centenary of the P.M. connexion. One replica was presented to Holborn Hall, London, and the other to the Library of Hartley College, Manchester.³ (*P.M.L.*, 1910, p. 399.) Both replicas are now in the College, the London one having been transferred at the time of Methodist Union (1932).

5. PORTRAIT IN MONOCHROME, 9½ ins. by 7½ ins.

This portrait, by an unknown artist, which is now in the Library of Hartley Victoria College, may have been painted in London during the time of Clowes's visit in 1833 (*Journals* (1844), p. 334), though the features suggest a somewhat earlier date.

6. PORTRAIT: STEEL ENGRAVING.

This portrait is the work of John Freeman, of London, and was first produced in *P.M.M.*, 1836. Afterwards it appeared as the frontispiece to Davison's *Life of William Clowes* (1854), and later in Garner's *Life* (1868). John Freeman was engaged as official engraver for portraits of the travelling preachers by the P.M. Conference of 1833 (Conference MS. Journal, 1833), and continued this work until 1854. This engraving is the most familiar of the portraits of Clowes, and was made from No. 5.

7. PORTRAIT: STEEL ENGRAVING.

The work of C. Laurie, and to be found in *Methodist Worthies*, by J. C. Stevenson (London, 1884), vol. v; also in *P.M.W.*, 1907. This engraving also was probably made from No. 5.

8. PORTRAIT IN OILS, 2 ft. by 1 ft. 8 ins. æt. c. 65.

Artist unknown. This portrait, which is of somewhat inferior quality, may have been that which was in the possession of Mrs. Henry Hodge, of Hull, and given by her to the connexion (*P.M.W.*, 1906, p. 606). It is now in Hartley Victoria College.

9. PORTRAIT IN PROFILE: WOOD BLOCK.

This silhouette was first printed on the plan of the Winster circuit c. 1848, and was afterwards reproduced in *P.M.M.*, 1897, p. 685.

10. THE "TORONTO" PORTRAIT.

In the MS. Minutes of the P.M. General Committee, the following entry occurs, dated 10th September 1920:

That we give our thanks to Sir W. P. Hartley, for kindly forwarding the letter of Dr. J. Davison Lawson, of Columbia, M.O. in which he offers to sell the two large portraits of William Clowes and his wife.

Owing to difficulties of transport "in conveying them from Toronto" it was not deemed expedient to make the purchase.

This record suggests that a further portrait, in addition to those already listed, (together with one of Mrs. Clowes) may still be extant in Toronto or elsewhere in Canada. It is also reasonable to infer that these were taken over to Canada by the Rev. John Davison, who

² Now Arnold Mason, R.A., who painted the presentation portrait of the late Rev. Dr. W. F. Howard which was in the 1951 Exhibition of the Royal Academy.

³ This replica was reproduced as frontispiece to *William Clowes, 1780-1851* (Epworth Press, 1951).



WILLIAM CLOWES
ÆT. C. 48
(The "Watson Smith" Portrait)



WILLIAM CLOWES
ÆT. C. 50
(*The "Buckley" Portrait*)

married Charlotte, the daughter of Mrs. Temperton, Clowes's second wife, and who in 1847 went to take charge of the Canadian mission. So far, however, efforts to trace these two portraits have been unavailing.

11. ♀ BUST, 10½ ins. high. Staffordshire pottery.

Made by "B. S. & T., Burslem", and inscribed: "Will: Clowes, A Methodist Preacher". Now in Hartley Victoria College. The following news item appeared in *P.M.L.*, 1906, p. 148: "A fine bust of William Clowes has been discovered in the Midlands, and by the generosity of L. L. Morse, Esq., M.P. has been secured for the Connexion."

A further specimen is in Wilberforce House Museum, Hull, and this it has been possible to examine, through the kindness of Mr. Vincent Galloway, the Director of the Hull Art Gallery and Museums.

JOHN T. WILKINSON.

The address which the Rev. E. Gordon Rupp gave to the Ecumenical Conference at Oxford in 1951 has been published as a separate pamphlet by the Epworth Press: *Methodism in Relation to Protestant Tradition* (pp. 31, 1s. 6d.). Its quality may be demonstrated by the following short excerpt (pp. 19-20):

"Samuel and Susanna Wesley were what Bernard Manning calls 'lapsed Dissenters', though the Dissent from which they turned away was not the heroic 'Church under the Cross', but second-generation religion, the *epigoni* of the 'Calves' Head Clubs' with their sour rebellious gossip, of the Nonconformist Academies with their truculent inferiority sense, and the landslide into Unitarianism, though it was for all that the Dissent of Henry and of Isaac Watts. At any rate, John and Charles Wesley were bred up in the High Church tradition, and from the Holy Club to Savannah moved within this framework. . . . But the English Protestant tradition badly needed a blood transfusion. Wesley found that new element in Continental Protestantism, in the great Lutheran hymns, in the example and precept of the Moravians, and in the Biblical philanthropy of Pietism. But he was never more firmly Anglican than when he most openly admired the Moravians.

"There are, it seems to me, two fallacies at this point. One is to play down the reality of the Evangelical conversion of the brothers Wesley. Dr. Elmer Clark has dealt very faithfully with that. The other is to play down the permanent significance of Wesley's life and work before 1738. Yet how much of Methodism existed by then. The first *Hymn Book*, some of the sermons, the beginning of the Christian Library, 'the society, the class meeting, the leaders and lay assistants, the beginning of an itinerancy, extempore preaching and prayer, even the building of a meeting house'—all this, says Nehemiah Curnock, 'came to Wesley in Georgia'. And when his angry parishioners expostulated, when they demanded of John Wesley what this new religion was, which was not any Protestantism they knew, which was neither Anglican fish, nor Presbyterian fowl, nor Moravian good red herring, neither he nor they could know that there, before their eyes, growing from embryo to flesh, was that which one day millions of us across the world would call 'our beloved Methodism'."

BOOK NOTICES

A History of the English Clergy, 1800-1900, by C. K. Francis Brown. (Faith Press, pp. xii. 282, 17s. 6d.)

St. Gregory Nazianzus speaks discerningly of what he aptly calls the Devil's last trick: "When he cannot bring the Word and Sacraments into disgrace by errors and heresies, he invents this project, to bring the clergy into contempt and low esteem." That stratagem had certainly succeeded so far as the English Church was concerned at the opening of the nineteenth century, and it is the purpose of Dr. Brown's most recent book to inquire how far such charges were justified and to trace the movement towards reform. In the course of his investigations, which cover the episcopate, the life of the parish clergy, both town and country, and the relations between Church and people, the author makes copious use of valuable primary sources. The work is loaded (perhaps overloaded) with statistics and lightened by anecdotes. The early part of the century receives by far the fullest treatment, and indeed it might have been wiser to have confined the survey within these narrower limits. The reader may be led to weigh the claim, mentioned by the Bishop of London in his Preface, that the real reformation of the Church of England took place not in the sixteenth century, but in the first half of the nineteenth. Dr. Brown's conclusion "that the most potent single factor in reform was the religious influence of the Tractarians" (p. 146) will not secure general consent, and is not, in fact, substantiated by the evidence which he himself adduces. In particular, the Evangelicals must be credited with a more considerable, if less spectacular, share in the process than he is prepared to acknowledge.

A. SKEVINGTON WOOD.

A Compend of Wesley's Theology, edited by Robert W. Burtner and Robert E. Chiles. (Abingdon Press, pp. 302, \$3.75.)

Believing that Wesley is a vitally important theologian, the editors of this beautifully printed volume have gathered his doctrinal statements and set them out in ten chapters, with a bibliography and index of sources. It will be useful as representing Wesley's views and in directing students to further reading.

Wesley was not guilty of the extraordinary mistakes in Hebrew and Greek spelling on pp. 76, 93, 232, 238. The book's outline will quickly guide readers to special aspects of Wesley's thought, but must not be treated as the outline he would have made. The anthology method breaks down in places, notably on "The Ministry". Wesley's reference to Lord King's book is omitted. Was its Presbyterian tendency not palatable to episcopalian Methodism? Of course the definitive work on Wesley's attitude to the ministry remains unwritten, and on such complex issues restricted quotations must fail.

One Methodist will be grateful if this useful book acts as sign-post. Good work has been done by men in circuit work on Methodist doctrines. We need someone sensitive to the spirit of Methodist theology from Wesley onwards, to present it in creative relation to ecumenical thinking and world need. Methodist thinking has been blown about too much recently by the winds of other theologies. May this work lead a Methodist theologian to produce an influential Christian theology, plotting a clear Methodist course.

FREDERICK HUNTER.