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A table of contents for the *Proceedings of the Wesley Historical Society* can be found here:

https://biblicalstudies.org.uk/articles_whs_01.php

Proceedings OF THE Wesley Historical Society

Editor : REV. WESLEY F. SWIFT

Volume XXVIII

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EDITORIAL

THIS new volume brings us into the period of centenaries and bi-centenaries, and we can expect that for some years to come our pages will from time to time commemorate the births and deaths of the famous, and other historical events. This year, for instance, sees the centenary of the death of William Clowes and the bi-centenary of the introduction of Methodism into Scotland, and next year we shall commemorate Hugh Bourne in similar fashion. These and other similar events will add both interest and significance to the work of the Society. This year, also, will witness the Ecumenical Conference at Oxford, where will gather Methodists from all parts of the world. Arrangements are being made for pilgrimages to historic Methodist sites in this country, and the International Methodist Historical Society plans some suitable celebration in Oxford. We hope that our own Society will receive some publicity and gain new members as a result of these activities.

* * *

Mention should be made of the valuable propaganda work which has been done amongst his fellow-students by Mr. Raymond W. Dunstan, of Wesley College, Headingley. Mr. Dunstan set himself the task of securing twenty new members for the Society. He enrolled eighteen students and the Assistant Tutor, and completed his task in striking fashion by sweeping the President-Designate of the Conference into his net. We cannot be too grateful for this splendid addition to our numbers, which incidentally gives Headingley College (temporarily, at any rate) the largest concentration of Wesley Historical Society members in the world. And Mr. Dunstan has also laid his fellow-students under debt, for the time will come when they will be thankful for the temporary escape from the trials and problems of circuit life which this new interest—we hesitate to call it a "hobby"—will give them.

The future of the Society lies in a constant rejuvenation of our membership. It requires only the most elementary knowledge of mathematics to calculate that if every member were to do one-twentieth of what Mr. Dunstan has done, our membership would be doubled overnight.

WESLEY'S HOMILETIC USE OF PROVERBIAL LORE

IN a previous article¹ the writer drew attention to John Wesley's frequent and characteristic use of proverbs in his correspondence. This article pursues similar inquiries with respect to his sermons. All references to these are to the three-volume collection forming volumes v, vi and vii of the *Works* (3rd edition, 1829). All references to the *Oxford Dictionary of English Proverbs* are to the second edition, which has appeared since publication of the previous article.

I

The *O.D.E.P.* has drawn upon Wesley's sermons for examples of three proverbs, so far as one can see—for there is no index of authors. These are: "Cleanliness is indeed next to godliness" (vii, p. 16); "Every man has his price" (vii, p. 341); and "Every one has (to use the cant term of the day) his hobby horse" (vi, p. 442). The first Wesley quotes again in vii, p. 123, introduced by the phrase "It was said by a pious man". Was this Bacon, as in *O.D.E.P.*? It reads as though Wesley knew, or thought he knew, the originator of this proverb. Anyhow, Wesley himself made it celebrated. His use of the second reflects his knowledge of public men and their policies. The third reveals his relish for an expressive and picturesque phrase.

These, though interesting, give but a hint of the mass of proverbial material which the sermons contain. No less than one hundred and thirty-eight proverbs are given exactly, or used in a way which sets their identification beyond dispute. In addition, there are many proverbial allusions which are difficult to classify. Fifty out of this total appear also in the *Letters*. Some of these are favourites like "the apple of an eye" (v, p. 143, etc.), "see them with his own eyes" (v, p. 273, etc.), and "to cast our pearls before swine" (v, p. 307, etc.). Others are not so colloquial, e.g. "homo unius libri" (vii, p. 203) and "a lady's hand with a lion's heart" (vi, p. 164). This is Wesley's truncated rendering of the proverb "a good surgeon must have an eagle's eye, a lion's heart and a lady's hand". Yet again, others are phrases of which Wesley was fond which, though considerably mutilated, have a proverbial ring, e.g. "stark, staring nonsense" (vi, p. 322), "wide of the mark" (vi, p. 266, etc.), and "speak and spare not" (v, p. 457). Finally, of the fifty which occur also in the *Letters*, we may notice those which are characteristic of Wesley's interests and work, such as "Leave off contention before it be meddled with" (vi, p. 410), and "non persuadebis etiamsi persuaseris" (vi, p. 490), which Wesley translates as "Thou shalt not persuade me though thou dost persuade me". Who is the famous Jew to whom he attributes this? The *O.D.E.P.* (p. 107) give the English version as "One may be confuted and yet not convinced", with Fuller's *Gnomologia* (1732) as the sole reference.

¹ *Proceedings*, xxvi, pp. 111-14; 129-34.

II

Of the total of one hundred and thirty-eight proverbs appearing in the Sermons, thirty-five are of Biblical origin. Twelve of these have become accepted English proverbs. For example: "cherish Delilah in your bosom" [strictly—the lap of Delilah] (vi, p. 87); "Physicians, heal yourselves" (v, p. 471); "Wheels within wheels" (vii, p. 409); and "Abraham's bosom" (vi, p. 44, etc.). This last, Wesley's favourite manner of speaking of Paradise, occurs no less than twenty-one times, and in fifteen different sermons. Of the other Bible proverbs, eighteen are from the Book of Proverbs, and eleven of these do not occur in the *Letters*. Such for example are Proverbs vi. 10: "A little more slumber, a little folding of the hands to rest". Wesley uses this in several places (v, p. 143, etc.) of spiritual slumber. It occurs naturally enough to one who rationed his own sleep and held that mental and spiritual alertness were connected with this. Proverbs xxiii. 5: "How oft," he says, "do silver and gold 'make themselves wings and fly away'?" (v, p. 370). Wesley probably quoted from memory here, as he often did apparently, for the scriptural proverb runs: "For riches certainly make themselves wings, like an eagle that fieth toward heaven". This verse, in spite of its picturesque force, could not be called a well-known proverb. Nevertheless, it is an apt quotation upon the lips of one who constantly warned his followers about the deceitfulness of riches. Proverbs xvi. 23: "The lot is cast into the lap, but the disposal thereof is of the Lord" (vi, p. 344). This was doubtless part of his authority for the use of the lot, but only one with a special interest in proverbs would have used this figure as an argument for divine government down to the last particular.

Wesley quotes one proverb which originates from Ecclesiastes ix. 4. This is "A living dog is better than a dead lion" (vi, p. 140). From the Apocrypha, Ecclesiasticus xiii. 1, comes "Touch not pitch lest thou be defiled" (vi, p. 463). There are some New Testament proverbs, such as "Evil communications corrupt good manners" (vi, p. 469), and "heaping coals of fire" [of melting love, as Wesley calls it] "upon his head" (v, p. 270).

So far, account has been taken only of the Book of Proverbs and of established English proverbs of Biblical origin. But Wesley has a much wider interest in wisdom literature. Ecclesiastes is a book he often quotes. In one place (vii, p. 467) he attributes it to Solomon. Nearly all his quotations have proverbial character, as, for example, Ecclesiastes iv. 5: "The slothful man may be said to eat his own flesh" (vii, p. 498). They are put to excellent use. For instance, is not Ecclesiastes iv. 7 quoted in vii, p. 213: "How can one be warm alone"?—a first-rate defence of his societies? But surely no one without a special interest in wisdom literature would think of illustrating the Sermon on the Mount from the book of Ecclesiastes (cf. v, pp. 308, 363, 392). The Song of Songs is represented by "Many waters cannot quench love" (v, p. 276). From Job comes "To drink in iniquity like water" (v, p. 104). But there

would seem to be not many references outside Proverbs and Ecclesiastes. This wider interest is reflected in those places where he reminds his hearers that the force of certain phrases lies in their proverbial character, such as "one jot or one tittle" (v, p. 312), and "Let not thy left hand know what thy right hand doeth" (v, p. 330).

III

Wesley's sermons have many points of contact with classical literature. Maxims, quotations, allusions and reflections abound, many of which are proverbial in English. Only examples which do not appear in the *Letters* are quoted. Sometimes these appear in the text without quotation marks or italics, e.g. "Know thyself" (v, p. 396). This has been traced to Chilon, one of the Seven Sages. It occurs in Thales and Juvenal. But more significant than its origin is Wesley's use of it, as an exclamation of evangelical doctrine. He takes a wise word of an old heathen (his favourite way of alluding to classical writers) into the service of the gospel. His thought is completely expressed elsewhere (v, p. 431): "By the grace of God know thyself a sinner".

The proverb which in English runs "to err is human", is used by Wesley in four different sermons, as "a maxim received in all ages". In each case he gives the Latin "Humanum est errare et nescire", but his English version is different in every case. His short rendering runs "Both ignorance and error belong to humanity" (vi, p. 275); his longest reads "To be ignorant of many things, and to mistake in some, is the necessary condition of humanity" (v, p. 495).

In three sermons Wesley uses the Latin proverb "Nemo malus felix"—"no wicked man is happy". In one this is given as the teaching of Juvenal (vi, p. 501), "the poor ungodly poet". The *O.D.E.P.* (p. 707) gives the English form of this proverb as "The wicked man is his own hell", and does not trace it back beyond Marlow (1590). Besides the Latin, Wesley knows two other forms of the proverb. In the sermon "On the Discoveries of Faith" he says (vii, p. 234) unholy men "carry with them their own hell". His third use (vi, p. 501) is the extremely colloquial "no peace to the wicked", which he says God Himself has expressly declared. He may be thinking of Scripture generally, but Isaiah xlviii. 22 is explicit: "There is no peace, said the Lord, unto the wicked".

In the sermon on "The Good Steward" (vi, p. 143), Wesley uses the proverb "Sleep is the brother [cousin] of death", giving the Latin "consanguinens lethi sopor", and giving "near kinsman" in the English. Sugden traces this back to Homer, via Virgil, but does not note that it is a proverb. The proverb is put to striking use. It is either deliberately brilliant, or else Wesley has been led away by his power of association. For he makes "sleep" refer, not to natural sleep, but to death, man's disembodied state, which an "ingenious man" had lately equated with absolute unconsciousness. Thus what he says is that such death [sleep] is a near

kinsman of death, if it be not the same thing. Is this tautology or a fine piece of eschatological distinction?

Two other proverbs of classical origin are interesting from the point of view of literary history. In Sermon LXXII (vi, p. 378) he uses the phrase "ignotum per ignotius", i.e. "explaining a thing unknown by what is more unknown". It is printed in italics without quotation marks. The *O.D.E.P.* (p. 314) illustrates its use from Chaucer and Hare's *Guesses at Truth*. This example would reduce the large gap. The other proverb is "the ivory gate", and occurs in Sermon LXXIII, "Of Hell" (vi, p. 382), and in Sermon CXXII, "On Faith" (vii, p. 334). Wesley is contrasting the certainty and solidity of Christian truth with pagan conjectures. In classical legend, dreams come either through the "horn gate" or the "ivory gate" according to whether they are true or false. Virgil's use of this phrase, says Wesley, means that he knew he was writing fables. The *O.D.E.P.* (p. 322) has only one example of its use in English, i.e. William Morris's *Earthly Paradise* (1870). Sermon CXXII in its present form antedates this by almost eighty years.

IV

We turn now to consider the non-biblical and non-classical proverbs which appear in the sermons. It is hard to select, for many are vivid in themselves, and in their context crystallize Wesley's thought or are otherwise characteristic. The following typical examples do not occur in the *Letters*. In Sermon I, on "The Almost Christian" (v, p. 24), speaking of the need of good works, he writes: "Hell is paved, saith one, with good intentions", which Sugden identifies with the proverb "Hell is full of good meanings and wishes". In Sermon CXVIII (vii, p. 303) Wesley quotes a similar saying from Chrysostom: "Hell is paved with the souls of Christian Priests". The *O.D.E.P.* (p. 290) gives these as two distinct proverbs, using Wesley's *Journal*, 10th July 1736, as its earliest example. Is Wesley actually quoting in Sermon I? If so, from whom? Or is it possible that by associating the popular saying with Chrysostom, he is responsible for the form "Hell is paved with good intentions"?

In several places (e.g. v, p. 161) Wesley refers to "the good old rule—of the dead and the absent—nothing but good". The latter part of this was certainly a rule which Wesley imposed upon Methodists, especially in band and class. But he seems to have made up the rule by using a proverb of classical origin as a basis, i.e. "speak well of the dead".

The *O.D.E.P.* (p. 196) gives the proverb "Fear nothing but sin", with Herbert's *Jacula Prudentia* as the only reference. A good example of its use occurs in Sermon XIX (v, p. 233) where Wesley, linking it with Romans xi. 20, urges: "Let us fear sin, more than death or hell".

An example of the way in which Wesley sometimes makes a proverb face the wrong way is found in Sermon XXI (v, p. 252). In expounding the beatitude "Blessed are the poor in spirit",

stressing the phrase "in spirit" he says that poverty itself does not ensure happiness. Poor men, in fact, may be "as far from happiness as a monarch upon his throne". The thought of the burden of kingship is common enough, but has not shaped itself into a proverb. The proverb "as happy as a king" springs into his mind and is twisted into a picture of misery.

That Wesley's mind is peculiarly sensitive to proverbial lore and form is suggested by a phrase, used in Sermon XXXII, which is hardly explicable in any other way. In dealing with the question as to who are the false prophets referred to in Matthew vii. 15, he says (v, p. 415): "I shall raise no dust (as the manner of some is), neither use any loose rhetorical exclamations to deceive the hearts of the simple but speak rough plain truths", etc. Now the phrase "raise no dust" in the sense of resorting to no deception, is a form of the proverb "to throw dust in people's eyes". Another proverb has the very phrase, i.e. "dust raised by the sheep does not choke the wolf". The text he is expounding, itself a proverb, i.e. "a wolf in sheep's clothing", starts off the train of association whereby the three proverbs are linked together.

In the course of Sermon XXXVIII Wesley throws together some vivid images about the wiles of the devil. Three of these are proverbs. One is an excellent example of spiritual imagery. He is pointing out that the devil, pursuing a different line with different men, gets them all in his teeth. Only, some are "fast asleep in the mouth of the lion who is too wise to wake him out of sleep". "The lion's mouth", a scriptural phrase, is an English proverb. The soul's danger is well conveyed by the additional figure.

Wesley's first printed sermon (CXXVII) contains the proverbial "As well may the Ethiopian change his skin" (vii, p. 367). This occurs again in Sermon LXI (vi, p. 278) in the form "to wash the Aethiop white". The *O.D.E.P.* (p. 693) traces this back to Lucian; but is not Jeremiah xiii. 23, which Wesley quotes, antecedent to Lucian?

Sermon LXX, "The Case of Reason Impartially Considered" (vi, p. 350), contains a reference to the philosopher Hobbes. The pathetic inadequacy of reason to meet the experience of death and afterwards, is illustrated by his dying words: "I am taking a leap in the dark". This saying, says Wesley, ought never to be forgotten. As a proverb it may possibly go back beyond Hobbes, although the *O.D.E.P.* (p. 357) connects its earliest reference with him. Wesley's comment is at least interesting, as saying in effect, that the phrase ought to be a proverb, even if it is not one.

In the sermon "On a Single Eye" (CXVIII) in describing the soul's thirst for satisfaction, he says (vii, p. 300): "The hungry soul, like the busy bee, wanders from flower to flower". "As busy as a bee" is of course a proverb. The *O.D.E.P.* (p. 71) gives no example later than 1580. But, once more, Wesley's homiletic use is quite as interesting as his literary value. De Sales uses the figure with great effect. Here Wesley conveys the idea of utter

futility whilst using a proverb which expresses the utmost utility.

We take one more example under this heading. In the celebrated sermon on "Free Grace" (CXXVIII) in which he drives the Calvinists unmercifully, he is stressing Christ's invitation of love to all men. Concerning Christ's weeping over Jerusalem he says: "Now, if you say they would, but he would not, you represent him (which who could hear?) as weeping crocodile's tears; weeping over the prey which himself had doomed to destruction" (vii, p. 382). Such logical thought and "vulgarity" of speech must have made him a controversialist to fear. Incidentally, the *O.D.E.P.* has no example of this proverb between 1625 and 1912.

V

So far we have ranged at large over the one hundred and forty-one sermons. We turn now to look more closely at one particular sermon. Sermons XXIV and LXXXVII have at least seven proverbs each, but the latter, on "The Danger of Riches", is decidedly the more interesting. This was a subject on which Wesley could afford to be eloquent and categorical. Such a sermon was made possible by his absolute consistency of life, and his unique opportunities of observation throughout the three kingdoms. The sermon is full of images and pictures, and is a lively piece of writing. Our immediate concern is with its proverbial element, but beyond this, it contains many graphic phrases such as "They fall down plump into it", "Will you rush upon the point of a sword?" and so on. Wesley in this sermon uses nine proverbs. The rich, if they escape at all, do so "with the skin of their teeth" (vii, p. 5). Riches bring a desire of slumbering out life, and "going to heaven (as the vulgar say) upon a feather-bed" (vii, p. 7). He knows that the worldly-wise will call a man who makes money one who "minds the main chance" (vii, p. 8). In speaking of the wealth that came to him unexpectedly through writing, he declares that he lays up none of it. His aim is to "wind my bottom round the year" (vii, p. 9). This is given again as a couplet on page 36. By this proverbial reference to making a ball of thread tidy, he means that each year he sums up his accounts and sees to it that he has nothing over. In speaking of the effect of wealth upon character, and upon humility in particular, he writes: "Formerly, one might guide you with a thread; now one cannot turn you with a cart rope" (vii, p. 12). This is a vivid if not complimentary application of the proverb: "Thread will tie an honest man better than a rope will do a rogue". The *O.D.E.P.* gives no example of the use of this proverb earlier than 1832. In begging his hearers to change their ways he asks: "What hinders—is there another lion in the way?" (Proverbs xxvi. 13). He reminds them of their former watchfulness over others and themselves by quoting Proverbs xv. 23: "How good was a word spoken in season!" He closes the sermon by quoting the proverb about the camel and the needle's eye, and depicts the heavenly riches as the proverbial "pearl of great price".

(To be continued). GEORGE LAWTON.

WILLIAM CLOWES, 1780-1851

A Centenary Tribute

I

WILLIAM CLOWES, son of Samuel and Ann Clowes, was born at Burslem, Staffordshire, on 12th March 1780.¹ In his *Journals*² he records that at ten years of age he became apprenticed to his uncle, Joseph Wedgwood, a master-potter; he quickly grew proficient, but his youth was sadly profligate, resulting in domestic poverty, particularly after his marriage.³ Working at Warrington for something more than a year, he later removed to "a new pottery" in Hull, but during a drunken brawl was arrested by the press-gang, to be released only by the entreaties of his master; immediately afterwards he returned to Staffordshire. But spiritual impulses had been at work.⁴ "Sometimes I used to walk in solitary and unfrequented places, wishing that I was a bird or beast, or anything else that was not accountable to the tribunal of heaven."⁵ Attending a preaching at Burslem, under cover of a member's ticket, he remained to the lovefeast; recalling the word of the Prayer Book regarding those who partake unworthily, he nevertheless received the bread and water, "under the idea of a sacrament", persuaded that if he sinned afterwards he must be "damned to all eternity". Yet he became "conscious of a stronger power". The following morning, 20th January 1805, at an early prayer-meeting, he found release: he "began a new life", in his twenty-fifth year.⁶

Spiritual trials continued, but the conversion of his wife encouraged him, and his home became a centre of influence. Though not yet a preacher himself, he established a meeting of local preachers on Saturday evenings—"a theological institution"—from which some went into the ordained ministry.⁷ Clowes became a class leader; an ardent supporter of "the association for the suppression of sabbath-

¹ Baptized 19th March. (Burslem Parish Registers, in loc.)

² *The Journals of William Clowes*, printed in London early in 1844, are really autobiographical reminiscences written later in life, apparently from memory, and not from written memoranda. Clowes had been accustomed to keep some detailed account of his labours, however, and certain extracts from such records relating to the years 1820-4 appear in the connexional magazines.

³ Married 28th July 1800 to Hannah Rogers, of Stoke parish, at Newcastle-under-Lyme. (Newcastle-under-Lyme Parish Registers, in loc.)

⁴ In particular by a revival at Burslem during 1804. (*Primitive Methodist Magazine*, 1900, p. 827; *Holborn Review*, 1906, p. 223.) "My convictions were such that had an experienced Christian taken me by the hand, I have no doubt that I should at that time have been converted." (*Journal*, p. 12.)

⁵ *Journal*, p. 17.

⁶ *ibid.*, p. 21.

⁷ *Journal*, p. 43. Clowes names three: Joseph Marsh (entered ministry 1807, vide *Minutes of Conference*, 1845, p. 131); James Allen (entered ministry 1806, vide *Minutes of Conference*, 1864, pp. 11-12); also Thomas Davison, of whom, however, there is no trace in the *Minutes*; perhaps he was unsuccessful!



WILLIAM CLOWES

ÆT. 39

(From the steel engraving in the "Minutes of Conference", 1819).

breaking", unhappily frowned upon by the circuit authorities; a zealous distributor of tracts, along with James Nixon, who became his lifelong friend. Taking occasional appointments in Cheshire for local preachers, he made contact with James Crawfoot, who fostered in him "a determined resolution to seek . . . the deeper things of God"; also he touched Lorenzo Dow, the American evangelist, who stimulated in him an interest in camp-meetings. Thus Clowes was present at the first camp meeting on Mow Cop, on 31st May 1807, where he gave an exhortation. Becoming a preacher in the Burslem circuit late in 1808, his name was afterwards omitted from the preachers' plan in June 1810, on the ground of his association with camp-meetings,⁸ which had been officially repudiated.⁹ In the following September his ticket of membership was withheld.¹⁰ This meant a new beginning,¹¹ for the two classes at Kids Grove and Tunstall, of which he was the leader, insisted on remaining with him; others from the Methodist society joined them, and amongst these were James Nixon and Thomas Woodnorth, who proposed to make a weekly allowance of ten shillings to Clowes, in order that, leaving his employment,¹² he might go out as a preacher. So began that movement through which, along with Hugh Bourne, he became co-founder of Primitive Methodism.¹³ Henceforth he was to be its flaming evangelist.

II

Clowes was a man of immense labours. Beginning his work in his own neighbourhood, he extended to Cheshire and Staffordshire, and onwards into Derbyshire, preaching in village street and market-place, forming small societies and erecting sanctuaries for their worship. In 1817 he moved into Nottinghamshire: "notwithstanding the powers of earth and hell . . . in the Name of the Lord, we lifted up our banners".¹⁴ The next year he pressed on into Leicestershire,¹⁵ and beyond into Lincolnshire.¹⁶

⁸ *Journal*, p. 84.

⁹ *Minutes of Conference*, Liverpool, 1807. It should be noted that after the second Mow Cop meeting (19th July 1807), Clowes did not attend another for fifteen months, until the Ramsor meeting, 9th October 1808.

¹⁰ *Journal*, p. 85. "I was told that I was no longer with them . . . I therefore immediately delivered up my class-papers to the meeting and became unchurched."

¹¹ "The new movement . . . brought me into great exercise of soul: and what would follow I could not tell." (*Journal*, p. 86.)

¹² "At that time I made £1 2s. od. in about three or four days."

¹³ The first class-tickets bore the date May 1811; the name "Primitive Methodists" was taken, by resolution, on 13th February 1812; the first printed plan was issued in March 1812.

¹⁴ "In the town of Nottingham we preached in a large room that had been used as a manufactory, which room would hold about a thousand people, and which was generally filled." (*Journal*, p. 119.)

¹⁵ At Quorn and Sileby Clowes preached by invitation in the Methodist chapels with great power. "The whole country appeared to be on the move; the spirit of conviction had intensely gone abroad among the people." (*Journal*, p. 127.) There are many instances of similar hospitable invitation.

¹⁶ "In the city of Lincoln . . . between the minster and the new gaol we began our labours about nine in the morning and terminated them about

In January he began the main work of his life by his entry into Hull, and on the evening of the 15th he preached in an old factory in North Street. The following day he went to the pottery, where he had worked some fifteen years before.¹⁷ In March he was appointed by the Nottingham meeting to take charge of the Hull mission; in a little more than four months nearly two hundred members were formed into a society. A year later the first "Annual Meeting" or Conference was held in Hull.¹⁸ The work quickly expanded beyond the city, and on 24th May 1819 Clowes entered York.¹⁹ In the following November, "by the direction of the Providence of God", he "opened" Leeds—"a powerful society was raised",²⁰ and this became a base for further operation into Yorkshire. Especially important was the expansion into Holderness, and the northern mission to Scarborough in December 1820; an important extension earlier in the year was the Hutton Rudby mission, to which he returned in 1821.²¹ During this and the following year Clowes missioned Durham²² and Northumberland,²³ and then passed westwards into Cumberland²⁴ and Westmorland, returning for the fourth Conference at Leeds, in 1823.²⁵

A difficult task was the mission to London (1824-5),²⁶ and later to Cornwall (1825-6),²⁷ where he touched the work of the Bible Christians and formed several societies.

nine at night . . . the conflict with the powers of darkness was very hot: . . . as a division of the grand army of Emmanuel, we that day, took the city." (*Journal*, p. 142.)

¹⁷ "I found the working discontinued: I, however, entered the place and kneeled down and praised God for the great change he had wrought in me. I then . . . took a walk up and down the streets and lanes in which I had formerly wrought folly and wickedness . . . O what gratitude filled my soul! . . . I am now a missionary of the cross." (*Journal*, p. 147.)

¹⁸ The number in society was by this time 7,842.

¹⁹ "If I should pass by the city without bearing my testimony, my conscience would remonstrate, and my duty to God and my fellow creatures would be undischarged." (*Journal*, p. 155.)

²⁰ *Journal*, p. 172.

²¹ "I opened many places, travelling four hundred miles on foot, my whole expenses amounting to thirty shillings in nine weeks." (*Journal*, p. 207.)

²² "At Darlington . . . I stood forth out of doors in Northgate and addressed a very attentive congregation: many appeared much affected." (*Journal*, p. 208.)

²³ "At Newcastle I preached, and the glory of the Most High was with us." (*Journal*, p. 217.)

²⁴ "I preached the first time in a hat-warehouse in the city of Carlisle, where I met friends who took me in." (*Journal*, p. 219.)

²⁵ At this Conference the number in society was 29,472, and Clowes makes an interesting comment. "In looking at Crowther's *History of the Methodists*, I find that Mr. Wesley opened his twenty-fourth conference in London . . . the number of members, 25,914 [a slight error, for Crowther gives 25,911]. Thus it will be seen that the Primitive Methodist Connexion stood more in number at its fourth conference, than the Methodist body at the time of its twenty-fourth." (*Journal*, p. 224.)

²⁶ *Journal*, pp. 229-46. "London is London still—careless, trifling, gay and hardened through the deceitfulness of sin." Clowes encountered stiff opposition.

²⁷ Clowes makes an interesting reference: "I thought of what Mr. Wesley

The remainder of Clowes' ministry, until his superannuation in 1842, consisted of lengthy itineraries, confirming the churches established by his previous labours, not seldom, as hitherto, under hardship and persecution. He appears to have kept no record of his labours after this date, but he continued to reside in Hull—"the place of my chief joy"—giving stability to the work, especially by pastoral oversight.²⁸ Despite a severe illness in the latter part of 1843, he continued to preach during the seven years following, travelling to places as far apart as York and Whitehaven, Tunstall and Newcastle, Leeds and Sunderland. Of much of his travel there is no account, but in cabins and on decks of steamers, on coach journeys, along the highway, he pursued his quest for souls. As the days passed he became aware of the decline of his powers; to his friend John Bywater, he remarked: "I feel myself failing fast: do you not see it?" The end approached rapidly; and his earthly pilgrimage closed on 2nd March 1851, "about six in the morning". "The splendour of the celestial city seemed to pour around him like a river of light." He was buried in the Hull cemetery; some ten thousand persons were present at the final scenes.

III

Physically Clowes was a man of middle stature, firmly built, broad-chested, and alert in every movement, in walking always erect, with steady and dignified gait. In his early years he wore coloured clothes and might have been taken for a respectable farmer or tradesman.²⁹ He had a voice remarkable both in song and speech, alike beseeching and vehement; his countenance was open and expressive, with large, prominent eyes, remarkable for their penetrating power. Despite the rude and dissipating experiences of his early years, he came to possess the cultivated refinement of a gracious presence; though a leader among men, he condescended to those of low estate, and was always easy of access. He was not gifted with the pen of a ready writer; the errors of his youth caused him to lose ground educationally which he was never able to recover; his correspondence was scanty,³⁰ and his script difficult; his reading was contracted—the Bible (alongside which he studied Dr. Adam Clarke's *Notes*) was almost his only book, "yet the storehouse where he obtained his precious seed" and the language, particularly of the Song of Songs, enriched the beauty of his prayers. His sermons

had said to John Nelson, when they were in Cornwall, viz: that it was an excellent country to get an appetite but not so excellent to get something to eat. They did, however, get a few blackberries: and I looked to see if I could get some, but being unable to find more than one, which was unripe, I was obliged to make a dinner of it." (*Journal*, p. 260.) cf. *Lives of Early Methodist Preachers*, i, p. 74.

²⁸ In seven years the Hull mission alone had raised up nearly twelve thousand souls.

²⁹ J. Davison, *The Life of William Clowes* (1854), p. 237.

³⁰ As far as we can discover, only seventeen letters can be traced, and of this number only three are in MS, two in photographic facsimile, and the remainder in printed form.

had the touch of prophetic utterance. As an administrator he was "righteous and gentle, more loved than feared".³¹

The secret of Clowes' achievement lay in the quality of his own religious experience. "He was a spiritual mountaineer." Two things are outstanding. He was a *man of faith*. "By faith he stood; by faith he walked; by faith he ran the race set before him; by faith he obtained the victory."³² Of himself he declared: "I never had a doubt for forty years." And the reason was that he was a *man of prayer*. "He lived as though he were on the borders of the heavenly world."³³ He said to a friend: "When I have to preach, I dare not leave my room till God has given me the congregation, and then I go up the pulpit steps with majesty." It is not surprising that more than once he records: "In preaching I heard the sound of the Master's footsteps behind me." The obelisk of Peterhead granite which marks his resting-place bears a fitting inscription:

HE WAS A BURNING AND A SHINING LIGHT.

JOHN T. WILKINSON.

³¹ Jane Garbutt, *Reminiscences of Early Primitive Methodism in Hull* (1886), p. 29.

³² W. Garner, *The Life of the Rev. and Venerable William Clowes* (1868),

³³ Rev. George Lamb, quoted by Davison, op. cit., p. 250. [p. 412.]

The following extract is taken from a manuscript volume which contains "Minutes of Conversations" with the Rev. Dr. Adam Clarke at his house at Pinner, written in the Boswell style by the Rev. William Pollard, who "travelled" from 1816 to 1839.

"Sep. 8. 1827, Saturday. I came to Dr. Clarke's house in the evening. The Duke of Sussex, his Secretary and Professor Lee had been dining with the Dr. They had not left when I arrived, but I took tea with the servants in the kitchen, and retired into the Preachers' room. When they had left I went into the parlour. The Dr. came out of his study, and threw open the parlour window, saying: 'There is a villanous smell of tobacco. I never thought of having one of the Royal Family to smoke in my house. I should not have asked him to smoke, but, poor fellow, I found he could not live without it. It is not from choice,' said he, 'that we keep such company.' He observed that the Duke liked to talk on sacred subjects, but he had got a Socinian twist: he hoped however that he should do him good. 'He,' said the Dr., 'is the most learned Prince in Europe.'

"The Dr. remarked that he wanted his supper, for he had not had much dinner. Though there was plenty of excellent provision, he could not enjoy it, for the thought every now and then came: 'I have to preach tomorrow.' Though I had just had a very hearty tea, the Dr. would make me have supper. 'We never allow tea,' said he, 'to stand for a meal at our house.' At supper table, addressing himself to me, the Dr. said: 'Well, Mr. Pollard, you are a compassionate, benevolent man. Will you give me a sermon? I have to preach tomorrow, and I do not know what I shall do. I have been looking at the lessons, but they do not look very pleasantly at me.'"

Comment is perhaps superfluous!

A LINK BETWEEN WESLEY AND DONNE ?

JOHN TELFORD, in his note on Hymn 172 in our present Hymn-book—Charles Wesley's "With glorious clouds encompassed round"—quotes the Rev. W. F. Moulton, D.D., in reference to the now omitted verse 6, as having written: "To this figure I do not remember any exact parallel, either in the volumes of the Wesley poetry or elsewhere. Were it found in some ancient writer, or in some well-known Latin or Moravian hymn, we could more easily understand its sudden appearance here. I shall be glad to know if any parallel has been found by others."

The verse referred to reads:

Before my eyes of faith confest
Stand forth a slaughter'd Lamb;
And wrap me in Thy crimson vest,
And tell me all Thy name.

and the "figure" which troubled Dr. Moulton was doubtless that expressed in the line "And wrap me in Thy crimson vest".

Part of the desired "parallel" is surely to be found in the now omitted verse 4 of Isaac Watts's "When I survey the wondrous cross". This verse, in which the *feeling* of the hymn as originally written reaches its climax, reads:

His dying crimson, like a robe,
Spreads o'er His body on the tree;
Then am I dead to all the globe,
And all the globe is dead to me.

The use, by Wesley, of the word "crimson" is almost determinative evidence here; and the transition, for purposes of rhyme, from "robe" to "vest" is by no means too abrupt or too far-fetched for a parallel to part, at least, of his figure to be discovered in this verse.

Whether any further parallel is to be found, as Dr. Moulton appeared to desire or to suspect, in some Latin or some Moravian hymn, I do not know. There actually is a parallel much nearer home than that. Had John Donne been so far restored to poetic favour seventy-odd years ago as he is today, the doctor would certainly have been familiar with his moving "Hymne to God my God, in my Sicknesse". This brief poem of six verses concludes with the two that we proceed to quote:

We thinke that *Paradise* and *Calvarie*,
Christs Crosse, and *Adams* tree, stood in one place;
Looke Lord, and finde both *Adams* met in me;
As the first *Adams* sweat surrounds my face,
May the last *Adams* blood my soule embrace.

So, in his purple wrapp'd receive mee Lord,
By these his thornes give me his other Crowne;
And as to others soules I preach'd thy word,
Be this my Text, my Sermon to mine owne,
Therefore that he may raise the Lord throws down.

Wesley's use of the word "wrap" is as determinative here as his use of "crimson" from the other parallel. Indeed, the likelihood

appears to be that he was familiar with both Watts's and Donne's verses and took from both; and that Watts's verse is more probably original.

Charles Wesley's genius expressed itself much less frequently in original verse than in the melodic re-utterance of received truth. What we might call current coinage, re-issued from the mint of his mind and heart, bearing the plain imprint of his passion and personality upon it, yet displays also and with equal plainness the marks of its origin. Nothing is more moving, very often, than to examine some of his most nervous and spontaneous verse and to discover how compact it is—not of the sentiment of Scripture alone but of its verbal content also. And it is this very characteristic, so pronounced in relation to the Scripture, which strikes us so forcibly in the verse, and the particular "figure", under discussion.

Granted Wesley's familiarity with Watts's hymn, including the verse now omitted, and with Donne's poem, it would appear almost inevitable, his normal mode or method of composition being known, that in the alembic of his mind

May the last *Adams* blood my soule embrace
So in his purple wrapp'd receive mee Lord
His dying crimson, like a robe,
Spreads o'er His body on the tree

should become

And wrap me in His crimson vest.

So far as concerns the chance of his acquaintance with the work of John Donne, we know that a new edition of Donne's poetry had been issued as late, in Wesley's day, as the year 1719.

REGINALD GLANVILLE.

Our indefatigable friend the Rev. C. Deane Little has written yet another local history, *A Goodly Heritage* (pp. 44, 1s. 6d.), which records the story of 150 years of Methodism in Blackrod. Mr. Little is an established authority on Methodism in this part of Lancashire, and this new booklet is a notable and worthy addition to our store. It can be obtained from E. Sidebotham, 25, Wiend, Wigan. . . . From the Board of Missions and Church Extension of the American Methodist Church there comes *The Methodists of the World*, by Bishop Ivan Lee Holt (pp. 126, no price indicated). This is a factual attempt to help the forty or more Methodist denominations in the world to get to know each other better as a contribution to the Ecumenical movement. Unfortunately, it is not free from error (such as the statement that Everett founded the Wesleyan Reform Union), but it is a mine of useful information about world Methodism. . . . The University of Wales Press, Cardiff, has published *Griffith Jones, Llanddowror: Pioneer in Adult Education*, by Thomas Kelly (pp. 56, 3s. 6d.). Welsh readers will not need to be reminded of the association of Griffith Jones with Wesley, Whitefield, Howell Harris and others in evangelistic and scholastic work. For Welsh and English readers alike the full story of this remarkable man is sympathetically told and most admirably documented by the Director of Extra-Mural Studies in the University of Liverpool, "an Englishman who knows no Welsh".

HEADINGLEY PAPERS

[Reference has frequently been made to the collection of Wesley letters and other documents relating to early Methodism preserved at Wesley College, Headingley, Leeds. The Wesley letters have already been the subject of articles in the *Proceedings*. We propose from time to time to print such of the other documents as appear to be of general interest and have not before been published. We extend to the Principal of the College, the Rev. Dr. Vincent Taylor, our appreciation of the courtesy he has extended to us in this matter.—EDITOR.]

I. Thomas Coke's Financial Appeal for Dalkeith Chapel

SOME twenty years ago I wrote an article on "Early Methodism in Dalkeith" which was printed in *Proceedings*, xvii, pp. 125-32. I described the commencement of Methodism in this small Scottish town near Edinburgh, the pioneer work of Zechariah Yewdall, and the handicap which the small society suffered by having to worship in a ruinous ex-Episcopalian chapel. The story continues (I quote from my earlier article):

A piece of ground was offered [for a new chapel] but could not be procured for lack of funds. Yewdall complains bitterly of the lack of sympathy and help shown by his colleagues in Edinburgh. Help came to the harassed preacher from an unexpected quarter when Dr. Coke, having preached in Edinburgh on Sunday, visited Dalkeith on Monday, March 25, 1788. The Doctor saw the necessity of building without delay, and gave Yewdall his blessing on the scheme and a guinea for its furtherance. Thereafter building operations proceeded apace, and the foundation stones of the new chapel were laid on May 1.

My information was derived mainly from Yewdall's own manuscript diary, which had been loaned to me by the then Book Steward, and I was unaware of the existence of the corroborating evidence of the letter, in Dr. Coke's handwriting, which is printed below. The letter, which takes the form of a financial appeal for the Dalkeith chapel, is written on the first page of a folded sheet of paper, and the text is as follows:

TO THE MINISTERS, PREACHERS & MEMBERS OF THE
METHODIST CHURCH IN SCOTLAND.

Edinburgh, March 19, 1788

My dear Brethren,

I recommend to you earnestly the Plan now on foot for the erecting of a Church in Dalkeith. I have been there myself: the Congregation is very large and very attentive; and the Society is very promising, considering its infant state: but our Place of Worship is in a most ruinous situation, the Walls bulging out, & the Roof above & the Floor below supported by many Props. We are obliged to take some steps immediately to preserve our Congregation, for their Personal Safety is at present much endangered. The repairing of our present Preaching-house would be nearly as expensive as the erecting of a new one: besides, we should be obliged to suffer in the present place the offensiveness of a Stable below & the Fleas of a Dove-house above. For these reasons I beg you will do every thing in your Power privately &

publicly to help on this new Erection. Remember it is for Scotland, and, which is still more, for the Glory of God: and if I may mention so trifling a Motive after such important ones, You will thereby oblige
Your most faithful Friend,

THOMAS COKE.

The middle pages of the circular contain details of the contributions received in response to the appeal. The total amount seems to have been £65 16s. od., and the following items are among the more interesting:

The Methodist Conference ...	£15	15s. od.
Zach Yewdall	5	5s. od.
The Revd. Dr. Coke	1	1s. od.
Lady Maxwell	10	10s. od.
From Glasgow... ..	5	0s. od.
The Revd. Mr. Wesley	10	10s. od.

The ground for the chapel was purchased a month after the appeal was issued, and the chapel itself was opened on 9th November of the same year. Other interesting features of Dalkeith Methodism are given in the article to which I have referred.

The four-page circular also contains a note in the handwriting of Zechariah Yewdall, the preacher responsible for the erection of the Dalkeith chapel. It appears to be a "Description of Glasgow Pulpit", though the word I have transcribed as "description" is almost indecipherable. It reads:

DESCRIPTION OF GLASGOW PULPIT

- 1st. The height from the floor 3 feet and half.
- 2nd. In the Circle eleven feet.
- 3rd. Consisting of four Panels to the door—with the form of a door opposite

I desire Dalkeith to be like it, with this difference, to be supported by about three neat Pillars.—Z.Y.

The John Street Chapel, Glasgow, had been opened nearly a year earlier, on 27th May 1787.

The old Dalkeith chapel, situated in South Street, was closed when the new chapel at Eskbank was built in 1887. It is now known as "Wesley Hall", and is used by the Brethren. There is a manse adjoining the chapel, and both buildings are under one roof, so that the minister's former study opens into the chapel gallery. The property is still held by Methodist trustees, whose names appear on the Plan of the Edinburgh (Nicolson Square) circuit. I am informed by Mr. Charles T. Nightingale, of Edinburgh, that small grants are made from time to time from the surplus rents to other places in the circuit, and a reserve fund is being built up in view of the possibility of extensive repairs. Thomas Coke's guinea was wisely spent!¹

WESLEY F. SWIFT.

¹ The observant reader will have noted a discrepancy between the date of Coke's visit as quoted from Yewdall's diary, and the date of the financial appeal. I cannot explain this, except to say that the blame must lie somewhere between Coke, Yewdall, and myself; and "to err is human"! The point, however, is not important.

AN UNPUBLISHED WESLEY LETTER TO LANCELOT HARRISON

THE following Wesley letter, which has not before been published, is printed by the kindness of its owner, Mr. S. Meggitt, of Sheffield. I append some details concerning its recipient and his association with Wesley.

JOHN WESLEY TO LANCELOT HARRISON

Bradforth

April 18. 1780.

My Dear Brother,

It is well you spoke in time concerning your Boy. Otherwise I doubt you would not have been soon enough: For several have spoken to me lately concerning their Children: And there will not be room for all. You may be in some part of Yorkshire in August. The next Plan you may bring to ye Conference. Very probably I shall visit Lincolnshire if I live till June. But let us live today!

I am,

Your Affectionate Friend & Brother,

J. WESLEY.

The letter is addressed:—

Mr. L. Harrison,
at Dr. Kershaw's
in Gainsborough
Lincolnshire.

John Wesley preached at Bradford (=Bradforth) on Monday, 17th April 1780, and two days later went to Otleigh. There is no mention of the 18th in the *Journal*, but the day was probably largely spent in writing letters, of which this letter to Lancelot Harrison would be one.

Lancelot Harrison died on 17th November 1806 after thirty-nine years as one of Wesley's itinerants. One of his earliest appointments was in the autumn of 1766 to the Epworth circuit, with Thomas Rankin as his superintendent and William Brammah as his other colleague. The following year found him stationed in Lincolnshire East, and the year after that in Cornwall West. He was at Yarm in the early part of 1775, and in charge of the Whitehaven circuit in the latter part of that year. To this circuit, which included the Isle of Man, Harrison, Brooks, and Mason went each for a month in turn, on Wesley's express orders.

In 1780 Harrison was at Gainsborough, and to him, at Dr. Kershaw's, was addressed not only this letter but also one three months earlier, dated from London, 16th January 1780. He was probably with Wesley at the lovefeast held at Gainsborough on 10th June of that year. His zeal in the pulpit was well known, but, like many other preachers, he appears to have found the imposition of the Methodist discipline difficult, and was suitably urged thereto by Wesley.

Harrison's merits were recognized by Wesley, who included his name amongst the "Hundred" in the Deed of Declaration in 1784,

but three years earlier Wesley had reminded him of the need of carrying "the gospel into new places. There is room still for enlarging our borders, particularly in Holderness." In 1786 Harrison was in the Grimsby circuit, and in June of that year had the task of preparing for the visit of Wesley to Epworth, Grimsby, Horncastle and Gainsborough, to ensure "that timely notice be given at every place". (*Letters*, vii, p. 330.) This is very interesting, because, by a coincidence, the present writer will in a future issue be commenting on another letter written by a Methodist woman in 1786 concerning this very visit.

In April 1789, Harrison is chided again, this time for being too impulsive. It appears that he had been building a preaching-house at Lincoln, and had not first raised two-thirds of the cost, as required by Wesley and the Conference. (*Letters*, viii, p. 130.)

Lancelot Harrison's wife was held in high regard by Wesley, though she incurred his displeasure by preaching instead of confining herself to prayer and exhortation. (*Letters*, v, pp. 60, 113, 130.) Wesley's comments on her ill-health will be found in *Letters*, v, p. 343 and vii, p. 53.

It is clear from this new letter that Harrison wanted to get his son into Kingswood School. Indeed, we learn from the *Minutes of Conference* for 1780 that Thomas Harrison was one of three boys admitted to Kingswood that year. The reference to the "next Plan" is an indication of Wesley's continual desire to obtain copies of the itinerary of the preachers in their various circuits.

E. DOUGLAS BEBB.

Penguin Books are to be congratulated on two recent additions to their series—*England in the Eighteenth Century*, by J. H. Plumb (pp. 224, 1s. 6d.), and *England in the Nineteenth Century*, by David Thomson (pp. 251, 1s. 6d.). Both make very good reading, though the canvases are too vast to secure complete accuracy of detail and perspective.

The first volume is likely to make most appeal to our members. It is good to have a history of eighteenth-century England which does not concentrate on kings and politicians, wars and treaties—though these come into the story, but describes instead the people in general, their habits, ideas, and institutions. As such it is a very vivid and valuable picture. Dr. Plumb's reading in Methodist literature, however, appears to have been scanty and unsympathetic. Even Mrs. Harrison's greatest admirers would hesitate to follow his sweeping assertion that "the best life of John Wesley is *Son to Susannah*" [sic]. Thus a convincing portrait of Robert Walpole is accompanied by a miniature of John Wesley which has in it elements of caricature, even though Wesley has a chapter all to himself. Some serious inaccuracies unfortunately tend to lessen for serious students the great attraction which we believe the book will possess for those otherwise unacquainted with Wesley's England.

Dr. Thomson's volume also sets out to be a history of English society, though political developments of necessity take up rather more of the story. Religion, however, is given short shrift, and Dr. Thomson apparently knows little of the religious impetus behind some of the social and political changes which he describes. F.B.

FACTS FROM AUSTRALIA

THE beginnings of Methodism in this land bear resemblance to the earliest stirrings of Methodism in England, for in the shape of a widespread, more or less sporadic, movement, acknowledging a leader and a general centre, it was a people's movement in both lands.

Settlement had begun on the site of Sydney in 1788, when Captain Phillip by means of a short ceremony took possession of the country in the name of the British Government. The first evidence of Methodism as a religious body dates from 1812, when the first class meeting was held on 6th March. That was a strategic date. In a short time two other "society classes" were started—all, of course, by devout laymen. "By their fruits ye shall know them"—for by about a month later these three Methodist classes being gathered as a united meeting, decided upon the bold course of requesting the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society to send a missionary to the new settlement of New South Wales. The letter conveying this request was signed by both leaders, Thomas Bowden and John Hosking. Their appeal was honoured, the Rev. Samuel Leigh arriving in Sydney in 1815. There were then twenty Wesleyan Methodists in the infant colony.

Leigh had been warned by someone in authority not to expect much help from Governor Macquarie, who would be unlikely to permit him to begin his ministry in the colony. However, he waited upon the Governor without delay. In this interview Leigh won the friendship of Macquarie; difficulties were removed, and a promise of support was given, which was duly honoured. Leigh proved himself well-suited for pioneer work, being endowed with adaptability to conditions in a new land, amid a difficult type of population of soldiers, officials, convicts and a few free settlers. Under his leadership the Methodist work grew apace and spread over the country outside the centre for many miles.

During the next century, roughly, the building up of a Wesleyan Methodist Connexion was gradually effected, the results of which were to be seen chiefly in Eastern Australia, in and around the settlements of Sydney, Melbourne, and Brisbane. But closely following these centres were Adelaide, Perth, and Hobart, which have likewise attained the dignified status of capital cities in their respective States.

In this backward look, some of us had felt the need to acquire material telling the story of experiences of tests, trials, victories and defeats here and there, as such occasions came to be woven into the story of the growing Church. Hence arose the organizing of Methodist Historical Societies, the first of which began modestly eighteen years ago, in 1932. Since then two or three such societies have followed during the last few years in Victoria, Tasmania and South Australia.

So far as figures can exhibit it, our development as a Church may be estimated from the returns published by the General Conference of 1948. Then, there were in Australia, 923 ministers with 116 probationary ministers in the home work, 36 ministers in missionary work, together with 230 native ministers in mission districts. In five Theological Institutions were 79 students. Local preachers reckon up to 1,463, while church membership comprised 143,540 with 49,000 members in the mission areas. Young people's work is well organized in several kinds of societies, while 25 schools and colleges help develop Christian education. . . . And the work increases year upon year.

V. A. SPENCE LITTLE (*General Secretary,
Australasian Methodist Historical Society*).

BOOK NOTICES

Ablaze yet not consumed, by D. Johnston Martin. (Lutterworth Press, pp. 194, 8s. 6d.)

This is a simple and popular account of Presbyterianism, and necessarily deals mostly with Calvin, Zwingli, and Knox. It was originally given as a series of lectures to the author's congregation. Methodist ministers might well give similar lectures on Methodism at their mid-week meetings; and if this led to the publication of some similar books, popular in the true sense, Methodism as a whole would benefit. The account of the Presbyterian communion service (p. 61), is, however, somewhat misleading, as are the references to papal infallibility (p. 67), and to the surplice (p. 156).

We notice that Presbyterianism cannot really make up its mind about the status of lay elders, but is very clear about the episcopal status of all its ministers. It is said that "Wesley sought to model his Church upon Presbyterian lines" (p. 189), and it is suggested that he ought perhaps logically to have sought ordination at the hands of a presbytery, but that the Presbyterian answer would probably have been "Your bishop in ordaining you had no right to refuse you that which Christ intended to give you, namely the full apostolic succession to the bishop's order." These remarks, though they contain some elements of truth, oversimplify a complex subject.

A. RAYMOND GEORGE.

Methodist Worship (in relation to Free Church Worship), by John Bishop. (Epworth Press, pp. vi. 166, 8s. 6d.)

Apart from Dr. J. E. Rattenbury's *Vital Elements of Public Worship*, there is practically no English book on Methodist worship. We now welcome Mr. Bishop's work, and regret that the section of his thesis which deals with the nineteenth century has had to be omitted. The book will be useful to Methodists who conduct services, and to non-Methodists who wish to understand us.

The second part of the title is unfortunate. Methodist worship blends an Anglican inheritance with an inheritance from the other Free Churches, and it is impossible to discuss one without the other. The Sunday service of the other Free Churches may in these days appear to resemble that of Methodism; but the former originated in the Reformed ante-communion; how the latter originated still needs to be explained: it was presumably a cross between Anglican Morning Prayer and the brief prayers which preceded the Methodist preaching. This book does not quote the *Minutes* of 1766 and misses the chance of discussing this point. Despite page 8, there is historically a gulf between Methodism and the other Free Churches, a gulf still apparent in the form of service at the Lord's Supper; and when "Free Church Worship" is used to include Methodism, as in this book it often is, it is a generic term of doubtful utility.

The book is more interested in the items of worship than in the structure. The few words about the alternative order of Holy Communion, which cries aloud for discussion (and rejection), are quite inadequate. The idea that, if a congregation consisted only of genuine Christians, the Sermon could be purely pastoral (p. 48) obscures the essentially kerygmatic character of Protestant preaching. Much that is said about Baptism and the Eucharist is highly disputable. On page 75 it is implied that an Epiclesis is essential to the Eucharist,

which would unchurch Rome, Canterbury, and Epworth, while leaving Moscow and Constantinople. The reference to the book of 1549 (p. 134) underestimates the importance of that of 1552.

The accounts given of the Methodist service-books contain various inaccuracies. The books of 1784 (p. 84) and 1883 (pp. 114 and 117) have their titles wrongly given; and the widespread but mistaken assumption is made that the 1786 book is a reliable guide to the details of the 1784 book, for instance on Baptism (p. 87). Baptism should be said to be of Divine Appointment; the Standing Order quoted (p. 132) is itself inaccurately taken from the unalterable clauses of the Deed of Union.

There is a useful bibliography, but Dix, Maxwell's *Outline*, and Harmon are omitted.

A. RAYMOND GEORGE.

A Pocket William Law, by Arthur W. Hopkinson. (Latimer House, pp. 160, 6s.)

It is to be hoped that before long the complete works of William Law will be made available in modern format. The Moreton Edition is not too easy to procure and is unlikely to attract the general reader. In consequence Law is known to many only for his *Serious Call*.

Meanwhile Mr. Hopkinson has rendered a real service by editing a *Pocket William Law* consisting of an abridgement of three of his lesser known works: *A Treatise on Christian Perfection*, *An Appeal to all that Doubt*, and *The Spirit of Prayer*.

In recent years the debt of John Wesley to William Law has been clearly demonstrated and this edition should find especial welcome among Methodists because the works chosen by Mr. Hopkinson illustrate both Wesley's dependence on Law in the latter's earlier work of which *Christian Perfection* is an example, and his rejection of Law's mysticism as set forth in the later works represented by *The Spirit of Prayer*.

The Archbishop of York has contributed a Foreword and Mr. Hopkinson himself an Introduction. Both these are admirable in what they say; in neither is there a reference to the remarkable development in Law's own outlook which was the cause of Wesley's change of attitude towards him. This enterprising publication deserves a wide public.

ERIC W. BAKER.

Enthusiasm: A Chapter in the History of Religion, by R. A. Knox. (Oxford University Press, pp. viii. 622, 30s.)

This handsome volume is not all about Wesley. Montanists, Anabaptists, Quakers, Jansenists and Moravians jostle together in its pages, but Wesley has pride of place. Monsignor Ronald Knox's original purpose was to produce some sort of rogues' gallery in which the arch-heretics might be pilloried, to demonstrate the awful consequences which result from departure from the fold of Peter. Certainly where Wesley is concerned Mgr. Knox has repented him of the evil, for (like most Roman Catholics) he cannot disguise his admiration and regard. Indeed, he thinks that the *Journal* for 9th January 1738 shows that Wesley "had thought of becoming a Catholic"—and with Knox the wish is father to the thought.

Mgr. Knox frequently and approvingly quotes the racy and readable biography of his co-religionist, Arnold Lunn, but this is not his only authority. Simon has been pressed into good service, and the *Journal* has been most diligently mined, and some very interesting—and, indeed, curious—specimens have been produced from its pages.

Not all Methodists will approve—or even recognize—Knox's portrait

of their founder, perhaps because it is still lese-majesty to poke fun at him and we are not amused. Yet surely there is nothing really objectionable in the description of Wesley as "not a good advertisement for reading on horseback"; in the statement that he had "evolved a system of Gretna Green ordinations"; or in the reference to Wesley's published sermons (compared with their spoken counterparts) as having taken on "the mournful appearance of dried seaweed". It will do us good to see our founder from an angle so different from our own, and, at any rate, Mgr. Knox has tried to be scrupulously fair. The impartial reader will find much food for thought, even though he may dislike the author's preoccupation with the psychological disturbances which so often accompanied Wesley's preaching, and be annoyed by his apparent ignorance of the existence of Charles Wesley's hymns.

These chapters are not free from errors: Bennet (p. 446) and Vasey (p. 509) are wrongly spelt; Scotland did not honour Wesley with University degrees (p. 459) but with the freedom of two burghs; and how in the world the author could get the impression that "Lady Huntingdon actually presided over the Methodist Conference at Leeds" in 1762 (p. 497) is beyond comprehension. However, these blemishes do not diminish our gratitude for a fascinating and penetrating study of Wesley by a devout Roman Catholic scholar; our one regret is that Wesley did not completely fill the book. WESLEY F. SWIFT.

History of Methodist Missions: I. Early American Methodism, 1769-1844, by Wade Crawford Barclay. (Board of Missions and Church Extension of the American Methodist Church, pp. xli. 449, \$3.50.)

There has recently been a revival of interest in the last ten years of Wesley's life, and especially in the significance of the ordinations of 1784 and subsequent years for America and later for Scotland and England. The Ecumenical movement, the discussions on "Church relations in England", and the modern preoccupation with matters liturgical, have all given new prominence to those decisive acts of Wesley's later years. Historically, of course, their primary importance lies in the foundation of Methodism in America and in the establishment of a Methodist *Episcopal* Church. These matters are examined from the American point of view in the first volume of a *History of Methodist Missions*, an ambitious project sponsored by the missionary authorities and comparable only with our own *History of the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society*.

This first volume, on "Missionary Motivation and Expansion", will probably prove the most interesting to English readers, covering, as it does, the period of Asbury and Coke; but inasmuch as American Methodism is a field of study in itself many will read the later pages of the book with equal pleasure and eagerly anticipate the five volumes which are to follow. Dr. Barclay has done his work with diligence and thoroughness. He has made ample use of manuscript and other sources which in many instances were denied to earlier writers, and the maps which illustrate the text are in themselves an education in the development of American Methodism from its inception until the division between North and South in 1844. We commend this book for its own sake as an accurate interesting study of a formative period in Methodist history, and also for its value as a background book in preparing the way for the Ecumenical Conference at Oxford next August.

WESLEY F. SWIFT.

NOTES AND QUERIES

900. A WESLEY SEAL.

There has come into my possession a seal which, beyond doubt, would appear to have been the property of John Wesley. It is made of a hard, white metal, and is in an excellent state of preservation. On the one side, deeply impressed, is the head of Wesley, and, on the other, the monogram J.W. is artistically engraved. The seal exactly tallies with the impression made by Wesley on the wax attached to the original deeds relating to the Orphan House, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, which are now in the possession of the Wesley Museum at Brunswick Chapel in that city.

The history of the seal was traced by Mr. Daniel Hone when it came into his possession, and is briefly as follows.

In 1775 it was given by John Wesley to a Cheltenham Methodist and was greatly treasured by that family as a gift from Wesley. When the last of that family passed away, it was given to a friend, a Mr. Hall, described as a "goodly silk mercer" of the Promenade, Cheltenham. On his death it passed to his son, from whom Mr. Hone received it, with the above particulars, in the early part of 1918. On 3rd December 1923 it was sent by Mr. Hone as a Christmas present to the Rev. E. Grange Bennett. From Mr. Bennett it was conveyed to Mr. A. Fieldhouse, of Huddersfield, to whom I am deeply indebted for the gift, which will be handed over to the Wesley Museum.

LESLIE A. NEWMAN.

901. METHODIST HISTORY PRIZES FOR RESIDENTIAL SCHOOLS.

This admirable scheme, begun in 1949 and described in *Proceedings*, xxvii, p. 70, has just completed its second year. The subject for 1950 was changed to "John Wesley as Editor and Author", the subject originally chosen having been vetoed by one or two Headmasters as being too difficult.

The number of entries was exceedingly encouraging and there is every likelihood that this annual competition will in due time provide new members for our Society. The prize restricted to pupils at Rydal School was won by Roy L. Paton, and the second and third prizes for boys were awarded to K. F. Dewhurst (Rydal) and H. G. Lemmon (Culford). The successful girls were Shirley Brett (Hunmanby), Rosemary Ward (Hunmanby), and Shirley Hinds (Kent College). All the essays were of a high standard and showed that the candidates had read widely on this important subject. Particularly interesting was the number of quotations from a wide range of Wesley literature. The anonymous laymen who contribute the prizes are again to be thanked for their generosity and interest in this work. WESLEY F. SWIFT.

902. GEORGE BERNARD SHAW AND WESLEY'S "SERMONS".

A paragraph in the *Yorkshire Evening Post* on 4th December 1950 stated that Mr. George Bernard Shaw had given his secretary certain instructions on the form her memoirs ought to take. He said, amongst other things:

Quote nothing that has not some point of special interest. . . . Adult lives are all the same—repetition, repetition, repetition: Wesley's sermons, George Fox's church stormings, Tunney's prize fights, each a repetition of the other.

This seemed to be a matter of interest to our members, so I wrote to Miss Blanche Patch, who for thirty years was Mr. Bernard Shaw's secretary, to ask if Mr. Shaw had actually read Wesley's "Sermons". Miss Patch replied:

The quote in the *Yorkshire Evening Post* is quite correct. I have just looked up the letter G.B.S. gave me 3 months ago. I have no doubt that he read Wesley's sermons, as I always found it impossible to mention any book (as long as it was not a novel) which he had not read.

I took the liberty of pointing out to Miss Patch that the members of our Society would dissent from Mr. Shaw's views on Wesley's "Sermons"!
WESLEY F. SWIFT.

903. ADAM AVERELL.

Does any reader know where the "Journal" of the Rev. Adam Averell is to be found? Please reply to the Rev. R. Lee Cole, M.A., B.D., Durrus, Greenlea Road, Terenure, Dublin. R. LEE COLE.

904. CHARLES WESLEY, "STUDENT OF CHRIST CHURCH".

This subject was discussed in a Note in *Proceedings*, xxvii, pp. 46-7. Further correspondence with the Dean of Christ Church has elicited some most important and interesting details.

In the first place, the Dean corrects an error in an earlier letter. Charles Wesley matriculated on 11th June 1726 and not on 22nd December 1726 as previously stated. On the latter date he was admitted as a Junior Student. The additional information I quote verbatim:

The 101 Students of the House were for financial purposes divided into five groups of approximately twenty each, differentiated by their rates of pay. These rates were 1s. 8d., 4s., 6s. 8d., 13s. 4d., and £1, paid *quarterly*. When a Student was appointed he seems to have been placed in the lowest group and received 1s. 8d. As vacancies occurred in the superior group they seem to have been automatically filled by the senior Student in the group immediately below. There was therefore, so far as I have been able to discover, no formal act of appointment after the first, and Senior Student seems to have had little more than chronological significance.

Charles Wesley is found in the top group in the second quarter of the financial year 1739, and he remained there until the ninth week of the third quarter of 1749. His promotion is indicated in the Battel book by a change of position which dates from 15th December 1738, and his name last appears there on 5th May 1749. During this period he received £1 quarterly and an annual livery of £1 6s. 8d. It is devoutly to be hoped that these sums did not include commons; I have certainly not found any evidence that they did so.

You may be interested to know that from the second quarter of 1731 to the first quarter of 1734 Wesley was drawing an additional £1 a quarter as one of the college lecturers in Dialectics.

This information would seem completely to clarify the matter. It will be remembered that the Studentship was terminable on marriage: Charles Wesley married on 8th April 1749 and his name last appears in the Battel book on 5th May of the same year. I am most grateful to the Dean for the valuable assistance he has given.

WESLEY F. SWIFT.