

John Wesley at Leisure

Frank Baker

When I first mentioned the proposed title to my wife, she immediately exclaimed: "John Wesley at leisure! What leisure did Wesley ever have!" Other knowledgeable folk have understandably had the same shocked reaction. This reminds me in a backhanded way of the reaction of one German newscaster to the British reports of the heavy German bombing raids over Britain during the war of 1939-45. The British press described how the German bombers had missed their intended targets, but had dropped their bombs at "random", until the reactions of the German press brought a chuckle to the British readers by reporting that once again their bombers had inflicted heavy damage on the city of Random. Random, of course, did not exist, but John Wesley's leisure really did. And, by the way, while we're on this verbal theme, you will already have noted that I speak as an unreconstructed Englishman, of "leisure" rather than "leisure", like my American cousins, and I trust that this will cause no misunderstanding.

My friend George Lawton, author of *John Wesley's English*, notes in his files that Wesley used the word "leisure" seven times, three in his letters, two in his *Journal*, and two in the remainder of his published *Works*. (Actually if you scrape the barrel carefully two or three times that number are disclosed, but undoubtedly it was neither a favourite nor even a frequent word.) Certainly the best known example occurs in a letter written from Oxford to his elder brother Samuel, shortly after John's graduation as M.A., and shortly before his ordination as priest: "Leisure and I have now taken leave of one another. I propose to be busy as long as I live, if my health is so long indulged to me."¹

What, in fact, did he mean by "leisure", then and later? Dr. Samuel Johnson had not yet penned his own definition, but it would probably have been similar

to that of 1755: "Leisure. Freedom from business or hurry; vacancy of mind; power to spend time according to choice." Wesley in good health had little use for the second element, "vacancy of mind", and he spoke scathingly of gentry "lolling at ease" in their coaches or carriages, or even in public worship²; it is true also that as exercise for the boys at Kingswood School he prescribed working and walking, maintaining, "He that plays when he is a child will play when he is a man."³ Yet it seems that he did have a hankering after the innocent but exciting flirtations which he had shared with lady friends in the Cotswold parsonages, the cards, the dances, the gracious living, though already, with the beginning of his diary in 1725, he was striving to repress these temptations by frequently repeated resolves "to avoid idleness, freedom with women, and high-seasoned meats". To recapture this world with its carefree and somewhat careless uses of leisure it is a valuable and eye-opening exercise to read the chapter on "The Oxford Don" in Richard Heitzenrater, *The Elusive Mr. Wesley*.⁴

Not that the dainty John Wesley could ever have become the hard-drinking, harsh-hunting parson fairly common at that time, and whom in his regenerated view of leisure Wesley despised. He might well have developed, however, into a faithful country parson who spent his leisure hours in recondite studies, and who doled out charity and homely spirituality to his parishioners, had it not been for his somewhat special interpretation of that resolve to say goodbye to leisure. It seems that he intended by it the definition later to be written by an American clergyman, "Leisure is the time for doing something useful."⁵

It was leisure of this kind which Wesley cherished, relaxing from one form of useful work in another which he found even more congenial, provided it were something which he could perform conscientiously, and even enjoy, to the glory of God. It was not a cessation of activity, but a change of pace. He told his first female preacher, Sarah Crosby: "It is our wisdom so to divide our time that no duty may encroach upon another, but each have its due portion. . . . It is well to be always fully employed for God; and always to *make haste* but never to hurry."⁶ He explained his relaxed approach more fully to another woman evangelist:

You do not at all understand my manner of life. Though I am always in haste, I am never in a hurry; because I never undertake any more work than I can go through with perfect calmness of spirit. It is true I travel four or five thousand miles in a year. But I generally travel alone in my carriage, and consequently am as retired ten hours in a day as if I was in a wilderness. On other days I never spend less than three hours (frequently ten or twelve) in the day alone. . . . Yet I find time to visit the sick and the poor. . . . When I was at Oxford, and lived almost like an hermit, I saw not how any busy man could be saved. I scarce thought it possible for a man to retain the Christian spirit amidst the noise and bustle of the world.

God taught me better by my own experience. I had ten times more business in America (that is, at intervals) than ever I had in my life. But it was no hindrance to silence of spirit.⁷

This was all very well for a parson in Oxford or in the country or in a coach. It seemed, however, that Wesley was being impelled into the life of an itinerant preacher spending almost half his time in the city. How should he spend his leisure hours in London? One might almost have expected him to make use of that favourite institution to occupy leisure hours in the eighteenth-century capital, the coffee house. Here for a penny he could write and receive letters, read the current newspapers and magazines, and converse to his heart's content.⁸ Certainly he managed somehow to skim the newspapers, though often it was friends who alerted him to the latest jab at Methodism.⁹ He was at least in touch with one of the coffee-house habitués, to whom he apologized on November 9, 1753 for having been prevented from reading and adding comments about a work on German medical practice which Wesley had borrowed: this letter he addressed to "A.B. At the Essex Coffee House, In Whitechapel". Further research indicates, however, that this must have been a casual encounter, and that in general Wesley strongly disapproved of clerics who frequented coffee-houses.¹⁰ Nor is there any indication that Wesley himself regularly drank coffee, though there are occasional exceptions, as at 6.30 p.m. on May 3, 1787, when his diary records "coffee" instead of his usual "tea". In his *Primitive Physic* (1747), however, among the gradually accumulating cures for "A Dry or Convulsive Asthma", Wesley did add in 1765 "a cup of strong coffee". This recommendation for medicinal purposes remained until his death, and was taken over into the American version, witness the Philadelphia edition of 1789, revised by Bishops Coke and Asbury.

It seems, therefore, that leisure activities normal to the man of the world were deliberately ruled out by Wesley for himself, not only the frequenting of balls, the theatre, taverns, horse-races, but even coffee-houses. This would come under his strict husbandry of time — after a traffic delay he was once heard to say, "I have lost ten minutes for ever!"¹¹ He did not except reading, however, even of novels and plays, from which he frequently quoted, though occasionally in expurgated or garbled versions. His claim that he was *homo unius libri* — a man of one book, the Bible — was never meant to exclude the thousand and one which for him *illuminated* the Bible.¹² Indeed, for Wesley reading was the one normal leisure occupation which he never forsook and never intended to forsake, and he extended his leisure for this in some unusual ways. On December 18, 1765, Wesley had a serious riding accident in London, which hampered his travel for months, and prompted a wealthy young

admirer, Margaret Lewen, to give him "a chaise and a pair of horses".¹³ This immeasurably enriched his leisure for reading, and even for some writing. Over the years, however, he had tried several expedients for saving both money and time for reading, during his constant travels:

For several years, while my brother and I travelled on foot, our manner was for him that walked behind to read aloud some book of history, poetry, or philosophy. Afterwards for many years (as my time at home was spent mostly in writing) it was my custom to read things of a lighter nature chiefly when I was on horseback. Of late years, since a friend gave me a chaise, I have read them in my carriage.¹⁴

Nor, by Wesley's definition of "leisure", could "good works" possibly be exempted. Adequately to fill up his spare time he launched many forms of Methodist activity for those on the forgotten fringes of society, activities that might fully have swallowed up all the leisure time of many a less vital man: homes for widows and orphans; schools for children of the underclass; a lending society to salvage those who might in those harsh days have been thrown into prison for a paltry debt; he supervised the distribution of donations from the well-to-do; organized a team of sick-visitors for the Methodists, the first free medical clinic in London; he made visits to hospitals and workhouses, to prisons, even to Bethlehem Hospital (shortened to Bedlam), the lunatic asylum within hearing distance of his Foundery headquarters.

Mind you, he was so far from being a "workaholic" that he warned his itinerants not to work so hard that too soon they would need pensioning off as "worn-out preachers".¹⁵ He urged them, "Take care you do not preach more than your health allows. You must not offer murder for sacrifice."¹⁶ He was deeply concerned, indeed, about the quality of human life in general, even if it could only be of a somewhat lower quality than his own, so that he waged a strenuous campaign to prevent the rash of suicides in that hurried, worried world.¹⁷

Quite early in his ministry, however, Wesley had begun to economize both in his occasional use of coffee and his lavish use of tea¹⁸, and had discovered an alternative source both for newspapers, magazines, books, and accommodation in general, by accepting the ready, even eager hospitality of his many friends. This also furnished a very important element in the fullest dedication of his pen to the service of God, for leisure time and a suitable retreat away from the bustle of administration was a rare and precious commodity. He and his brother Charles between them published some four hundred and fifty items, large and small, and John Wesley especially came to rely on friendly homes as the favoured milieu for employing his literary leisure to the glory of God. Most of the remainder of this paper will be devoted to introducing some of these

part-time offices and their published fruits. We do not forget, of course, that these same friendly homes were also used for that other important "leisure" ministry, the writing of many thousands of letters, both pastoral and administrative.¹⁹ We concentrate mainly, however, on published works, and introduce them in a semblance of an order which is not easily discerned, because the nature of our presentation can neither be alphabetical nor chronological, whether by homes or by works.

One of these early homes was that of the evangelical Vicar of Bexley, the Rev. Henry Piers (1694-1770), who was greatly interested in Wesley's unfulfilled idea of publishing something on Luther's commentary on Galatians. He offered Wesley "a cup of cold water" if he could spare a day or two's leisure *en route* to Bristol. Wesley gratefully accepted, noting in his *Journal*:

Wanting a little time for retirement, which it was almost impossible for me to have in London, I went to Mr. Piers's at Bexley; where, in the mornings and evenings, I expounded the Sermon on the Mount, and had leisure during the rest of the day for business of other kinds.²⁰

His diary shows that on this as on many other visits to many other friends when the evidence of the diary is no longer available, the "business of other kinds" included the writing up of his *Journal*.

Wesley was also a frequent visitor at Shoreham, to whose vicar, the Rev. Vincent Perronet (1693-1785), Piers introduced him on August 14, 1744, and who became known as the grandfather of Methodism.²¹ Wesley added this comment in his *Journal*: "I hope to have cause of blessing God for ever for the acquaintance begun this day." *Journal* entries followed such as that of Monday, December 20, 1749, "I rode to Mr. Perronet's, at Shoreham, that I might be at leisure to write." The *Journal*, however, records more family funerals than new literary work at Shoreham. On December 9, 1784, Wesley paid his last visit, and "found the venerable man . . . ninety-one years of age, calmly waiting for the conclusion of a good warfare."

For London and the surrounding area Wesley frequently recorded incidents of the creative hospitality of his friends. On Sunday, February 10, 1751, he damaged his ankle in slipping on the ice, and was taken to the home of a widow, Mrs. Mary Vazeille, in Threadneedle Street. Here he "spent the remainder of the week, partly in prayer, reading, and conversation, partly in writing an *Hebrew Grammar* and *Lessons for Children*". (It is well known that this convalescence speedily led to his marriage to the widow, and eventually to her bitter but fruitless attempts to cut him off from all friendly female companionship.)

Frequently it is impossible to identify Wesley's hosts, especially during the forty middle years when no diary is available. After preaching at Deptford on

Tuesday, October 30, 1759, he spent the following two days with an unknown friend there, "revising and perfecting a Treatise on Electricity", dating the preface November 1. This he entitled *The Desideratum; or Electricity made plain and useful* — the second English treatise on electrotherapy. On Monday, November 12, 1764, he notes: "I retired to Hoxton, to answer what was personal in the letters ascribed to Mr. Hervey." This reply to the Calvinistic *Eleven Letters* was published with the title, *An Answer to all that is Material in Letters just published under the name of the Reverend Mr. Hervey*. Again we do not know for a certainty the identity of Wesley's host for this unpleasant literary task, but it may well have been the Methodist baker, Thomas Marriott.

Much more typical were his literary retirements at Newington and Lewisham in the London area, with two laymen and their families. In his *Journal* for Monday, November 25, 1745, Wesley recorded: "I retired to Newington, in order to finish the *Farther Appeal*, the state of the public affairs loudly demanding that whatever was done should be done quickly." (It was the eve of the '45 Rebellion.) Speedily it was in the press, and on the twenty-eighth he added still another smaller item to his list of works for speedy publication, *A Word to a Drunkard*. Although as frequently he does not mention his host, the evidence seems clear that it was Charles Greenwood, an upholsterer of Rood Lane, whose family had been pioneer members of the Foundery, and who himself became one of the first trustees of Wesley's Chapel in City Road.²² Under the same roof of Greenwood's widow he prepared much of the biography of John Fletcher — in the same home where Fletcher himself had spent a long convalescence in 1776-77. On September 25, 1786, at 83, Wesley wrote:

I now applied myself in earnest to the writing of Mr. Fletcher's *Life*. . . . To this I dedicated all the time I could spare till November, from five in the morning till eight at night. These are my studying hours; I cannot write longer in a day without hurting my eyes.²³

Occasionally one or two days at Newington were paired with a short period at Lewisham, as Wesley noted on Friday, October 9, 1747: "The former part of the next week, and of some others, I spent at Newington and Lewisham in writing." The records indicate that many more literary works were nurtured in the home of the banker Ebenezer Blackwell and his family at Lewisham than in Newington. On Monday, December 15, 1746, Wesley wrote: "Most of this week I spent at Lewisham in writing *Lessons for Children*, consisting of the most practical Scriptures, with a very few short explanatory notes" — a very practical educational and devotional instrument which he published in four separate parts. (The first was prepared in his future wife's home in Threadneedle Street, as noted above; this reference is the second.) Wesley's *Journal* for November 16, 1761, reads, "I retired to Lewisham, having many things to

write." Only one was named (on the twenty-first), "Farther Thoughts on Christian Perfection", but a stream of them followed over succeeding years: an answer to Dr. Horne's "Sermon on Justification by Works" (1762), the preparation of his own sermon before the Society for the Reformation of Manners (1763), a sermon *On Sin in Believers* (1764) — "in order to remove a mistake which some were labouring to propagate, that there is no sin in any that are justified" — and finishing the notes on the book of Job for the *Explanatory Notes upon the Old Testament* (1765). At Lewisham he prepared his published memorial sermon on the death of George Whitefield (1770). There also he wrote the official sermon "for the benefit of the Humane Society, instituted (in 1774) for the sake of those who seem to be drowned, strangled, or killed by any sudden stroke". On Wednesday, July 1782 he wrote:

My brother and I paid our last visit to Lewisham, and spent a few pensive hours with the relict of our good friend Mr. Blackwell [his second wife] . . . This has been my place of retirement when I could spare two or three days from London. In that time first Mrs. Sparrow went to rest, then Mrs. Dewall, then good Mrs. Blackwell, now Mr. Blackwell himself.

In a measure Lewisham was replaced by 25 Highbury Place, Islington, the home of John Horton, drysalter (or dealer in varied chemical products), who was a member of the Common Council of London, and one of Wesley's executors. In 1780 Wesley had married him to Mary Durbin, daughter of a prominent Bristol chemist. One of the major literary chores which occupied Wesley's "leisure" hours over the best part of a week, mainly at Highbury Place, was preparing the multitudinous errata for the first eight volumes of his *Arminian Magazine*, which appeared in a closely-printed seven-page supplement.²⁴ On Monday, July 21, 1788, he recorded: "I retired to Highbury Place, and spent the residue of the week in answering letters, revising papers, and preparing for the Conference." The phrase about "revising papers" referred in part to a critique of the poetical manuscripts of Walter Churchey, whose publication in a quarto volume Wesley eventually supervised. Of one lengthy poem he wrote telling Churchey, "The sense is so much crowded that it is not easy to be understood", but sugared this pill by acknowledging that "some of the shorter copies are good sense and good poetry." Wesley went on to describe the literary remains of Charles Wesley, who had died four months earlier: "My brother has left a translation of the Book of Psalms, and verses enough to make up at least six volumes in duodecimo."²⁵ His diary shows that on the Friday evening he began the mammoth task of revising some of Charles's verses for publication in the *Arminian Magazine*. On Tuesday, January 6, 1789, he again "retired to Highbury Place, and on Thursday the 8th to Peckham" for two days each, when he revised a seven-page catalogue of his 265 publications still on sale, added a codicil disposing of the proceeds from the sale of his works, and

wrote up his current *Journal*.

It was to be expected that Wesley would gravitate also to a series of favourite literary retreats away from London. Although there were many exceptions, almost every year was divided into two sections, that concentrating on the London area, and that developing an itinerary outside London during the months when extended travel was practicable, if not really comfortable. This usually incorporated a biennial tour of Ireland, and even two brief tours in Holland (June 12-July 4, 1783 and August 9-September 3, 1786), and one in the Channel Isles (August 14-September 7, 1787). Each of these could accurately have been described as having some evangelical purpose — like his brief visit to the Scilly Isles, September 13-15, 1743 — yet more truly they were leisure activities, religious sightseeing tours rather than anything else, spiced with a little seasickness but hardly any literary activity, except on his journal and his magazine. On his second trip to Holland, however, he took Fletcher's *Life* with him, and noted on August 15, 1786: "Making the experiment when we took boat, I found I could write as well in the boat as in my study; so from this hour I continued writing whenever I was on board."

His British itineraries, throughout most of England, Scotland, Wales, and an undivided Ireland, were quite clearly working occasions, and similar patterns of literary retreat occasionally developed. Undoubtedly also, there was an enhanced element of leisure activity on these itineraries, for Wesley greatly enjoyed inspecting the historic and the picturesque as an anticipated bonus of his travels, and needed little persuasion to stray off his proposed trail to visit some natural wonder, a place of popular pilgrimage, an unusual library or museum, or architectural showplace. Here again, however, he took his literary work with him, and had his favourite homes for retirement.

Bristol, of course, was his second headquarters after London, and during most years he spent two or three periods there, usually based in the New Room in the Horsefair. Kingswood School, however, on the outskirts, was really in the categories both of an educational institution to be administered and a retreat which he found congenial for more leisurely activities. In fact most of his lengthy visits there were occupied with disciplinary or spiritual problems in the school itself. It was quite natural, however, for him to note on October 30, 1749, "I retired to Kingswood to write part of the volume of sermons which I had promised to publish this winter." (This was Vol. III, which he finished on Dec. 16 in Newington.)

Wesley's most well known, lengthiest, and most fruitful retirement from his regular preaching activities also occurred on the outskirts of Bristol. It was a period of enforced leisure prescribed by the Quaker physician Dr. Fothergill. On Nov. 26, 1753, while relaxing at Lewisham, Wesley felt so ill that he wrote

his own epitaph, as having "died of a consumption", and left the cosy warmth of Lewisham for the bleak winds of the Clifton Downs. On January 6, 1754 he penned a typical preface, implying that he was at last embracing an apparently providential illness to answer a long-deferred call from God, by preparing his *Explanatory Notes upon the New Testament* — "a work which I should scarce ever have attempted had I not been so ill as not to be able to travel or preach, and yet so well as to be able to read and write".²⁶

We take a closing glance at Wesley's use of leisure moments for writing in other parts of the British Isles, turning first to Wales. On Saturday, March 24, 1750, Wesley and his party set off early in the morning to cross the Menai Strait by Moel-y-don ferry. He wrote: "We set out at five, and at six came to the sands. But the tide was in, so that we could not pass; so I sat down in a little cottage for three or four hours, and translated Aldrich's *Logic*." In this impromptu office he thus prepared a familiar Latin textbook for publication in English a few months later as the heart of Wesley's *Compendium of Logic*.

And now to Scotland, for an important article in Wesley's *Arminian Magazine*: on Saturday, May 8, 1784, Wesley paid his third visit to Grange Green, the estate of Sir Lodovick Grant, on Moray Firth. After his early morning prayers Wesley's diary shows that he began to write "Thoughts on Nervous Disorders", which he continued in the afternoon and evening, and the following day. After a preaching visit to Inverness he returned for two more sessions on May 13. On Wednesday the nineteenth he "crossed over the pleasant fertile county of Fife to Melville House, the grand and beautiful seat of Lord Leven." Here he apparently made a fair copy of "Thoughts on Nervous Disorders", which appeared in his *Arminian Magazine* for January and February, 1786, dated at the end "Melville House, May 20, 1784".

John Wesley's first visit to Ireland in 1747 encouraged him to expect great things, a hope which was not disappointed: "For natural sweetness of temper, for courtesy and hospitality, I have never seen any people like the Irish."²⁷ His biennial visit of 1765 was especially memorable because of the two weeks which he spent in Londonderry in May, and as he prepared to leave the country in July he wrote a warm and grateful farewell from Dublin to his new friends in "Derry", John Knox (from the same family as his famous namesake) and his wife. He expressed the hope that "the time will come when I shall spend a few more days with you". In their home he had begun to lay the foundation of his second largest edited work, the *Explanatory Notes upon the Old Testament*. After much cajoling by his followers, Wesley had written a lengthy preface to this work, dated Edinburgh, April 25, 1765, probably during "the few hours" which he spent with Lady Maxwell.²⁸ On "Monday the 13th [May] and the following days", with the Knoxes he "had leisure to go on with the Notes on the

Old Testament", which eventually stretched out to three quarto volumes and almost three tedious years.²⁹ The Knoxes also stabilized Methodism in Londonderry, and their son Alexander became a theological writer memorialized in *The Dictionary of National Biography*, and one of Wesley's closest friends. A collection of fifty of Wesley's letters to his "Dear Alleck" is preserved (1775-1790), bound up with the solitary one to Knox's father.

Thus we have attempted a survey of the tip of the iceberg of Wesley's creative use of leisure in the homes of a handful of his friends and followers throughout the British Isles. We cannot but be impressed by the important part which they played in his literary and therefore spiritual productivity, especially when we realize that for each person and book named ten must go unrecognized. Yet perhaps, after all, these published results do not form the greatest reward from those tireless travels depicted in the twenty-one published "extracts" from his journal, and their elucidation in the detailed diaries. Perhaps the travel itself, exhausting though it was at times, was also exhilarating, both mental sustainer and spiritual rejuvenator. It was a part — like his writing — of what he was consciously doing for the glory of God throughout his varied journeys. In their course he refreshed himself by drinking in the wonders and mysteries of God's creation, the remarkable ingenuity of the builders and reformers of his and earlier ages, the amazing resilience of the pious poor, the generosity of the dedicated well-to-do, even the cheering evidence of the statistical growth of his soul-child, Methodism.

With a childlike wonder he refused to let his travels become mechanical, to be tied down to an administrative timetable. By faith he was prepared to accept the occasional illness, the frequent weariness, the frustrations, the blows, the desertions, the apparent disasters, not as events which must simply be accepted as "the will of God", but as multiplying examples of God's providential guidance.

One example must suffice. On Monday, April 9, 1781, Wesley planned a speedy visit to his friends in Londonderry. He "hastened to Liverpool, and found a ship ready to sail". He gathered a group of six travelling companions, but they were delayed by contrary winds for three days. On May 8 he wrote explaining to Thomas Rutherford, his Assistant in Londonderry:

After tossing up and down two days and two nights in a violent storm, finding it impossible to proceed, our captain was glad to take shelter in Holyhead harbour. I believed it to be the hand of God, and was content. So I give over the hope of seeing Dublin for the present, but I do not despair of seeing Londonderry within this month, if I should find an opportunity of getting over to the Isle of Man two or three weeks hence.

Also on May 8 he wrote to Ann Tindall of Scarborough that his plans for the summer were being revised by the hand of God, and that he might after all be

seeing the north of Yorkshire, because "the storm beat us back from Ireland." He continued:

My next point is, if God permit, to visit the Isle of Man. But which way I shall afterwards steer my course I am not yet determined. It may be I shall cross over to the North of Ireland. But I cannot fix upon anything till I see the openings of Providence.

Eventually June also passed by with frustrated hopes of visiting Londonderry, and he wrote again to Rutherford, on July 4: "I got half-way again, as far as the Isle of Man, but I could get no further. What he doth we know not now, but we shall know hereafter." Perhaps he already had an inkling that God was overruling John Wesley's plans for a good purpose, for on June 8 he had entered in his journal his assessment of by far the longest tour in the Isle of Man that he ever undertook: "Having now visited the island round, east, south, north, and west, I was thoroughly convinced that we have no such circuit as this, either in England, Scotland, or Ireland."

Doubtless John Wesley eventually considered this series of frustrations of events which he had planned for the greater glory of God as another of those openings of providence about which he had written to Ann Tindall and to Thomas Rutherford. To Wesley working for God and dedicating leisure to God were two sides of the same coin, which needed spending unconditionally in the service of God. And in the long run, the most fruitful work, the most satisfying leisure, to Wesley was to labour for God's glory, but then to relax contentedly in the providential care of the All-wise Father of all men.

Notes

1. Apparently written May 22, 1727. See John Wesley, *Works*, Oxford Edition, *Letters, 1721-1739*, ed. Frank Baker, Vol. 25 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1980), 223.
2. John Wesley, *Arminian Magazine*, III (London: Paramore, 1780), 102.
3. John Wesley, *A Short Account of the School in Kingswood, near Bristol* (Bristol: Farley, 1749), 5.
4. Richard P. Heitzenrater, *The Elusive Mr. Wesley*, Vol. I (Nashville: Abingdon, 1984), esp. 51, 53-55.
5. Nathaniel Howe (Congregational minister, 1764-1837), *A Chapter of Proverbs*, quoted in Burton Stevenson, *The Home Book of Quotations*, 10th ed. (New York: Greenwich House, 1967), 1100, No. 10.

6. In a letter written to her from the letter-writing "leisure" of Lewisham, Jan. 17, 1775. (See *Proceedings of the Wesley Historical Society*, 29 [Liverpool: Tinling, 1953-54], 149-50.) This methodical use of time he had learnt at his mother's knees; her journal shows that she also would "redeem time from sleep, eating, dressing, unnecessary visits, and trifling conversation" (quoted by Elizabeth Hart, "Susanna Wesley", *Touchstone*, May 1988, 8-9).
7. To Jane Catherine March, Dec. 10, 1777. See John Wesley, *Letters*, ed. John Telford, 8 vols. (London: Epworth Press, 1931), I:292. Cf. his letters to *The Gazetteer* No. 14645, Jan. 31, 1776, and to Peard Dickinson, April 2, 1790 (the latter in Telford, *Letters*, VIII:210).
8. A.S. Turberville, *Johnson's England*, 2 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1933), I: 177-80; W.C. Sydney, *England and the English in the Eighteenth Century*, 2 vols., 2nd ed. (Edinburgh: Grant, 1891), I:185-92.
9. John Wesley, *Works*, Oxford Ed., *Letters*, 1740-1755, ed. Frank Baker (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1982), 26:148n. This volume notes his letters to *The Craftsman*, *Felix Farley's Bristol Journal*, and *The London Magazine*; there were dozens more, cf. *Letters*, 25:93-94.
10. See Wesley's chiding of Rev. Wesley Hall's use of coffee-houses, *Letters*, Oxford ed., 26:273; cf. his letter to Rev. James Hervey of Oct. 15, 1756, with its comments on Hervey's Letter 9 (see John Wesley, *Letters*, ed. Telford, III:385). Wesley's criticism spilled over into his rule against Methodists crowding into preachers' houses after service, "as into coffee-houses" (John Wesley, *Minutes of some late Conversations* [London: Hawes, 1776], Q.24, 11.)
11. Thomas Coke and Henry Moore, *The Life of . . . John Wesley* (London: Paramore, 1792), 527. Cf. his sermons in John Wesley, *Works*, Bicentennial Edition, ed. Albert C. Outler, 4 vols. (Nashville: Abingdon, 1984-1987) on "The Good Steward" ("that inestimable talent of time", 2:296-97) and ("On Redeeming the Time", 3:322-32).
12. *Sermons*, Bicentennial Ed., Preface, 1:105.
13. John Wesley, *Letters*, ed. Telford, to Charles Wesley, July 9, 1766, V: 20.
14. John Wesley, letter to the *Gazetteer*, No. 14645, Jan. 31, 1776 (cf. *Letters*, ed. Telford, VI: 203).
15. John Wesley, *Minutes of Several Conversations*, (London: n.p., 1763, ["Large" *Minutes*]), 30.
16. John Wesley, *Letters*, ed. Telford, to Christopher Hopper, Feb. 16, 1780, VI: 380.
17. Paragraph 20, page 11 in John Wesley, *Thoughts concerning the Origin of Power*, (Bristol: Pine, 1772) is devoted to this theme: "The Creator of man has the sole right to take the life which he gave."

18. John Wesley, *Journal*, 8 vols., ed. Nehemiah Curnock (Bicentenary issue, London: Epworth Press, 1938), July 6, 1746, 3:245-46.
19. John Wesley, *Letters*, Oxford Ed., 25:28-38.
20. *Ibid.*, 26:21; John Wesley, *Journal* (ed. Curnock), Sept. 22, 1740, 2:387.
21. Two of Perronet's sons were closely linked with Methodism, and to their father Wesley penned his fullest account of its character, *A Plain Account of the People called Methodists* (Dublin: Powell, 1749) — see Wesley, *The Methodist Societies: History, Nature, and Design*, Bicentennial ed., (Nashville: Abingdon, 1989), 9:252-80.
22. John Wesley, *Journal* (ed. Curnock), 6:392-93; *Arminian Magazine*, 1783, 306-09; G.T. Stevenson, *City Road Chapel* (1872), 250, 361-362; *Proceedings of the Wesleyan Historical Society* (1916), 10:84-85.
23. Wesley, *Journal* (ed. Curnock), Dec. 3, 1777; Sept. 25, 27, etc. 1786; (6: 176; 7 [with diary]: 194-202, 206, 209, 211-12, 214-23).
24. *Ibid.*, diary entries, Dec. 19-23, 26-31, 1785, Jan. 1-4, 1786 (7: 131-34).
25. *Ibid.*, July 21, 25, Dec. 10-23 (7:419-20, 452-58); cf. letter to Churchey, "Near London, July 22, 1788" (*Letters*, ed. Telford, VIII: 74-75).
26. John Rylands University Library of Manchester, *Bulletin* 71 (1989), 109-10.
27. Letter to Ebenezer Blackwell, Aug. 13, 1747 (*Letters*, Oxford ed., 26:256).
28. See his letter to her (from Londonderry), May 25, 1765 (*Letters*, ed. Telford, IV: 300).
29. Rylands Library, *Bulletin* 71 (1989), 115-18.