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Song in the Service of Faith

Hymnody: Church, Testimony, Mystagogy, in the Work of Samuel Wesley, Jr., and Charles Wesley

David H. Tripp

Samuel Wesley, Jr., tends to vanish in the bright glow of his brothers, and especially of John. When he died, he was summed up (and dismissed) by one obituarist as “brother of the Methodists,” and Augustus Hare, in his little guide to Westminster, refers briefly to the monument set up in the cloister by Dean Stanley as commemorating, not Samuel’s children, but John’s nieces and nephews.¹ Here, by way of amends, we shall suggest that Samuel taught Charles the basic techniques of verse construction, and that they shared a conviction of the power of song as apologetic and missionary instrument, even though eventual views of how this instrument is properly used, and connected views of ecclesiology, differed sharply.

Samuel’s biography does not need rehearsal here. His literary work has been concisely described and evaluated by Allen Longworth in his useful *Samuel Wesley Junior*.² Assuming what he has portrayed for us, I want to consider some questions of what we may call Samuel’s poetical “Canon,” and, firstly, his “Canon” as the list of authentic works.

The most certain Canon is the contents of *Poems on Several Occasions*, of 1736. This conventionally entitled collection³ contains what he acknowledged to be mainly of his own composition—the exceptions are all carefully identified⁴—

¹See *The Gentleman’s Magazine and Historical Chronicle*, Nov. (1739): 605: “A List of Deaths for the Year 1739: . . . 6. Rev. Mr. *Samuel Wesley*, Head Master of the Free School in Tiverton, *Devon*, noted for his Poems, and Brother to the Methodists”; Augustus J. C. Hare, (London: George Allen & Co., 5th edition, 1913), 88: “In the South Cloister . . . a gravestone marks the resting-place of little nephews and nieces of John Wesley.”

²No. 6 in the “Mini Wesley Series,” (London, Epworth Press, 1991).

³*Poems on Several Occasions*. By *Samuel Wesley*, A.M. Master of *Blundell’s School at Tiverton, Devon*. Sometime Student of *Christ Church, Oxford*; and near *Twenty Years Usher in Westminster-School*. [lines from Horace]. (London: Printed for the Author by E. Say in Warwick Lane, and sold by S. Birt at the Bible in Ave-Mary Lane, 1736). As to the conventionality of the title, a catalogue search for the surrounding decades garners more than fifty collections under the same name, including those of Lords Rochester and Roscommon.

⁴In *Notes and Queries*, 12th Series, Vol. 10, (February 4, 1922), 91, I. A. Richards had asked what was implied by of Samuel’s words, “There are a few Verses in this Collection, which the Author of the rest cannot lay claim to as his own:” “Is it known to which poems this applies, and who were the real authors?” Richards’ query does not seem to have been answered until now. Those “few Verses” are the paraphrases (Psalm 8, 13; “Hezekiah’s Thanksgiving for his Recovery from Sickness, 406), “From Martial” (49); “The Decanter; from the Greek” (56); “An Anacreontick; alter’d from Herbert” (77); “Epigram; from the Greek” (81); “On the Rose; from Anacreon” (112); “Against Life” and “For Life; from the Greek” (138, 139); “An Epigram; from the Greek” (168); “An Epigram, on the Death of a Physician: from the Greek of Theosebeia” (192); “Epigram; from the Greek” (214); “On Philip the Father of Alexander: from the Greek” (260); “Anacreontick, altered from Herbert” (274); “On the Statue of Alexander; from the Greek” and “On Xerxes; from the same” (300); “Ode upon Christ’s Crucifixion; from the Greek” (361). The Greek sources are principally in the *Anthology*.

and the arrangement also is his own, a significant fact which calls for comment shortly. The contents do not however contain all of Samuel's verse. Some he omitted; some may have been composed later than this collection, for we have no reason to assume that he dried up for the last three years of his life. Some of the omitted or later material appears in the 1743 second edition of *Poems on Several Occasions*, edited by an anonymous friend (with an affectionate memoir), published in Cambridge.⁵ A lot more material, particularly political satire and personal gifts to friends on the occasion of marriages, was included in the 1862 edition,⁶ long after his political lampoons could cause embarrassment. Nor do these additions exhaust the list. Other items have surfaced since: the verses on Queen Anne's funeral, and the lines from the papers at Welbeck Abbey, home of his friend the Earl of Oxford.⁷ Nor is this certainly the end. I hope to argue elsewhere that Samuel is a candidate for the authorship of some or all of the charity hymns printed, without ascription, in John and Charles's publication, *A Collection of Psalms and Hymns*, of 1741,⁸ and also the next piece in that collection, the evening hymn, "All praise to him who dwells in bliss."

There is another sense of "Canon": the governing intent of Samuel's versifying, at least as he came to see it and judge it. In the dedication of the 1736 volume, he told his friend, the Earl of Oxford: ". . . the following Poems . . . are chiefly calculated to promote the truest Interests of Mankind, *Religion* and *Virtue* . . ."

Such an undertaking was typical of Samuel's life and commitment. In addition to his sacrificial devotion to his impoverished family—parents, siblings—we

⁵The Second Edition, with Additions, Printed by J. Bentham, Printer to the University, for J. Brotherton in Cornhill, and S. Birt in Ave-mary Lane, London.

⁶*Poems on Several Occasions. New Edition, including many pieces never before published. Edited, and illustrated with copious notes, by J. Nichols. With a life of the Author by W. Nichols* (London, 1862). The edition reviewed in the *Methodist Magazine* for December 1812 (Vol. 35, 910–917), "Printed and sold by J. Rogers 66, Red-Lion Street, Clerkenwell, and T. Blanshard, 14, City-Road [i.e., the Wesleyan Book-Steward!], Price 4s. in extra boards," is elusive.

⁷The verses on Queen Anne's funeral are cited in Arthur Penrhyn Stanley, *Historical Memorials of Westminster Abbey* (London: John Murray 1876, 4th and revised edition), 1: 230 from the *Letters of Francis Atterbury*, Vol. 2: 426; (Francis Needham, ed.): *Welbeck Miscellany No. 2: A Collection of Poems by Several Hands*, viz.: *Duke of Newcastle . . . S. Wesley, Jun. &c. Never before published* (Bungay, Suffolk, 1934), 17–19; A. S. Turberville, *A History of Welbeck Abbey and Its Owners*, Vol. One: 1558–1755 (London: Faber and Faber, 1938), 294.

⁸The charity hymns in the *Collections of Psalms and Hymns* share a common style sufficiently to indicate unity of authorship. Since the lines, "With what resembling care and love/Both worlds for us appear,/Our blessed guardians, those above—/Our benefactors here," are found in the 1712 *Account of the Charity Schools* (73; see Isabel Simral, *Reform Movements in Behalf of Children in England of the Early Nineteenth Century, and the Agents of Those Reforms*, diss. Ph.D. (New York: Columbia University, 1916), 174 n.), these pieces cannot be by Charles, but they are just within the possible range for Samuel, engaged as he was from his Oxford days with "charity hymns." Cf. Adam Clarke, *Memoirs of the Wesley Family* (New York: N. Bangs and T. Mason, 1828), 304, for a letter by Samuel from Oxford, of June 8, 1713. These data also show that the target of Blake's lampoon on charity hymns was not the work of Charles Wesley—and in Blake's own text there is no hint that Wesley was in his mind. See the questions raised by Robert Glockner, "Blake and Wesley," *Notes and Queries* CCI (December 1956), 522–524.

may note his share in the foundation of Westminster Hospital, his donations to mission work in Georgia, and his support of William Webster's apologetic enterprise, the *Weekly Miscellany*. (Indeed: note that Webster's publication finally succumbed to financial straits in 1741,⁹ two years after Samuel died).

The 1736 collection opens with the four hymns on the Trinity, which he had first written for the *Weekly Miscellany* (and which had then been pirated by the *Gentleman's Magazine*). In that position, they served to define Samuel's governing purpose. In the later editions of his poems, they were moved, together with other hymns and devotional pieces, to the end (1743) then to the middle (1862), thus altering and totally concealing the character of the poems in general and their author. It is a cause of profound regret and complaint that the second edition (probably for the sake of superficial completeness) was chosen for reproduction in microfilm as a resource for the study of English literature.

Samuel's theological program was essentially and emphatically Trinitarian. The four hymns testify to this, as do his celebrations of champions of orthodoxy in the Trinitarian controversies of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, Bishop Francis Gastrell and Dr. Robert South.¹⁰ Samuel was also reported (by Hearne) to have entered the anti-Deist, and pro-Trinitarian, lists in prose.¹¹

Bound up with this concern is his less obvious campaign against the insidious effects of the growing obsession with the pagan world and culture of Greece and Rome. Augustan "classicism" was disposed to anti-Trinitarian Deism, and also to a sub-Christian ethics, not least in attitudes to women. Samuel's *Battle of the Sexes*, in which love triumphs over both contestants and reconciles them, is clearly a corrective to the sort of exploitative and woman-debasing attitude encouraged by Ovid's *Ars amatoria*.¹² In another piece, Samuel explicitly warns

⁹Webster's own bitter account of the demise of his paper appeared in No. 444 of his *Weekly Miscellany*, and is quoted in *The Gentleman's Magazine and Historical Chronicle*, 9 (May 1741): 323. His obituary for Samuel (No. CCLX, for November 17, 1739, is laudatory and gracious.

¹⁰"To the Memory of the Right Rev. Francis Gastrell, D.D. late Lord Bishop of Chester" (125-135); "To the Memory of the Revered Dr. South" (227-233): cf. D. H. Tripp: "Notes and Queries 148: Source of a Wesley Doxology," *Proceedings of the Wesley Historical Society* 50/4 (February 1996): 157; *Notes and Queries*, No. 1506: "Samuel Wesley Jr. and Robert South," *Proceedings of the Wesley Historical Society* 51/3 (October 1997): 114.

¹¹*Remarks and Collections of Thomas Hearne*, ed., H. E. Salter, Vol. 10 (Oxford 1915), 452: "Sept. 2 [1731] (Thur). . . Mr. Samuel Wesley, Head Usher of Westminster School, is a very ingenious, witty man, and famous for making English Ballads. It is he that published Nich. Stevens, late of Trin. Coll. Oxon's two deistical Letters, with Remarks on them, intit., *Two Letters from a Deist to his Friend, concerning the Truth and Propagation of Deism in opposition to Christianity*, With Remarks, Lond., 1730, 40. (I have not seen a copy of this).

¹²Cf. Allen C. Romano, "Ovid's *Ars amatoria* or the Art of Outmanoeuvring the Partner," *Latomus* 31/3 (July-September, 1972): 814-819. The whole question of gender, gender roles and relationships, was a recurrent topic of anxiety in Augustan culture and poetry. See e.g., Carolyn D. Williams, *Pope, Homer, and Marliness: Some Aspects of Eighteenth-Century Classical Learning* (London and New York: Routledge, 1993); see there 63, for discussion of Samuel Wesley, Sr.'s comments on "Virgil's manly thought"; Christa Knellwolf, *A Contradiction Still: Representations of Women in the poetry of Alexander Pope*, (Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 1998).

an intending poet, “Advice to one who was about to Write, to avoid the Immoralities of the Antient and Modern Poets” (260).

Samuel’s hymns have a clear place and function in his theological, apologetic, and didactic platform. In addition to the four hymns on the Trinity, which are patently his banner statements, we find hymns “On Easter-Day,” “For Sunday” (“The Lord of Sabbath let us praise”), and two pieces which, after Samuel’s death were pressed into service as hymns: “On the Passion of Our Saviour” (“From whence these dire Portents arise”), and “The morning flowers display their sweets.” Like other explicitly doctrinal/devotional pieces, (“On Isaiah 6. 8, occasioned by the Death of a Young Lady,” “On Humility,” “Ode on Christ’s Crucifixion,” “A Paraphrase on Psalm 8, a Pindarick Ode,” and “Hezekiah’s Thanksgiving for his Recovery from Sickness”), these compositions inculcate in the reader (or singer) orthodox belief and, secondarily, appropriate personal faith and hope and love. The considered formulations of doctrine are planned to be what a recent Austrian liturgist¹³ has described as “singable bridges to faith,” The emphasis, admittedly, is on the objective, the orthodox, the stable elements of the faith, which shape and direct emotion, but do not depend on it.

As to the hymns, so entitled, in particular: what are we to make of them? It is tempting, but erroneous, to think of them as “hymns” in our present conventional sense, as pieces for congregational rendition. Even though John Wesley, and many since, have found Samuel’s hymns suitable for such use, we are not justified in assuming that Samuel ever considered his own hymns or designed them for such a function—after all, the vast majority of liturgical hymns had been swept away by the Reformation churches. Samuel’s rebuke of Isaac Watts for “improving” the Psalms implies that he did not expect anything but Psalms, and those in a closely literal metrical version, to be sung by congregations in church. The only exceptions in statutory Anglican usage (if we except the *Gloria Patri* after psalms and canticles, which “The Order How the Psalter is appointed to be read” calls “this Hymn”) would be the “Veni, Creator Spiritus,” sung in one or other version at ordinations, and the anthem after the third collect at Morning and Evening Prayer, “in quires, and places where they sing.” “Hymns,” in Samuel’s terminology, were for private use, said or sung, alone or in the family circle. Their style is suggestive of this: there is an element of declamation in their manner, which makes them capable of recitation as easily as of being sung. The only hymns to be sung corporately and in public, in his expectation, would be the highly specialized pieces set on the lips of charity children, in orphanages or charity schools, to be performed to edify (entertain? flatter? cajole?) the kind patrons

¹³Peter Hahnen, “Singbare Brücken des Glaubens? Zur spirituellen Valenz des Neuen Geistlichen Liedes,” *Heiliger Dienst* 54/2 (2000), 118–139. Note also Paul W. Chilcote, “A Faith That Sings: The Renewing Power of Lyrical Theology,” in Paul W. Chilcote, ed., *The Wesleyan Tradition: A Paradigm for Renewal* (Nashville: Abingdon Press 2002), 148–162.

assembled to support and endorse the charity, and to be encouraged to give again, and to give more.¹⁴

The concept of “hymns,” of course, is not a simple one, nor is it distinctively Christian. Indeed, “hymns,” in their respectable sense, would be more familiar to a classically educated Englishman of Samuel’s day as a genre in pagan Greek and Latin literatures, much admired, translated and imitated in English poetry such as that of Matthew Prior,¹⁵ than as features of Christian practice: the hymns of Homer and Callimachus and Cleanthes, the hymns to Apollo and Demeter. These were to be sung, if at all, not by congregations but by select choirs or solo virtuosi, or they were meant for meditation. Some such hymns were “cultic,” framed as petitions for divine favors, others “rhapsodic,” concentrating on praise.¹⁶ Each would retell, of course, some of the “myths,” the special charter-stories, associated with the particular divinity—or the particular locality or community. In the classics-oriented society in which Samuel moved, the “hymn” genre would serve as a bridge between the Christian religion and the world of polite letters. Even hymns of explicitly Christian character were, in English literature of the time, often in prose form or in iambic pentameter blank verse, clearly not designed for singing.¹⁷ The hymns of Keach and Watts (which cannot

¹⁴On charity hymns in general, little work seems to have been done, and much of the material has been lost: cf. D. F. Foxon, *English Verse, 1701–1750*, Vol. 1: *Catalogue*, Cambridge University Press 175, 150. One example of the vital role of musical performances in maintaining charities at this period: Donald Burrow, “Handel and the Foundling Hospital,” *Music and Letters* 58/3 (July 1977): 269–284. Also: Nicholas Temperley, “The Hymn Books of the Foundling and Magdalen Hospital Chapels,” in David Hunter, ed., *Music Publishing and Collecting: Essays in Honor of Ronald W. Krummel* (Urbana-Champaign: Graduate School of Library and Information Science, University of Illinois, 1994), 3–37.

¹⁵See Klaus Thraede, “Hymnus,” in *Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum*, Ernst Dassmann et al., eds., Lieferung 126 (Stuttgart: Anton Hiesmann, 1993), 915–946; Rudolfus Pfeiffer, ed., *Callimachus*, Vol. 2: *Hymni et epigrammata*, (Oxonii, e typographeo Clarendoniano, 2nd ed., 1985); M. A. Harder, R. F. Regtuit, G. C. Wakker, eds., *Callimachus* [Hellenistica Groningana, I] (Groningen: Egbert Forsten, 1993) esp. Michael W. Haslam “Callimachus’ *Hymns*,” 111–126, and Mary Depew, “Mimesis and Aetiology in Callimachus’ *Hymns*,” 57–77; Reinhold Gleis, “Der Zeushymnus des Kleantes: Ansätze zu einer philosophischen Theo-Logie,” in Ludwig Hagemann, Ernst Pulsfort, eds., *Ihr alle seid aber Brüder.* *Festschrift A. Th. Loury* (Würzburg: Echter Verlag/Altenberge: Telos Verlag, 1990), 577–597; Christopher G. Brown, “Honouring the Goddess: Philicus’ Hymn to Demeter,” *Aegyptus* 70/1–2 (January–December 1990): 173–189; Dieter Kolb, *Der pythische Apollonhymnus als aitiologische Dichtung* [Beiträge zur klassischen Philologie, Heft 6] (Meisenheim am Glan: Verlag Anton Hain, 1963). For examples of English imitation and translation, see Matthew Prior, *Poems on Several Occasions*, ed., A. R. Miller (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1905), “Hymn to the Sun, set by Mr. Purcel” (1694), 22–24; “The First Hymn of Callimachus to Jupiter” (1707), 196–199; “The Second Hymn of Callimachus to Apollo” (1718), 200–204). For less respectable use of “hymn,” see e.g. Alexander Radcliffe’s *The Rambler: An Anti-Heroick Poem. Together with Some Terrestrial Hymns and Carnal Ejaculations* (London, 1682).

¹⁶On the classification of pagan hymns: Andrew M. Miller, *From Delos to Delphi: A Literary Study of the Homeric Hymn to Apollo* [Mnemosyne: Bibliotheca Classica Batava, Suppl. 91] (Leiden: E. J. Brill 1986), esp. 1–9, 118–121.

¹⁷See the prose hymns in John Norton’s *Scholar’s Vade-Mecum, or, The Serious Student’s solid and Silent Tutor, being a Translation of Marcus Antonius Flaminius out of Latin into English, With some few Alterations therein by Vaie of Essay . . .* (London: T. Sawbridge, 1674), 11–30 (Latin),

be considered in isolation from Tate and Brady's new metrical Psalter) marked a departure from much convention, and that convention remained vigorous.

But were these pieces by Samuel written to be sung? (They certainly could be, and some of them certainly were sung later, but that is another matter). Samuel sometimes wrote explicitly under the title of "song"; "A Song, to a Child of Five Years Old" (1736, 63–64); "A Song" (82, and 101); "A Wedding Song" (193–200); "The December's Day; A Song" (287–289). The hymns, though they are excellent specimens of Common Meter, and capable of carrying the established metrical Psalm tunes of that form, bear no suggestions as to tunes. There is to be traced here, I submit, an element of caution, as well as of modesty. We cannot doubt that Samuel knew the treatise by one of his heroes, Robert South, *Musica incantans*, on the dangers of music, and its ability to inflame as well as to soothe, to kill as well as to vivify: This treatise appeared both in South's Latin, and in English translation.¹⁸ At the same time, Samuel entertained a more positive notion of the mystical power of sacred song. In "The Lord of Sabbath let us praise" (st. 2, lines 7–8 in the version still extant as No. 950, set to the tune "St. Asaph", in the 1876 *Collection of Hymn for the Use of the People called Methodists, with a New Supplement*):

By hymns of praise we learn to be
Triumphant here below.

The Trinitarian hymns, in particular, though prosody and poetical elegance are not neglected (and are indeed inseparable elements and vehicles of the sense), concentrate on doctrinal precision, echoing the Anglican classics on this issue; Pearson, Stillingfleet, Bull, South.¹⁹

31–55 (English); and, for blank verse in iambic pentameter, the anonymous "Hymn to the Creator," "A Divine Rhapsody' or Morning Hymn," and "An Evening Hymn," in J. Husband, ed., *A Miscellany of Poems By several Hands* (Oxford, Lem. Lichfield, 1731) 134–140, 255–262, 266–270.

¹⁸*Musica incantans, sive Poema exprimens musicae vires, Juvenem in Insaniam adigentis et Musicae inde Periculum*, Oxonii, typis impensis G. West, 1667: and note 18: "ut . . . / Et simili arte canens, quem dimisissit ad Umbras / Cantu, illum rursus revocaret ab Umbris." The English version [by Dr. Gibbs?]: *Musica Incantans or, The Power of Music; a Poem. Written Originally in Latin by Dr. South. Translated; with a Preface concerning the Natural Effects of Musick upon the Mind* (London: Printed for William Turner at the Angel in Lincolns-Inn Bar Gate, 1700). It does not in its title mention the particular danger to young people.

¹⁹John Pearson: see *An Exposition of the Creed* (London: William Tegg and Co., 1874), 42–3, William Bull: see especially "The Catholic Doctrine concerning the Holy Trinity," in Robert Nelson, ed., *Some Important Points of Primitive Christianity Maintained and Defended . . . by George Bull*, A New Edition, Vol. II, (Oxford: J. Parker, 1816), 131–146; Edward Stillingfleet, *A Discourse in Vindication of the Doctrine of the Trinity: with an Answer To the Late Socinian Objections Against it from Scripture, Antiquity and Reason, and a Preface concerning the different Explications of the Trinity, and the Tendency of the present Socinian Controversy* (London: Printed for Henry Mortlock, 1697; [facsimile edn, ed. G. A. J. Rogers, in *The Philosophy of Edward Stillingfleet*, Vol. 4 (Bristol, England, and Sterling, VA, Thoemmes Press, 2000), esp. chs. V–VII; Robert South, "The Doctrine of the Blessed Trinity Asserted" [between 1663 and 1670], in *Sermons on Several Occasions*, a new edition, Vol. II (New York: Clark, Austin & Smith, 1856), 174–191; Francis Gastrell, *Some Considerations Concerning the Trinity: And the Ways of Managing that Controversie. The Second Edition. Together With a Defence of them Against the Objections of the Dean of S. Pauls* (London: Printed for T. Bennet, 1698.

When we turn to Charles, and to the sudden inception of his hymn-writing in 1738, we find both continuity and discontinuity. In particular, we find continuity in Trinitarian exactitude. Robin Leaver has shown in a fascinating article²⁰ how Samuel's "Hymn to God the Holy Trinity, Three Persons and One God," was successively transformed into Charles's "Hail, holy, holy, Lord, / Whom One in Three we know; / By all thy heavenly host adored, / By all thy church below," which deserves to be a Methodist manifesto.²¹ But there is continuity in the area of style and technique on a wider basis.

Stylistic and technical similarity between or among poets of the same period is of course entirely to be expected. However, we may go further, and state, as of extreme probability, that Samuel, Charles's teacher at Westminster, taught the younger brother even more about verse technique than he would have learned from their father. Westminster, in a deliberately fostered tradition shared with the kindred foundations of Christ Church, Oxford, went in for versification, in English, Greek and Latin even more than was usual in English classical education of the time—so much so that John Locke, himself an "old Westminster," complained of this in vigorous terms:²²

If these may be any reasons against children's making *Latin* themes at school, I have much more to say, and of more weight, against their making *verses*; verses of any sort; for if he has no genius to *poetry*, 'tis the most unreasonable thing in the world to torment a child and waste his time about that which can never *succeed*; and if he have a poetick vein, 'tis to me the strangest thing in the world that the father should desire or suffer it to be cherished or improved. Methinks the parents should labour to have it stifled and suppressed as much as may be; and I know not what reason a father can have to wish his son a poet, who does not desire to have him bid defiance to all other callings and business; which is not yet the worst of the case; for if he proves a successful rhymers, and gets once the reputation of a wit, I desire it may be considered what company and places he is likely to spend his time in, nay, and estate too; for it is very seldom seen, that any one discovers mines of gold or silver in *Parnassus*. 'Tis a pleasant air, and a barren soil; and there are very few instances of those who have added to their patrimony by any thing that they have reaped from thence. . . Poetry and gaming, which usually go together, are alike in this too, that they seldom bring any advantage but to those who have nothing else to live on. . . . But yet, if any one should think poetry a desirable quality in his son, and that the study of it would raise his fancy and parts, he must needs yet

²⁰Robin A. Leaver, "Charles Wesley and Anglicanism," in S T Kimbrough, Jr., ed., *Charles Wesley: Poet and Theologian* (Nashville: Kingswood Books/Abingdon, 1992), 157–175, see 171 (Fig. 1).

²¹On the issue of hymns, specifically Trinitarian hymns, as a doctrinal *Wundepunkt*, and on the need for a Methodist manifesto; D. H. Tripp, "Hymnody and Liturgical Theology: Hymns as an Index of the Trinitarian Character of Worship in Some Western Christian Traditions," in Alasdair I. Heron, ed., *The Forgotten Trinity, 3: A Selection of Papers presented to the BCC Study Commission on Trinitarian Doctrine Today* (London: British Council of Churches/Council of Churches in Britain and Ireland, 1991), 63–88; "Methodism's Trinitarian Hymnody: A Sampling, 1780 and 1989, and Some Questions," *Quarterly Review* 14/4 (Winter 1994): 359–385.

²²John Locke, "Some Thoughts Concerning Education," para. 174, in *The Harvard Classics*, Vol. 37: *English Philosophers of the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries: Locke, Berkeley, Hume* (New York: P. F. Collier & Son Co., 1910), 159–160.

confess, that to that end reading the excellent *Greek* and *Roman* poets is of more use than making bad verses of his own, in a language that is not his own. And he whose design it is to excel in *English* poetry, would not, I guess, think the way to it were to make his first essays in *Latin* verses.

A more positive note was struck by yet another “old Westminster,” Matthew Prior, in his “Heads for a Treatise upon Learning,”²³ in which he comments that, in the skillful poetical use of biblical allusions (which was later to characterize Samuel’s verses),

Some now Living, as Dr Atterbury, Smaldridge [*sic*], Gastrel [*sic*] have placed Texts of Scripture as advantageously, as Expert Jewellers would set precious Stones. Without degrading from Others, I think this Nicety of Judgement particularly eminent in those bred at Westminster Schole, and gained probably from their being used very Young to what Dr Sprat calls *the Genius of that Place*, which is to Verses made Extempore, and Declamations composed in very few hours, in which sort of Exercises when Children they take from thence so ever they can, which when Men they repay with great interest from the abundance of their own thoughts thus exercised improved and dilated.

The Welbeck circle was also a Westminster circle; among the best known of the group was Vincent Bourne,²⁴ who is explicitly addressed in one of Samuel’s pieces: “To Mr Bourne, on his Marriage” (1862 edn., 400–403). If we feel that Samuel’s poetry is somewhat dry, we need to look at Bourne’s Latin verses: on the rainbow, on the conduction of sound through air, on magnetism, on the death of a dog—but we note also that his first piece is entitled, “Ordo mundi probat Deum,” “The order of the world is a proof of God” (with due acknowledgments, of course, to Newton).

Charles is an acknowledged master of prosody.²⁵ It is no depreciation of his gifts to urge that Samuel taught him the basics of verse construction, in a variety of meters, including singable Common Meter (carefully, even remarkably, free

²³H. Bunker Wright, Monroe K. Spears, eds., *The Literary Works of Matthew Prior*, Vol. I (Oxford: Clarendon Press 1959), 582; on 583, he remarks, “as to Poetry, I mean the writing of Verses, . . . I would advise no Man to attempt it except he cannot help it.”

²⁴On the Welbeck circle, cf. Needham and Turberville, as in n. 7; Vincent Bourne, *Carmina quadragesimalia Cantabrigiensia* (Londini: typis J. Redmayne, 1729); Charles Lamb, “The Latin Poems of Vincent Bourne” (1831), in Robert Lynd, William MacDonald, eds., *The Collected Essays of Charles Lamb*, Vol. Two, *Miscellaneous Essays and Sketches* (London & Toronto: J. M. Dent, New York: E. P. Dutton, 1929), 345–349, 417.

²⁵Cf. Robert Newton Flew, *The Hymns of Charles Wesley: A Study of their Structure* (London: Epworth Press, 1953); Frank Baker, *Charles Wesley’s Verse: An Introduction*, esp the 2nd edn. (London: Epworth Press, 1988); Donald Davie, *Purity of Diction in English Verse* (London: Chatto & Windus, 1956), 70–81; Erika Mayer, *Charles Wesley’s Hymnen: Eine Untersuchung und literarische Würdigung*, diss. (Tübingen, 1957); James Dale, *The Theological and Literary Qualities of the Poetry of Charles Wesley in Relation to the Standards of his Age*, diss. (Cambridge, 1960); Jean Pierre Van Noppen, “Le cantique méthodiste: une approche historique et stylistique,” *Bulletin-chronique de la Société Royale d’histoire du Protestantisme Belge*, No. 133 (Décembre 1990): 29–42. Charles rapidly went beyond Samuel’s repertoire of meters, partly under the influence of German hymns and their music. For example, 2 sixes and 4 sevens (as in “O Filial Deity,” set to “Irene” in the 1876 version, *Collection of Hymns for the Use of the People called Methodists. With a New Supplement. Edition with Tunes* (London: Wesleyan Conference Office, 1877), at No. 193. For one

from *enjambement*), especially since Charles went on to explore and adopt and adapt numerous other metrical devices. We are ill-advised to under-value the discipline of rhyme and meter²⁶—or, we may add, grammar, syntax and terminological exactitude! After all, we “use no word but in a fixed and determinate sense.” Further, however true it may be that “the true spirit of poetry. . . cannot be acquired by art and labour, but must be the gift of nature,”²⁷ that gift of nature requires immense application. This at least was maintained at length by Nicholas Boileau-Despréaux, in his *Art poétique* of 1667,²⁸ a work as to the influence of which on the Wesleys has yet, I think, to be investigated.

Equally well known is Charles’s strictness, on a par with that of Samuel, in his profession of Trinitarian orthodoxy.²⁹ The point of departure from Samuel is his use of hymns in pastoral care, for the leading of seekers into faith, and in the mutual encouragement of believers. Here is a directness of inter-personal action, we might go so far as to say, intrusiveness, which was unthinkable in Samuel.

In Charles Wesley’s Journal,³⁰ between January 1737 and August 1739, 77 references to singing are to be found, in all but a few of which Charles himself figures

view of poetic technique certainly available to Samuel Jr., see Jonathan Swift’s 1733 *On Poetry: a Rhapsody*, as (e.g.) in Miriam Kosh Starkman, ed., *Swift: Gulliver’s Travels and Other Writings* (New York, Toronto, London: Bantam Books 1962), 323–345, esp. 325: “The Muse invoked, sit down to write;/Blot out, correct, insert, refine./Enlarge, diminish, interline;/Be mindful, when invention fails;/To scratch your head, and bite your nails.” The whole question of the mutual generation of meters and tunes is discussed by Reginald Fuller in *Professors & Gods: Last Oxford Lectures on Poetry* (London: André Deutsch, 1973), ch. 5; the topic is yet to be fully explored with reference to Charles Wesley. One small attempt in this matter: “Some Vicissitudes of the Covenant Hymn,” by D. H. Tripp, *Proceedings of the Wesley Historical Society*, 49/1 (February 1993): 18–21.

²⁶Cf. [Sir] Herbert Read, *The Meaning of Art* (London, Penguin Books / Faber and Faber, 1949), 30–31: “The work of art is in some sense a liberation of the personality; normally our feelings are inhibited and repressed. We contemplate a work of art, and immediately there is a release; and not only a release—sympathy is a release of feelings—but also a heightening, a tautening, a sublimation. Here is the essential difference between art and sentimentality; sentimentality is a release, but also a loosening, a relaxing of the emotions; art is a release, but also a bracing. Art is the economy of feeling; it is emotion cultivating good form.” Consider also Mark W. Booth’s analysis of “Love divine, all loves excell’g,” in *The Experience of Songs* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1981), ch. 7.

²⁷From John Wesley’s Preface to the 1780 *Collection of Hymns for the Use of the People Called Methodists*, para. 6.

²⁸[Nicholas] Boileau Despréaux, “L’art poétique,” in *Oeuvres Poétiques . . . avec un nouveau commentaire*, ed. M. Amar (Paris: Librairie classique de L. Hachette 1842), 171–252.

²⁹On the Trinitarian faith as central to Charles Wesley: Wilma Jean Quantrille, *The Triune God in the Hymns of Charles Wesley*, diss. (Madison, NJ: Drew University, 1989); Harry E. Bryant, “Trinity and Hymnody: The Doctrine of the Trinity in the Hymns of Charles Wesley,” *Wesleyan Theological Journal* 25/2 (Fall 1996): 64–73; A. M. Allchin, “The Trinity in the Teaching of Charles Wesley. A Study in Eighteenth-Century Orthodoxy,” *Proceedings of the Charles Wesley Society* 4 (1997): 69–84; and cf. note 21.

³⁰Using John Telford, ed., *The Journal of the Rev. Charles Wesley M.A. sometime Student of Christ Church, Oxford: The Early Journal, 1736–1739* (London: Robert Culley [“The Finsbury Library”], 1909). We note the limitations of this edition: cf. Frank Baker, “Charles Wesley’s Correspondence,” *The Charles Wesley Society Newsletter* 3/1 (January 1993): 8–11. Most of the references to singing and music in Charles’s Journal, from 1736 to 1754 are set out in Carlton F. Young, *Music of the Heart: John and Charles Wesley on Music and Musicians. An Anthology*, (Carol Stream, IL: Hope Publishing Co., 1995), 122–152.

as singer. This marks a startling departure from previous events and topics in the *Journal*; the mere fact that previous entries do not provide natural settings for the mention of song is no sufficient explanation. The place of song in his record marks a new stage in his personal development. On January 23rd, 1737, he attended a Moravian service (*Journal*, 111); he gives no details, but thought himself “in a quire of angels.” Was this his first introduction to the introspective hymnody of the *Unitas Fratrum*? A Moravian service would of course not be, in Charles’s understanding, a service of “the Church,” but the moment would exemplify for him the power of song in a religious society characterized by emphasis on salvation by faith, and on the quest which was now beginning to absorb him. Consistent with such a reading is the fact that, a year later, singing becomes, with apparent suddenness, integral to this quest of his, as it then becomes integral to his experience of and testimony to faith.

On the most obvious level, singing is, and expresses, intense emotion, whether in solitude or in fellowship: February 18, April 26, June 2 and 6 and 7 and 8 and 12 and 26, July 1 and 2, August 12 and 18 and 19, September 27 and December 23, 1738; January 27, March 25, April 27, May 27, June 16 and August 21, 1739.

Particularly interesting are the scenes where singing is an act of fellowship, and of shared spiritual quest. On January 5, 1738 (132) Charles is with Henry Piers, Vicar of Bexley, who “delighted in every opportunity of conversing, singing, and praying with us” On February 18 (133–134), at Stanton Harcourt, he, John Gambold and his wife and “my brother” (I assume, John) “prayed and sang together.” April 26th (137) finds him in a meeting at Blendon, where “we sang, and fell into a dispute whether conversion was gradual or instantaneous;” which suggests that some at least of their singing was petition for converting faith. April 26th (138), however, finds him back with Piers, “in singing, and reading, and mutual encouragement.”

The best known passages of Charles’s *Journal* record and interpret the crucial transitions of May, 1738. On May 13 (141–142) “I waked without Christ, yet still desirous of finding Him. . . . The afternoon I spent with my friends, in mutual exhortation to wait patiently for the Lord in prayer and reading. At night my brother came, exceeding heavy. I forced him (as he has often forced me) to sing an hymn to Christ, and almost thought He would come while we were singing: assured that He would come quickly.” “Forced”? “Often”? How often? And always the same hymn? On this occasion, which hymn? One obvious candidate is the translation (once attributed to John, more recently to John Byrom) of Antoinette Bourignon’s “Venez, Jésus, mon salutaire”:

Come, Saviour Jesus, from above,
Assist me with Thy heavenly grace
Empty my heart of earthly love,
And for Thyself prepare the place.³¹

³¹If the translation were John’s, it would seem to date from the Georgia period; the terms of the English version would be entirely apt to his emotional troubles there.

On the Feast of Pentecost, May 21st (146), “I waked in hope and expectation of His coming. At nine my brother and some friends came, and sang an hymn to the Holy Ghost. My comfort and hope were greatly increased. In about half an hour they went: I betook myself to prayer; the substance as follows; ‘O Jesus, Thou hast said, “I will come unto you”; Thou hast said, “I will send the Comforter unto you;” Thou hast said, “My Father and I will come unto you, and make our abode with you.” Thou art God who canst not lie; I will rely upon Thy most true promise; accomplish it in Thy time and manner.’” “An hymn to the Holy Ghost”? Samuel’s?—not very probable. But not impossible. “Lord, we believe to us and ours / The apostolic promise given . . . Come, Holy Ghost, and fill the place” (John’s adaptation from Henry More’s *Divine Dialogues*) is thinkable, despite its later dates of publication. That night, Charles heard, in the voice of a woman of their circle, the healing words of Christ. The next few days moved with great speed. On the 22nd (150), in the evening, he and John “sang and prayed again,” Charles feeling a special confidence in intercession, even without a prescribed liturgy: one of the themes of intercession we must take to be for John’s conversion. On the next day (May 23rd, 151–152), “I waked under the protection of Christ, and gave myself up, soul and body, to Him. At nine I began an hymn upon my conversion, but was persuaded to break off for fear of pride. Mr. Bray coming, encouraged me to proceed in spite of Satan. I prayed Christ to stand by me, and finished the hymn. . . . In His name, therefore, and through His strength, I will perform my vows unto the Lord, of not hiding His righteousness within my heart, if it should ever please Him to place it there.”

Another person’s quest occupied Charles’s attention on May 24th (152): “I was much pleased today at the sight of Mr. Ainsworth, a little child, full of grief, and fears, and love. At our repeating the line of the hymn, ‘Now descend, and shake the earth,’³² he fell down as if in an agony. I found a general delight in their singing, but little attention: yet was not disquieted.” Several things are going on here: Charles expects the singing to grasp and lead and strengthen him, but it is more important that another should be moved toward conversion by this means. The same day, after an afternoon (152–153) spent “in prayer, singing, and conference,” brought John that night (153) to him, with the news, “I believe;” “We sang the hymn with great joy, and parted with prayer.” “The hymn” has of course been generally judged to be “Where shall my wondering soul begin,” in which

³²“Now descend and shake the earth” is the opening line of stanza 8 in *Hymn for Whitsuntide*, “Granted is the Saviour’s prayer,” as it was to appear in the 1739 *Hymns and Sacred Poems*. There is a serious case for this being the hymn written on May 21, and sung with John on May: see Peter W. Grant, “The Wesleys’ Conversion Hymn,” *Proceedings of the Wesley Historical Society* 35/7 (September 1966): 161–164. The full text is conveniently available, with judicious comments, in John R. Tyson, ed., *Charles Wesley: A Reader* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press 1989), 104–105 and 111. The verse beginning with this line has been restored in the *British Methodist Hymns and Psalms*.

the resolve not to hide God's righteousness in the heart is mentioned, although "Granted is the Saviour's prayer" is also a respectable candidate.

The personal element in these passages and the hymns related to them has led some commentators³³ to see all of Charles's hymns as radically autobiographical— with the implied criticism that they are both egocentric and irrationally concerned to make everyone feel as Charles feels. We note, however, that his hymns of Christian experience are not only about himself, nor offering himself as a model, but take Scripture ideas and examples and terms as the norm and are designed to provoke hearers and singers, including himself, to move into the progressive life of faith. In this early period, 1738–1739, the emphasis is on the initial stage, the surrender of faith, itself a gift of the Holy Spirit (as in John's "Standard Sermon" I, on Ephesians 2:8–9).

Hymn-singing becomes an instrument for, and not simply a reflection of, (a) summoning people to seek faith, and (b) as a means for their entering upon faith, (c) for rejoicing over new believers, (d) for confirming them in faith. As examples of this progressive hymnic catechesis, we may choose:

(a) May 24, 1738 (152): the response of Mr. Ainsworth (already noted) to "Now descend, and shake the earth," from "Granted is the Saviour's prayer";

June 16, 1738 (170), Jack Delamotte recalls that "in singing, 'Who for me, for me, hast died'" [from "O filial Deity"³⁴] he found the words sink into his soul."

August 21, 1739 (251): singing strikes a drunken servant; August 22, 1739 (251): poor Robin is affected by "'Tis mercy all, It found it me" (from "And can it be?").

(b) June 28, 1738 (177): "I went to Mr Sims's, in expectation of Christ. Several of our friends were providentially brought thither. We joined in singing and prayer. The last time we prayed, I could not leave off, but was still forced to go on. I rose at last, and saw Mr. Chapman still kneeling. I opened the Book, and read aloud, 'And behold, a woman, which had been diseased with an issue of blood . . . made whole from that hour.' My heart burned within me while I was reading: at the same time heard him cry out, with great struggling, 'I do believe'."

June 29, 1738 (179): Mrs Claggett agrees to sing and pray, and is confirmed in faith;

July 10, 1738 (186): "We sang, and pleaded the promises," with the result that Margaret Beutiman "received the atonement, and professed her faith without wavering;" and "while we were singing the hymn to the Father," Mrs Storer "did find the rest she sighed after."

July 22, 1738 (195): "In singing the hymn to the Father, our poor friend was quite overpowered, and even compelled to believe."

³³Cf. Madeleine Powell Marshall and Janet M. Todd, in *English Congregational Hymns in the Eighteenth Century* (Lexington, KY: University Press of Kentucky 1982), ch. 3, *passim*.

³⁴On the meter of "O filial Deity," cf. n. 25

August 27, 1739 (256): "We prayed and sang alternately, till faith came. God blew with His wind, and the waters flowed. He struck the hard rock, and the waters gushed out, and the poor sinner, with joy and astonishment, believed the Son of God loved him, and gave Himself for him."

(c) July 16, 1738 (190): at Mrs. Claggett's house, they "sang, rejoiced, and gave thanks, in behalf of both the maids now added to the church by true divine faith."

August 31, 1738 (202): "We sang and rejoiced over Mrs. Platt, now believing."

September 24, 1738 (204): They sing and rejoice at two houses, at one, for a younger woman, "to whom faith had come by hearing."

September 27, 1738 (204–205): With a fellow traveler, Charles sings "Salvation by Faith" and "Faith in Christ," and they sing and shout all the way to Oxford.

December 19, 1738 (216): After singing frequently with Mr. Stonehouse (August 15, November 11 and 16), Charles now sings with him again, and Stonehouse now says he believes.

February 18, 1739 (222), "We sang, rejoiced, gave thanks" for Mrs Hankinson, now believing.

February 19, 1739 (222): "We sang and prayed" over Anne Dodd.

(d) June 12, 1738 (167–168): Mrs. Piers has always doubted being forgiven, but is now sure, and Mrs. Searl, under strong temptation, is defended by the Saviour's Name, and therefore "We parted in a triumphant hymn."

June 25, 1738 (174): Both Charles and Piers sing, for their encouragement,

Shall I, for fear of feeble man,
Thy Spirit's course in me restrain?

June 29, 1738 (179): Mrs. Claggett agrees to sing and pray, and to read the sermon (John's, "Salvation by Faith"), and is confirmed in faith;

July 2, 1738 (181–182): Charles is strengthened before preaching by singing, and (182) is confirmed in faith by singing "the hymn to Christ," that is, "O filial Deity," "Who for me, for me hath died."

July 11, 1738 (188): a woman defeats temptation thus: "she flew to Him in prayer and singing," and again as she sings, "Faith's assurance, hope's increase, / All the confidence of love."

In the prison and gallows ministry (July 18 and 19, 192–3) singing figures largely, with repeated use of Samuel Wesley Sr.'s "Behold the Saviour of mankind," and *Faith in Christ*, with the concluding lines, "A guilty, weak and helpless worm, / Into thy hands I fall; / Be Thou my life, my righteousness, / My Jesus, and my all." Similarly on February 14, 1739 (221–222), "we sang *Invitation to Sinners*." Another specialized ministry is with "a poor harlot," for

whom Charles composes her own hymn (February 20, 1739, 223), which I take to be the “Hymn for the Conversion of a Common Harlot,” later to appear in the 1739 *Hymns and Sacred Poems*.³⁵ Hymns are shared in manuscript copies, transcribed by Charles on an one-to-one basis at first; though printing cannot be far behind—we find Charles doing proof-reading of hymns by Cennick.³⁶

How may we characterize this new use of hymnody, and its concomitant style? I suggest that it is a mystagogy, a means of leading the seeking soul into the mystery of grace, on the analogy of the mystagogy which led the initiands into the mysteries of the pre-Christian Hellenistic world,³⁷ and which provided the model for the instruction which explained for Christians what had happened to them in the Christian mysteries, “the awe-inspiring rites of Christian initiation”³⁸ Charles’s hymns include mystagogy in the most exact sense, as witness the *Hymns on the Lord’s Supper*, which at points take up specific liturgical passages.³⁹ Charles is also aware of moments at which the hymns and the public liturgy work in complement: on Sunday, June 11, 1738 (166), “We took coach for [apparently evening] Church. In singing, I observed [sister] Hetty join with a mixture of fear and joy. I earnestly prayed, and expected she should meet with something to confirm her in the service. Both the Psalms and lessons were full of consolation.” June 11 is the Feast of St. Barnabas, which took precedence over Trinity II, and so the lessons were Ecclesiasticus 12 and Acts 15:1–36. The Council of Jerusalem (“we believe that through the grace of the Lord Jesus Christ we shall be saved,” v. 11, and “they rejoiced for the consolation,” v. 31) matches this account, but what comfort is found in Ecclesiasticus’ dour counsel to trust virtually no-one is less obvious. The Psalms for the 11th evening of the month (LIX, LX, LXI) are not entirely empty of consolation:

³⁵The hymn “On the Conversion of a Common Harlot” is the second hymn in Part II in John and Charles Wesley’s *Hymns and Sacred Poems* (American edition, Philadelphia, Printed by Andrew and William Bradford, and sold for the Benefit of the Orphans in Georgia, 1740), 119–121. It is not impossible that the hymn composed immediately on this occasion is *Christ the Friend of Sinners* (“Where shall my wondering soul begin”), whose text includes (stz. 5), “Outcasts of Men, to You I call, / Harlots and publicans and thieves..”), and (stz. 6), “Come, all ye Magdalens in lust” This volume seems to garner the harvest of hymns from the months of burgeoning, from May, 1738.

³⁶Transcribing a hymn for Miss Crisp, January 22, 1739 (218–9); proof-reading for Cennick, July 9, 1739 (243).

³⁷Cf. Samuel Angus, *The Mystery Religions and Christianity* (London: John Murray 1925); ch. 3, Part iii; Gustav Anrich, *Das anike Mysterienwesen in seinem Einfluss auf das Christentum* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1894), 31–34.

³⁸Edward Yarnold, S.J., *The Awe-Inspiring Rites of Initiation: Baptismal Homilies of the Fourth Century* (Slough: Paulist Press, 1972).

³⁹Just as Brevint had illustrated Anglicanism in various writings from the Latin liturgy, so does Charles: his “Saviour, and can it be” is more than a paraphrase of the Prayer of Humble Access, for it has much in it of *Domine, non sum dignus . . . ut intres sub tectum meum . . .*; and “Lamb of God, whose dying love” is closer to the *Agnus Dei* than to the few related lines of *Gloria in excelsis*.

To thee with never-ceasing praise,
 O God, my strength I'll sing;
 Thou art my God, the Rock from whence
 My health and safety flow.⁴⁰

But how is Charles's new hymnody a form of mystagogy when it is not obviously integrated in this way with the public liturgy? On one level, we may see this mystagogy as leading into a liturgy within the soul; it is the inner person who becomes the sanctuary. The entry into faith is described by Charles under various formal aspects—conversion, justification, receiving the atonement, and, on several occasions as entry into the true Church.⁴¹ This leads me to suggest further that Charles is operating with an ecclesiology complementary to that of brother Samuel. Charles was as firmly insistent as Samuel on unswerving communion with the Church of England.⁴² At the same time, the Anglican Article on the nature of the Church (Article XIX) says, "The visible Church is a congregation of faithful men . . ." This allows for what has been called a "bipolar ecclesiology,"⁴³ in which the visible Church, which has to include in practice those who profess faith but have not come into faith's true potency, is paralleled by an invisible Church of the converted, of men and women who have entered into faith and its assurance.

Charles's hymnic mystagogy did not always work;⁴⁴ but—and this is of much wider than hymnological or liturgical interest—the essential technique, now transposed into the setting of class meeting encounter, survives into the norma-

⁴⁰Ps. 59, v. 17, as in Nicholas Brady, Nahum Tate, *New Version of the Psalms of David, Fitted to the Tunes Used in Churches* (Cambridge, printed at the Pitt Press by John William Parker, University Printer, MDCCCXXXIII, 113).

⁴¹Examples of "true Church," etc. language: June 27, 1738 (177): "rejoicing that God had added to His living Church seven more souls through my ministry"; July 15, 1738 (190): "now added to the Church by true divine faith"; August 15, 1739 (247): "many poor souls added to the Church." For the wider context of Charles's (and John's) ecclesiology: David Carter, "Church and praise in the hymnody of the Wesleys," *Sobornost* 18/1 (1996): 30–41.

⁴²On Charles as a vehement advocate of the Church of England, see e.g., April 19, 1739.

⁴³Cf. this account of the Church in the doctrinal Minutes: Wednesday June 27th, 1744: Q. 1: What is the Church of England? A. According to the Twentieth Article, the visible Church of England is the Congregation of English believers, in which the pure word of God is preached, and the sacraments duly administered. (But the word "Church" is sometimes taken in a looser sense, for 'a congregation professing to believe.' So it is taken in the Twenty-sixth Article and in the first, second, and third Chapters of the Revelation.)" John Wesley: "Minutes of Some Late Conversations between The Rev. Mr. Wesley and Others," in [Thomas Jackson, ed.], *The Works of the Rev. John Wesley, A.M.* Vol. VIII (London: Wesleyan Conference Office, 1872), 280.

⁴⁴Failures; June 24, 1738 (172): "Faith in Christ" is refused by William Delamotte, who says God is unjust in holding sinners equal to those who labored many years; July 3, 1739 (242), the Dean of Christ Church condemns the Wesleys' singing of psalms; August 20, 1739 (250): a young woman had earlier been unable to "bear our singing"—but things changed on this day. In his study of "Ah, lovely appearance of death," in *Encounter*, 65 (Spring 1982): 57–77, Clayton McNearney shows *inter alia* how startling and even threatening a "singing priest" would be to the average English person of the eighteenth century.

tive structure of the *A Collection of Hymns for the Use of the People called Methodists* (1780). The concern for conversion survives, and is not confined to particular mention of John's or Charles's personal reminiscences.

Whether Charles's hymns will survive is impossible to say; the mystagogic role which they exemplify is certainly viable. Charles's achievement is not depreciated by acknowledging his debts, including those to Samuel, for such acknowledgment both emphasizes the continuity of the gifts of the Spirit and throws into relief the distinctive and innovative genius of the younger brother.