

## JOHN WESLEY'S EARLY SERMONS

ON 16th October 1771, John Wesley noted in his *Journal*: "I preached at South Leigh. Here it was that I preached my first sermon, six-and-forty years ago."<sup>1</sup> From this one entry, several different accounts have developed concerning Wesley's first preaching. One particular tradition interprets the account as an anniversary notice, and places the first preaching by the newly-ordained Wesley on 16th October 1723.<sup>2</sup> More recently, historians have followed the picturesque account which Nehemiah Curnock gives in his introduction to the Standard edition of John Wesley's *Journal*. Assuming that Wesley preached on the Sunday following his ordination as deacon, Curnock presents the following account of 26th September 1725:

On Sunday morning he rides alone through Oxfordshire lanes towards Witney, and, halting at the quaint old church at South Lye with frescoed walls, he presents his authority signed by Bishop Potter, and preaches, from an exquisitely neat little MS., on "Seek ye first the kingdom of God, and His righteousness."<sup>3</sup>

This rather romanticized portrayal is admittedly the result of "historical imagination", which is often the child of assumptions and the mother of legends. Curnock himself introduces his remarks by stating: "Strange to say, no record of the sermon or of its preaching appears in the *Diary*."<sup>4</sup> The diary to which he refers is the first in a series of diaries which John Wesley wrote while at Oxford. A careful examination of this first Oxford diary, however, reveals references not only to this sermon, but to most of the sermons which John Wesley wrote between 1725 and 1735. Comparison with the extant manuscripts of the sermons and other early documents allows us to make the following observations: John Wesley's "first sermon" is really his second; most of Charles Wesley's published sermons were written by John; and many of John's early sermons are abridgements from other authors. The key which unlocks this storehouse of confusing data is a listing of sermon texts and titles found in the first Oxford diary.

The five little volumes known as the "Oxford diaries" are much more than simple daily accounts of the life of their author. The daily entries usually start several pages into the volume and stop before the last page is reached. In the first diary, these daily entries are made only on the recto of the page, leaving the versos, as well as the opening and closing pages, free for additional notes.<sup>5</sup> The

<sup>1</sup> *Journal*, v, p. 432.    <sup>2</sup> *Methodist Recorder*, Winter number, 1904, pp. 46-7.

<sup>3</sup> *Journal*, i, p. 60.    <sup>4</sup> *ibid.*, i, p. 59.

<sup>5</sup> Quite frequently Wesley turned the volume round and began writing from the back page forward, resulting in a book which can be read starting from either end. Consequently the volume with the diary for 1st October 1733 to 22nd April 1734 was later numbered twice in the listing of the Colman Collection, X as a diary and XIV as "Books read during the year 1733 . . ." (the monthly and yearly summaries beginning from the back). Cf. *Proceedings*, xxi, pp. 93-7 [but note also the later Colman enumeration, *Proceedings*, xxxvii, p. 89—EDITOR]. Appreciation is extended to the Methodist Archives, London, for access to the early Methodist manuscripts in the collection.

diaries were not simply filled and then put aside. Although the daily entries in the first diary cover only the period from 25th April 1725 to 19th February 1727, the monthly financial accounts which begin from the back include September 1726 to December 1731. Other miscellaneous entries scattered throughout the blank pages contain notes dated as late as 21st June 1734.<sup>6</sup>

It is on one of these pages, the verso immediately preceding the first diary entry, that Curnock noticed "a list of texts and topics for pulpit preparation, written roughly, at various times, and here and there rudely erased."<sup>7</sup> Curnock does not mention, however, another similar list further along in the volume, opposite a page dated 24th September 1726. The particular significance of this latter list (which we shall refer to as "list A") is that many of the entries have numbers affixed to them. A careful reading of the diaries and a comparison with the manuscripts of the early sermons confirms the suspicion that here we have a listing of John Wesley's early sermons numbered in the order that he wrote them.

This numbering scheme can be verified in several ways. The manuscripts give various types of clues. The holograph of the sermon which has usually been referred to as Wesley's "first sermon"<sup>8</sup> has at the top centre of its cover in John Wesley's hand the numeral "2", which corresponds with the numbering in the diary list. On the back cover, Wesley has noted in cipher the places (and in some cases the dates) where he preached this sermon, the first mentioned being Binsey in 1725. The daily record in the diary reveals that he began working on a sermon on 7th November 1725, and finished it the morning of his preaching in Binsey, 21st November (which was the only time he preached there in 1725). Further down the list there is a record of his having preached this sermon in South Leigh, but the probable date is 1727.<sup>9</sup>

There are, nevertheless, diary notations of his having preached on five Sundays between his ordination on 19th September 1725, and the writing and preaching of this sermon at Binsey. The sermon most probably preached on these occasions is the one listed as number "1" in the diary "list A", on Job iii. 17—"There the wicked . . ." A holograph of this sermon also exists,<sup>10</sup> and in John Wesley's hand on the cover is the inscription, "The first Sermon I ever wrote." Again on the back cover are listed some of the places and times of preaching

<sup>6</sup> These include notes relative to class lists, Holy Club finances, reading lists, poetry, study schedules, and subscription lists for his father's forthcoming book on Job.

<sup>7</sup> *Journal*, i (Introduction), p. 47. This list is hereafter referred to as diary "list B". (Cf. illustration.)

<sup>8</sup> This is the "exquisitely neat little MS." on Matthew vi. 33 which Curnock referred to (note 3). Cf. *Wesley's First Sermon* (London, 1903).

<sup>9</sup> South Leigh is listed between two other entries for 1727. The first diary entry for preaching at South Leigh is 12th February 1727.

<sup>10</sup> At Wesley College, Bristol. Appreciation is extended to Dr. Frank Baker for calling this manuscript to my attention as an important confirmation of the diary listing.

this sermon, corresponding to several diary entries for his preaching during the period 1725-7. Of particular interest is a notation that he preached this sermon also at South Leigh in 1727, verifying his statement made many years later that "Here it was that I preached my first sermon", although it was not the first preaching of that sermon. As was frequently the case, his memory was less than precise as to the date.

Another example of numbering is found on the holograph copy of a sermon on II Corinthians ii. 17—"For we are not as many which corrupt the word of God." The seemingly insignificant number "12" scratched at the top centre of the first page coincides with the number for this text in the diary listing. At the end of the manuscript, Wesley also noted the date on which he finished transcribing his pulpit copy from the rough draft, and this also falls into chronological sequence with the other numbered sermons.<sup>11</sup>

In February 1730 Wesley began to note more regularly, in his daily diary entries and the monthly summaries (in what is usually referred to as Oxford Diary II), the subjects and/or texts of the sermons he was writing. These begin to follow the entries on the list Curnock noticed ("list B"), starting with some of the titles which are underlined. One of these underlined entries, "What I do thou canst not know", is the text for the sermon which Wesley noted as his fiftieth sermon in his diary on 26th September 1730. This is the first diary entry referring to the numbering system, and from this we can determine the numbering sequence for some of the immediately preceding sermons which are also found on "list B". Subsequent mention in the diaries proper of sermon-writing seldom refers to the text or title, but usually indicates only the number of the sermon. In most cases, we have no manuscripts of the sermons from 1730 to 1735, and very little else to help in attempting to number the texts on "list B" in accordance with the sermons mentioned only by number in the daily or monthly diary summaries.

At this point, help comes from a rather unexpected source—the manuscripts in Charles Wesley's hand which are the basis for the published edition of his sermons.<sup>12</sup> Six of these manuscript sermons are on texts found in John Wesley's diary lists, and the shorthand notes which Charles made at the beginning or end of the sermons indicate that these, along with three others, were indeed "transcribed from my brother's copies" at various times during Charles's excursion to America in 1735-6. It is easy to imagine that Charles, having been rather hastily ordained deacon by Bishop Potter and priest by Bishop Gibson less than a month before embarking for America,

<sup>11</sup> A date is quite often noted immediately at the end of the body of the sermon on the manuscript copy, and comparison with the daily diary accounts indicates that it is usually the date Wesley finished writing or transcribing the sermon, and should not be mistaken for a preaching date.

<sup>12</sup> *Sermons by the Late Rev. Charles Wesley, A.M.* (London, 1816). Manuscripts are extant for eleven of the twelve published sermons, as well as for two unpublished ones.

felt the need for some assistance from his older brother, who had been writing sermons for over ten years. The prospect of being charged with different parishes in Georgia made possible the simultaneous use of the same sermons by the two brothers. An example of this is the sermon on Matthew vi. 22, 23, which John mentions in his first Georgia diary, 29th January 1736, with the entry, "began Sermon on Single Eye." Finishing the sermon on 3rd February, he reworked ("corrected") it the next morning before meeting Charles at noon. The manuscript of this sermon in Charles's hand, with the title "A Single Intention", ends with a note written in Byrom's shorthand—"from my brother's copy; transcribed February 4, 1736."

Other sermons by John were similarly transcribed by Charles during his stay in America and on his trip back to England in the autumn of 1736.<sup>13</sup> In some cases he took the pains to transcribe the dates and places of preaching which John had noted at the end of the sermons (changing John's cipher into Byrom's shorthand). In every case, these fit the preaching references in John's Oxford diaries, and help to fill in some of the gaps in the numbering scheme.

The system of numbering has more than a simple chronological significance. John Wesley seems to have numbered only those sermons which he himself wrote. He did, however, preach some sermons which were not his own, just as Charles obviously did. One whole volume of manuscript sermons in John Wesley's hand belongs in the category of unnumbered sermons "collected", transcribed, or abridged from other authors.<sup>14</sup> From his diary entries and the dating on the manuscripts, we learn that four of these sermons were collected from Benjamin Calamy,<sup>15</sup> and four from William Tilly.<sup>16</sup> A fifth sermon abridged from Tilly was noted in the diary, but no manuscript has survived.<sup>17</sup> These sermons are included on the following chart because, although not original with Wesley, they do indicate theological interests which were close

<sup>13</sup> The editor of Charles Wesley's sermons apparently was unfamiliar with Byrom's shorthand (John Byrom: *The Universal English Shorthand*), as is indicated by some of the notes appended to the published sermons. The note on sermon IX says "Preached on board the London Galley, between Charles Town and Boston", whereas what the editor read as "preached" was in fact five words in shorthand, "transcribed from my brother's copies", and applies to sermons I, II, and V as well. The date of transcription is noted at the end of the manuscript for sermon V as 4th September 1736, "off Boston", and coincides with a reference in Charles's journal of that date as to his writing by candle-light. *The Journal of the Rev. Charles Wesley, M.A.* (London, 1849), i, p. 41.

<sup>14</sup> Colman Collection, volume XIX, Methodist Archives, London.

<sup>15</sup> *Sermons Preached upon Several Occasions; Never before Printed* (London, 1687). One of Wesley's abridgements is included in his collected works as CXXXVII, and the editor, Thomas Jackson, notes that it was "originally written by Benjamin Calamy". *Works* (London, 1872), vii, p. 474 n.

<sup>16</sup> *Sixteen Sermons . . . preached before the University of Oxford* (London, 1712). This has been noticed by Dr. Charles Rogers in *Proceedings*, xxxv, pp. 137-41 (but see following chart for correction of dates of preaching).

<sup>17</sup> See note 10 on chart.

enough to his own that he could feel comfortable using them as his own.

Another interesting example of literary appropriation is Wesley's abridgement of Robert Nelson's *The Great Duty of Frequenting the Christian Sacrifice*, in January and February 1732. The resultant essay was then further abridged into the form of a sermon, "The Duty of Constant Communion".<sup>18</sup> Although he and others did refer to this as *his* "sermon on the Sacrament", Wesley did not include the text in his diary lists, and neither the essay nor the sermon are in his numbering sequence.

The following chart ends with the sermon John Wesley preached on 21st September 1735, before leaving for America. This was nearly ten years after his first preaching occasion, and the text is the same as for his first sermon—Job iii. 17, although it is a completely different sermon. The latter version was published by Rivington in 1735, and was the initial appearance of any of his sermons in print. The diary lists, incidentally, do contain two references to this text: on "list A", "There the wicked", and on "list B", "There the weary". Although there are two major gaps in the manuscript diaries for this ten-year period,<sup>19</sup> presumably most of the texts for the sermons we know only by number are included on the two diary lists. The listed entries for which we have no dates or numbers are therefore included in the following chart in what seem to be the appropriate places, in order to give a more complete picture of the topics upon which John Wesley was preaching (or thinking about preaching) in this early period of his ministry. RICHARD P. HEITZENRATER.

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<sup>18</sup> "The Duty of Receiving the Lord's Supper" is the title given in the essay. (Colman Collection, volume XX, Methodist Archives, London.) The further abridgement may have occurred as early as March 1732 (diary entry, "transcribed sermon on Sacrament"), although Wesley's note on the published sermon that he has abridged the essay is dated 1788.

<sup>19</sup> 20th February 1727 to 29th April 1729 and 9th February to 16th October 1735. The diary for the summer of 1734 is also missing, but monthly summaries at the back of Oxford Diary IV (Colman Collection, XIV) fill in the essential data for this period.

[The next thirteen pages contain the chart referred to by Mr. Heitzenrater in the foregoing article. An explanatory key is printed below. All the footnotes to the chart appear on page 128.—EDITOR.]

**Bold type indicates texts and titles as listed in Diary lists A and B.**

*Italic type indicates information verified by manuscript notations.*

Regular type indicates information explicit in Diary references other than lists A and B.

[Brackets] indicate information from Diary possibly related to sermon in question.

\* indicates sermon not included by Wesley in the numbering scheme.

§ indicates no way of knowing if published sermon is the same one referred to in list.

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No.	Title, text, or subject	Date written or transcribed	Date preached	Place preached	Manuscripts and Published Sermons on text or subject
1.	<b>There the Wicked</b> (Job iii. 17)	25th Sept.— 1st Oct., 1725	[3rd Oct., 1725] [3rd Oct., 1725] [10th Oct., 1725] [17th Oct., 1725] [24th Oct., 1725] 9th Jan., 1726 9th Jan., 1726 6th Feb., 1726 27th Feb., 1726 1st May, 1726 8th May, 1726 15th May, 1726 29th May, 1726 12th Feb., 1727 12th Feb., 1727	[Fleet-Marston] [Winchendon] [Shipton] [Thame (twice)] [Shipton (twice)] <i>Buckland</i> <i>Stanton</i> <i>St. Thomas, Oxford</i> <i>Weston</i> <i>Wroot</i> <i>Epworth</i> <i>Haxey</i> <i>Finningley</i> <i>Stanton-Harcourt</i> <i>South Leigh</i>	J.W. MS., Wesley College, Bristol. Cf. <i>A Sermon Preached at St. Mary's in Oxford, on Sunday, September 21, 1735.</i> London: Rivington, 1735. (A different sermon.)
2.	<b>Seek Ye First</b> (Matthew vi. 33)	7th—21st Nov., 1725	21st Nov., 1725 — 1725 16th Jan., 1726 [16th Jan., 1726] [24th April, 1726] [12th June, 1726] [31st July, 1726] [5th Feb., 1727] [— 1727] 20th Aug., 1727	<i>Binsey</i> <i>Buckland</i> <i>Stanton</i> <i>Broadway</i> <i>Wroot</i> <i>Haxey</i> <i>Epworth</i> <i>Stanton-Harcourt</i> <i>South Leigh</i> <i>Whatton</i>	J.W. MS., Colman Misc. <sup>1</sup> <i>John Wesley's First Sermon.</i> London, 1903. (Reproduces the body of the MS. sermon.)
3.	<b>I am not ashamed</b> (Romans i. 16)	7th June— 25th July, 1726	[31st July, 1726]	[Epworth]	
4.	<b>Ye know not what</b> ("On Universal Charity") (Luke ix. 55)	14th—24th Aug., 1726	28th Aug., 1726	[Epworth]	

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5.	<b>There is One Lawgiver</b> ("Against Rash Judging") (James iv. 12)	13th-15th Sept., 1726	18th Sept., 1726	[Epworth]	
[6].	<i>On Guardian Angels</i> (Psalm xci. 11)		29th Sept., 1726 [25th Dec., 1826]	<i>St. Michael's Epworth Wroot Stanton Shipton Wychwood Gloucester</i>	C.W. MS., Meth. Archives. C.W. <i>Sermons</i> (London: Baldwin, 1816), pp. 22-42 (Sermon II).
7.	<b>Now he is Gone</b> (II Samuel xii. 23)	10th-12th Jan., 1727 (end writing, 11th Jan., 1727, Wednesday, 10 [a.m.?)	15th Jan., 1727 <sup>a</sup>	Broadway <sup>a</sup>	J.W. MS., Colman Misc. J.W. <i>Sermons</i> (ed. Thomas Jackson, 1872), <sup>a</sup> CXXXV, "On Mourning for the Dead". (First published in <i>Arminian Magazine</i> , 1797.)
8.	<b>So God loved the World</b> (John iii. 16)				
9.	<b>Rivers of Water run</b> (Psalm cxix. 136)				
10.	<b>Acquaint thyself with Him</b> (Job xxii. 21)				
11.	<b>Fools make a Mock at Sin</b> (Proverbs xiv. 9)				
12.	<b>For we are not as many, etc.</b> (II Corinthians ii. 17)	<i>Tr. Sat., 6th Oct., 1727</i>	[7th Oct., 1727] 5th Jan., 1729	<i>Epworth Wroot</i>	J.W. MS., Colman Misc. J.W. <i>Sermons</i> , CXXXVI, "On Corrupting the Word of God". (First published in <i>Arminian Magazine</i> , 1798.)

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13.	<b>I am a Stranger and a Sojourner as all</b> (Psalm xxxix. 12)				
14.	<b>Of Affliction</b>				
15.	<b>Hear, O Heavens</b> (Isaiah i. 2)				
16. 17. 18.	<b>Behold an Israelite</b> (John i. 47)	<i>17th Jan., 1728, 2.30 p.m. (end tr.) 22 minutes (length)</i>	?	<i>Epworth</i>	J.W. MS., Wesley College, Bristol. J.W. <i>Sermons</i> , XC, "An Israelite Indeed". (First published in <i>Arminian Magazine</i> , 1785). (A different sermon.)
19.	<b>Died Abner</b> (II Samuel iii. 33)				
20.	<b>James v. 14/Genesis iii. 19</b>				§J.W. <i>Sermons</i> , LVII, "On the Fall of Man" (Genesis iii. 19). (First published in <i>Arminian Magazine</i> , 1782.)
21.	<b>Decently and in order</b> (I Corinthians xiv. 40)				
22.	<b>What shall a man give</b> (Matthew xvi. 26)				§J.W. <i>Sermons</i> , LXXXIV, "The Important Question". (First published separately in 1775.)
23.	<b>On the Sacrament</b>				
24.	<b>On Fasting</b>				
25.	<b>Self-Denial</b> (Cf. Luke ix. 23, Mark viii. 34, Matthew xvi. 24)				§J.W. <i>Sermons</i> , XLVIII, "On Self Denial". (First published in <i>Sermons on Several Occasions</i> , 1760.)



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No.	Title, text, or subject	Date written or transcribed	Date preached	Place preached	Manuscripts and Published Sermons on text or subject
26.	<b>Evil Thoughts</b>				
27.	<b>When the Unclean Spirit</b> (Matthew xii. 43 or Luke xi. 24)				
28.	<b>Psalm viii. 3</b>				§J.W. <i>Sermons</i> , CIII, "What is Man?" (cf. CIX). (First published in <i>Arminian Magazine</i> , 1788.)
29.	<b>On Christ</b>				
30.	<b>Humility</b>				
30.	<b>Good Friday<sup>a</sup></b>				
31.	<b>On Easter Day</b>				
32.	<b>Anger</b>				
33.	<b>Do it with thy Might</b> (Ecclesiastes ix. 10)				
	<b>Lovers of Pleasure more<sup>b</sup></b> (II Timothy iii. 4)				
	<b>I preach not myself, but—</b> (II Corinthians iv. 5)				
	<b>The Unprofitable Servant</b> Matthew xxv. 14-30				
	<b>Ezekiel xviii</b>				
	<b>Verily Every man Living</b>				

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	<b>Poison of Asps</b> (Romans iii. 13)				
	<b>O the Depth</b> (Romans xi. 33)				§J. W. <i>Sermons</i> , LXVIII, "The Wisdom of God's Counsels". (First published in <i>Arminian Magazine</i> , 1784.)
	<b>Whitsunday</b>				
	<b>Trinity</b>				
	<b>Luke xii. 19</b> ("Eat, drink, and be merry.")				
	<b>Luke xiii. 24</b> ("Enter in at the strait gate.")				
	<b>Luke xv. 10</b> ("Joy . . . over one sinner that repenteth.")				
	<b>Ephesians v. 15</b> "Walk circumspectly . . . redeeming the time.")				§J.W. <i>Sermons</i> , XCIII, "On Redeeming the Time". (First published in <i>Arminian Magazine</i> , 1782.)
	<b>No resistance</b>				
	<b>Suffering</b>				
[46].	On Providence	7th-22nd Aug., 1729	[24th Aug., 1729]	[Stanton]	§J.W. <i>Sermons</i> , LXVII, "On Divine Providence". Luke xii. 7. (First published in <i>Arminian Magazine</i> , 1786.)

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[47].	On Pride	2nd Jan., 1730 "writ down"			
[48].	Negative Goodness	23rd-27th Feb. 1730			
[48a]*		21st-26th June, 1730			
[49].	On the Sabbath (Exodus xx. 8)	1st-4th July, 1730	19th July, 1730 — 1730 28th Mar., 1731 — Mar., 1731 4th April, 1731 11th April, 1731 30th May, 1731 6th Feb., 1732 19th Mar., 1732 8th July, 1733 9th Sept., 1733	Epworth Pyrton St. Thomas St. Miles Combe and Wilcot All Saints Stanton St. Aldate's Fleet-Marston Ferry Hinksey St. Ebbes	C.W. MS., Meth. Archives. C.W. Sermons, pp. 165-85 (Sermon X).
50.	What I do, thou canst not know (John xiii. 7).	26th Sept.- 13th Oct., 1730	1st Nov., 1730  — 1735	All Saints, Oxford Epworth Stanton Manchester	C.W. MS., Meth. Archives. C.W. Sermons, pp. 95-113 (Sermon VI).
51.	In the Image of God made he Man ("On Original Sin"). (Genesis i. 27)	27th-31st Oct., 1730 1st Nov., 3.30 p.m. 33 minutes (length)	15th Nov., 1730 7th Feb., 1731  30th July, 1732  7th Jan., 1733	St. Mary's, Oxford Queen's Square Chapel, London Stanton St. Margaret's Old Fleet Street, London St. Miles, Oxford	J.W. MS., Colman Misc.

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52.		3rd-14th Mar., 1731			
53.		20th-27th Mar., 1731			
54.	<b>He that Winneth Souls is Wise<sup>7</sup></b> ("Sermon for Ordination"). <b>Proverbs xi. 30</b>	5th-12th July, 1731	19th Sept., 1731 26th Sept., 1731 9th July, 1732	<i>Christ Church, Oxford</i> <i>St. Miles, Oxford</i> <i>St. Mary's, Gloucester</i>	C.W. MS., Meth. Archives. C.W. <i>Sermons</i> , pp. 1-21 (Sermon I).
55.	<b>Known unto the Lord are all<sup>8</sup></b> <b>Acts xv. 18</b>	10th-29th Aug., 1731			
56.	<b>Where the worm dyeth not</b> (Mark ix. 48)	24th-25th Sept., 1731	[26th Sept., 1731]	[Castle]	§J.W. <i>Sermons</i> , LXXIII, "Of Hell". (First published in <i>Arminian Magazine</i> , 1782.)
*	<i>The Duty of Receiving the Lord's Supper</i> (Abridged from Robert Nelson, <i>The Great Duty of Frequenting the Christian Sacrifice</i> , and others.)	31st Jan.- 19th Feb., 1732 <i>19th Feb., 1732</i> (Index, <i>21st Feb., 1732</i> ) <sup>9</sup>			J.W. MS., Colman XX. J.W. <i>Sermons</i> , CI, "The Duty of Constant Communion", as abridged from essay. (First published in <i>Arminian Magazine</i> , 1787.)
*	Let me die the death of the righteous . . . (Numbers xxxiii. 10) (Collected from Benjamin Calamy, <i>Sermons Preached upon Several Occasions</i> , VII.)	11th-12th Mar., 1731 <i>tr. 12th Mar., 1731</i> <sup>1/2</sup> 9.30 a.m.	<i>12th Mar., 1732</i> <i>15th Sept., 1734</i>	<i>Castle</i> <i>Castle</i>	J.W. MS., Colman XIX, pp. 15-30. Cf. J.W. <i>Sermons</i> , LIII, "On the Death of Mr. Whitefield". (A different sermon, first published in 1770.)

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*	And they went out, and preached that men should repent (Mark vi. 12) (Collected from Benjamin Calamy, <i>Sermons</i> , X.)	1st-2nd April, 1732 2nd April, 1732, 7 a.m.	2nd April, 1732 16th June, 1734	Castle Castle	J.W. MS., Colman XIX, pp. 31-46.
*	Who went about doing good (Acts x. 38). (Collected from Benjamin Calamy, <i>Sermons</i> , I.)	2nd-5th June, 1732 5th June, 7.30 a.m.			J.W. MS., Colman XIX, pp. 1-12. J.W., <i>The Christian Library</i> (Bristol: E. Farley, 1754), XXXIX, pp. 207-35.
*	But some man will say, How are the dead raised up? (I Corinthians xv. 35). (Collected from Benjamin Calamy, <i>Sermons</i> , XI.)	[5th]-7th June, 1732 7th June, 1732, 12 noon			J.W. MS., Colman XIX, pp. 47-63. J.W. <i>Sermons</i> , CXXXVII, "On the Resurrection of the Dead". (First published in <i>Christian Library</i> , XXXIX, pp. 246-73.)
57.	Consecration Sermon ("for Mr. B.")	17th-19th July, 1732	[23rd July, 1732]	[St. Mary's, Oxford]	
*	("Collected a sermon of William Tilly.") (From <i>Sixteen Sermons . . . preached before the University of Oxford.</i> ) <sup>10</sup>	15th-20th July, 1732			
*	Work out your own salvation (I). (Philippians ii. 12, 13.) (Collected from William Tilly, <i>Sermons</i> , VIII.)	12th-14th Aug., 1732 14th Aug., 7 a.m.	19th Nov., 1732 3rd Feb., 1734	Castle Castle	J.W. MS., Colman XIX, pp. 81-92. Cf. J.W. <i>Sermons</i> , LXXXV, "On Working out our own Salvation". (A different sermon.)

## JOHN WESLEY'S EARLY SERMONS

No.	Title, text, or subject	Date written or transcribed	Date preached	Place preached	Manuscripts and Published Sermons on text or subject
58.		2nd-3rd Sept., 1732			
*	Work out your own salvation (II). (Philippians ii. 12, 13.) (Collected from William Tilly, <i>Sermons</i> , IX.)	29th Sept.- 1st Oct., 1732 1st Oct., 1732, Sunday, 7 a.m.	1st Oct., 1732 3rd Mar., 1734	Castle Castle	J.W. MS., Colman XIX, pp. 93-101. Cf. above for similar published sermon.
*	Grieve not the Holy Spirit of God (Ephesians iv. 30). (Transcribed from William Tilly, <i>Sermons</i> , XI.)	27th-28th Oct., 1732 28th Oct., 1732, 30 minutes (length)	29th Oct., 1732 17th Mar., 1734	Castle Castle	J.W. MS., Colman XIX, pp. 103-14. J.W. <i>Sermons</i> , CXXXVIII, "On Grieving the Holy Spirit." (First published in <i>Arminian Magazine</i> , 1798.)
123 *	If any man thinketh he knoweth anything . . . (I Corinthians viii. 2.) Transcribed from William Tilly, <i>Sermons</i> , XIII.)	17th-18th Nov., 1732 18th Nov., 10.30 a.m.	31st Dec., 1732 22nd Sept., 1734	Castle Castle	J.W. MS., Colman XIX, pp. 115-24.
59.	[The Circumcision of the Heart] (Romans ii. 29.)	26th Nov.- 31st Dec., 1732	1st Jan., 1733	St. Mary's, Oxford	J.W. <i>Sermons</i> , XVII. (First published in <i>Sermons on Several Occasions</i> , 1746.)
60. <sup>1a</sup>		10th-17th Feb., 1733			
[60a].		19th April- 3rd May, 1733			
*	[Extemporaneous sermon?]	26th May, 1733 (planned sermon)	27th May, 1733	Epworth	

## JOHN WESLEY'S EARLY SERMONS

No.	Title, text, or subject	Date written or transcribed	Date preached	Place preached	Manuscripts and Published Sermons on text or subject
61.	<b>Love of God and Neighbour</b> (Mark xii. 30.)	2nd-15th Sept., 1733	— 1733 [6th Jan., 1734] [10th Feb., 1734]  — 1735	<i>All Saints Hampton Gay St. Mary's, Oxford St. Sepulchre's Epworth</i>	C.W. MS., Meth. Archives. C.W. <i>Sermons</i> , pp. 136-64 (Sermon IX).
62.	<i>Thy Will be Done</i> (Matthew vi. 10.)	19th-20th April, 1734			J.W. MS. (Outline), Colman Misc.
63.	<b>Martha, Martha</b> ( <i>The One Thing Needful</i> ) (Luke x. 42)	— May, 1734	— 1734 — June, 1734 — June, 1734 — Aug., 1734  [— 1735] <sup>18</sup>	<i>St. Sepulchre's St. Mary's St. Miles Stanton Harcourt Marston Epworth Gainsborough Berkswell</i>	C.W. MS., Meth. Archives. C.W. <i>Sermons</i> , pp. 81-94 (Sermon V).
64.		— Aug., 1734			
[65].		15th-29th Oct., 1734			
*	[Extemporaneous sermon] (Matthew v. 12)		10th Nov., 1734	Castle	§J.W. <i>Sermons</i> , XXI-XXIII, on the "Sermon on the Mount". (First published in <i>Sermons on Several Occasions</i> , 1746.)
[66].		6th-9th Jan., 1735			
[67].	Sermon for Sister Molly	24th-27th Feb., 1735			

a. Anacreon Quicksilver  
 French  
 b. Salisbury, Vell. Peter. King, Sully, Justin, Com. Popos  
 Casar, Pity, Martial, Quack & Quack (sic) Starr.  
 1. 3<sup>d</sup> Wicked - 4<sup>th</sup> knows it -  
 2. Jack the Fool - shows he is gone -  
 3. I a o a k e m e d 5 It is the English  
 4. O. S. G. toward the World - ~~...~~  
 9. Rivers of Water run - woods make a rock at the  
~~...~~ 20 we are o as mark  
 20 had the w th 24 of affliction  
 Sex of Pleasure, more ~~...~~  
 3. I a a Sir - a Loy. r as a l - Be ye long  
 22. 23. 24. 25. 26. 27. 28. 29. 30. 31. 32. 33. 34. 35. 36. 37. 38. 39. 40. 41. 42. 43. 44. 45. 46. 47. 48. 49. 50. 51. 52. 53. 54. 55. 56. 57. 58. 59. 60. 61. 62. 63. 64. 65. 66. 67. 68. 69. 70. 71. 72. 73. 74. 75. 76. 77. 78. 79. 80. 81. 82. 83. 84. 85. 86. 87. 88. 89. 90. 91. 92. 93. 94. 95. 96. 97. 98. 99. 100.

JOHN WESLEY'S EARLY SERMONS—DIARY "LIST A".



Fast days & Inters:

1. a. or. the first a. v. d.
2. B. or. the a. v. d. of y. v. O. v. C. v. L. v. G.
3. B. or. the a. v. d. of y. v. O. v. C. v. L. v. G.
4. D. or. the a. v. d. of y. v. O. v. C. v. L. v. G.

|        |                                |                             |
|--------|--------------------------------|-----------------------------|
| 23.2.2 | <u>1<sup>st</sup> Sabbath</u>  | Union Philosoph. Socy       |
|        | <u>2<sup>nd</sup> Sabbath</u>  | Trinity Methodist Ch. 17.8. |
|        | <u>3<sup>rd</sup> Sabbath</u>  | Trinity Methodist Ch. 17.8. |
|        | <u>4<sup>th</sup> Sabbath</u>  | Trinity Methodist Ch. 17.8. |
|        | <u>5<sup>th</sup> Sabbath</u>  | Trinity Methodist Ch. 17.8. |
|        | <u>6<sup>th</sup> Sabbath</u>  | Trinity Methodist Ch. 17.8. |
|        | <u>7<sup>th</sup> Sabbath</u>  | Trinity Methodist Ch. 17.8. |
|        | <u>8<sup>th</sup> Sabbath</u>  | Trinity Methodist Ch. 17.8. |
|        | <u>9<sup>th</sup> Sabbath</u>  | Trinity Methodist Ch. 17.8. |
|        | <u>10<sup>th</sup> Sabbath</u> | Trinity Methodist Ch. 17.8. |
|        | <u>11<sup>th</sup> Sabbath</u> | Trinity Methodist Ch. 17.8. |
|        | <u>12<sup>th</sup> Sabbath</u> | Trinity Methodist Ch. 17.8. |
|        | <u>13<sup>th</sup> Sabbath</u> | Trinity Methodist Ch. 17.8. |
|        | <u>14<sup>th</sup> Sabbath</u> | Trinity Methodist Ch. 17.8. |
|        | <u>15<sup>th</sup> Sabbath</u> | Trinity Methodist Ch. 17.8. |
|        | <u>16<sup>th</sup> Sabbath</u> | Trinity Methodist Ch. 17.8. |
|        | <u>17<sup>th</sup> Sabbath</u> | Trinity Methodist Ch. 17.8. |
|        | <u>18<sup>th</sup> Sabbath</u> | Trinity Methodist Ch. 17.8. |
|        | <u>19<sup>th</sup> Sabbath</u> | Trinity Methodist Ch. 17.8. |
|        | <u>20<sup>th</sup> Sabbath</u> | Trinity Methodist Ch. 17.8. |
|        | <u>21<sup>st</sup> Sabbath</u> | Trinity Methodist Ch. 17.8. |
|        | <u>22<sup>nd</sup> Sabbath</u> | Trinity Methodist Ch. 17.8. |
|        | <u>23<sup>rd</sup> Sabbath</u> | Trinity Methodist Ch. 17.8. |
|        | <u>24<sup>th</sup> Sabbath</u> | Trinity Methodist Ch. 17.8. |
|        | <u>25<sup>th</sup> Sabbath</u> | Trinity Methodist Ch. 17.8. |
|        | <u>26<sup>th</sup> Sabbath</u> | Trinity Methodist Ch. 17.8. |
|        | <u>27<sup>th</sup> Sabbath</u> | Trinity Methodist Ch. 17.8. |
|        | <u>28<sup>th</sup> Sabbath</u> | Trinity Methodist Ch. 17.8. |
|        | <u>29<sup>th</sup> Sabbath</u> | Trinity Methodist Ch. 17.8. |
|        | <u>30<sup>th</sup> Sabbath</u> | Trinity Methodist Ch. 17.8. |
|        | <u>31<sup>st</sup> Sabbath</u> | Trinity Methodist Ch. 17.8. |

JOHN WESLEY'S EARLY SERMONS—DIARY "LIST B".

JOHN WESLEY'S EARLY SERMONS

| No. | Title, text, or subject  | Date written or transcribed | Date preached | Place preached | Manuscripts and Published Sermons on text or subject   |
|-----|--|-----------------------------|---------------|----------------|--|
|     | <b>Perfect Freedom</b> <sup>14</sup><br><b>James ii. 12</b>        |                             |               |                |  |
|     | <b>A Good Understanding</b> <sup>7</sup><br>(Psalm cxi. 10)        |                             |               |                |  |
|     | <b>And in Hell he lift</b> <sup>7</sup><br>(Luke xvi. 23)          |                             |               |                | §J.W. <i>Sermons</i> , CXII, "The Rich Man and Lazarus". (First published in <i>Arminian Magazine</i> , 1789.) |
|     | <b>Be Ye Angry</b><br>(Ephesians iv. 26)                           |                             |               |                |  |
|     | <b>Thou art not far from the Kingdom</b><br><b>Mark xii. 34</b>    |                             |               |                |  |
|     | <b>Psalms xix. 8</b><br>("The precepts of the Lord are right").    |                             |               |                |  |
|     | <b>Denying the Power of it</b> <sup>7</sup><br>(II Timothy iii. 5) |                             |               |                |  |
|     | <b>Who teacheth like Him</b><br>(Luke xii. 12)                     |                             |               |                |  |
|     | <b>Man is born to trouble</b> <sup>7</sup><br>(Job v. 7)           |                             |               |                |  |
|     | <b>Whence hath it the Tares?</b><br>(Matthew xiii. 27)             |                             |               |                |  |



JOHN WESLEY'S EARLY SERMONS

| No. | Title, text, or subject   | Date written or transcribed | Date preached | Place preached | Manuscripts and Published Sermons on text or subject   |
|-----|---|-----------------------------|---------------|----------------|--|
|     | <b>Perfect Freedom<sup>14</sup></b><br><b>James ii. 12</b>        |                             |               |                |  |
|     | <b>A Good Understanding<sup>7</sup></b><br>(Psalm cxi. 10)        |                             |               |                |  |
|     | <b>And in Hell he lift<sup>7</sup></b><br>(Luke xvi. 23)          |                             |               |                | §J.W. <i>Sermons</i> , CXII, "The Rich Man and Lazarus". (First published in <i>Arminian Magazine</i> , 1789.) |
|     | <b>Be Ye Angry</b><br>(Ephesians iv. 26)                          |                             |               |                |  |
|     | <b>Thou art not far from the Kingdom</b><br><b>Mark xii. 34</b>   |                             |               |                |  |
|     | <b>Psalms xix. 8</b><br>("The precepts of the Lord are right").   |                             |               |                |  |
|     | <b>Denying the Power of it<sup>7</sup></b><br>(II Timothy iii. 5) |                             |               |                |  |
|     | <b>Who teacheth like Him</b><br>(Luke xii. 12)                    |                             |               |                |  |
|     | <b>Man is born to trouble<sup>7</sup></b><br>(Job v. 7)           |                             |               |                |  |
|     | <b>Whence hath it the Tares?</b><br>(Matthew xiii. 27)            |                             |               |                |  |

JOHN WESLEY'S EARLY SERMONS

| No. | Title, text, or subject  | Date written or transcribed | Date preached | Place preached | Manuscripts and Published Sermons on text or subject |
|-----|--|-----------------------------|---------------|----------------|--|
|     | <b>By their Fruits ye shall know them</b><br>(Matthew vii. 20)               |                             |               |                |  |
|     | <b>God no Respector of persons</b><br>(Acts x. 34)                           |                             |               |                |  |
|     | <b>Ye are not your own</b><br>(I Corinthians vi. 19)                         |                             |               |                |  |
|     | <b>Supererogation</b>  |                             |               |                |  |
|     | <b>Vain Philosophy</b><br>Colossians ii. 8                                   |                             |               |                |  |
|     | <b>Whoso mocketh the Poor<sup>7</sup></b><br>(Proverbs xvii. 5)              |                             |               |                |  |
|     | <b>Faith, Hope, Charity<sup>7</sup></b><br>(I Corinthians xiii. 13)          |                             |               |                |  |
|     | <b>He has ordained his arrows against the persecutors</b><br>(Psalm vii. 13) |                             |               |                |  |
|     | <b>Thou art unto them</b><br>Ezekiel xxxiii. 32                              |                             |               |                |  |
|     | <b>Grow in grace</b><br>II Peter iii. 18                                     |                             |               |                |  |
|     | <b>Be not righteous over much</b><br>(Ecclesiastes vii. 16)                  |                             |               |                |  |

JOHN WESLEY'S EARLY SERMONS

| No. | Title, text, or subject   | Date written or transcribed | Date preached    | Place preached     | Manuscripts and Published Sermons on text or subject   |
|-----|---|-----------------------------|------------------|--------------------|--|
|     | <b>A Reasonable Sacrifice</b><br>(Romans xii. 1)                            |                             |                  |                    |  |
|     | <b>Though an angel from Heaven</b><br>(Galatians i. 8)                      |                             |                  |                    |  |
|     | <b>Wiser than the Children of Light</b><br>(Luke xvi. 8)                    |                             |                  |                    | C.W. MS., Meth. Archives. <sup>15</sup>  |
|     | <b>Left us an Example that we tread</b><br>(I Peter ii. 21)                 |                             |                  |                    |  |
|     | <b>Dead, alive in God</b><br>Romans vi. 11                                  |                             |                  |                    |  |
|     | <b>A New Creature</b><br>(Galatians vi. 15, or II Corinthians v. 17)        |                             |                  |                    | J.W. <i>Sermons</i> , XIII, "On Sin in Believers". (First published in <i>Works</i> (Pine ed.), 1771.)             |
|     | <b>Other foundation than this can no man lay</b><br>(I Corinthians iii. 11) |                             |                  |                    |  |
|     | <b>Laodicea</b><br>(Revelation iii. 14f)                                    |                             |                  |                    |  |
| ?   | <b>There the weary</b><br>(Job iii. 17)                                     |                             | 21st Sept., 1735 | St. Mary's, Oxford | First published sermon. London: Rivington, 1735. J.W. <i>Sermons</i> , CXXVII, "The Trouble and Rest of Good Men". |

## JOHN WESLEY'S EARLY SERMONS

FOOTNOTES to chart on pp. 115-27

<sup>1</sup> Colman Collection, Methodist Archives, London (hereafter noted either by volume number or as miscellaneous manuscripts). J.W. for John Wesley; C.W. for Charles Wesley.

<sup>2</sup> Not 11th January at Epworth which Jackson notes, following Joseph Benson's edition. The date on the manuscript is the completion date for writing.

<sup>3</sup> Unless noted otherwise, J.W. *Sermons* will refer to this edition by Thomas Jackson, found in the fourteen-volume "Third edition" of Wesley's *Works*, 1872.

<sup>4</sup> There are two entries numbered 30 on "list A".

<sup>5</sup> The next fourteen titles are the remaining entries from Diary "list A", not including those also found on "list B". Some of the latter may indeed have been written and preached during this period, 1727-9, but are included with the entries from "list B" at the end of the chart.

<sup>6</sup> Mentioned in the monthly diary summary for June 1730, but omitted from the yearly summary.

<sup>7</sup> This entry has a line drawn through it in the list, as do six others, indicating perhaps a proximity in time of writing.

<sup>8</sup> This may be the text for No. 56 and vice versa. Diary evidence is inconclusive.

<sup>9</sup> Wesley notes transcribing "sermon on Sacrament", 24th March 1732, and talking with James Hervey about "sermon on Sacrament", 30th March 1734.

<sup>10</sup> Since Wesley collected four more of Tilly's sermons in numerical order, beginning with sermon VIII, it is probable that this one was from the first seven.

<sup>11</sup> The manuscript note has the date as 13th December (a Thursday in 1732), an apparent transposition of the digits, since he did preach on 31st December at the Castle prison.

<sup>12</sup> Noted by mistake in the daily diary as No. 58. In the monthly summary for February 1733, "58" has been changed to "60". A sermon written in May is also noted as No. 60. The September summary notes Sermon 61. To add to the confusion, the yearly summary for 1733 lists only two sermons written during the year, No. 59 (actually written in 1732) and No. 60. The summary for 1734 begins with Sermon 62.

<sup>13</sup> Wesley refers to preaching his farewell sermon at Epworth in 1735 on "pursuing the one end of our life in all our words and actions". (*Letters*, v, p. 299 (to John Newton, 14th May 1765.))

<sup>14</sup> The following twenty-nine texts are the remaining entries from diary "list B".

<sup>15</sup> Charles transcribed this from John's copy on 6th May 1736.

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Our Exhibitions Secretary, Mr. William Leary, has produced a study of Methodism in the city which he knows and loves so well—*Methodism in the City of Lincoln* (pp. 80, published by the author at Woodlands, Riseholme, Lincoln, from which address copies may be obtained, price 2rs.).

Mr. Leary begins with the epic story of how Methodism came to Lincoln, late in Wesley's lifetime, and then traces the development of the movement until Lincoln became one of the strongholds of the connexion. The rise and decline of such chapels as "Big Wesley" and "Hannah Memorial", and of the Day School, are faithfully chronicled. The story of Primitive Methodism is told in chapter IV, and the volume is enriched by thirteen illustrations. It is to be hoped that this book will be bought not only by those who are especially interested in Lincoln itself, but by all who enjoy reading or writing that most fascinating of all studies, local Methodist history.