
Wesley: A Man for All Seasons

by Leon O. Hynson

“The Moral Influence of Wesley: Issues in Faith and Ethics” was the general theme of The Ryan Lectureship presented at Asbury Theological Seminary in September of 1983 by guest lecturer, Leon O. Hynson.

In addressing this honored and venerable company of Christian scholars, one may at first wish for more brains than God has given to one man. The dinosaur Stegosaurus is thought to have had two brains (right hemisphere and left hemisphere?) — which led him to a considered response to every situation, slowing down the flow of stimuli through his brain, (thus making “half wit” a somewhat appropriate appellation). This apparent duplication of brains led someone to write of Stegosaurus:

As he thought twice before he spoke,
He had no judgments to revoke,
For he could think without congestion
Upon both sides of every question.

I don’t know whether he was a dialectical theologian or not, but surely he possessed the equipment.

More appropriate to this occasion, I am cognizant of the lofty intelligence and spiritual motivation which informs and shapes lives and Christian calling in this seminary. It is a rare privilege and a high honor to take part in the challenge of these years of disciplined preparation. We have come to this moment before God with all the hope and imagination characteristic of those who are called of God to the diakonia of love. We belong to a city, to express our identity in Augustinian terms; a city in which we care for families, children, husbands or wives, aging parents, hungry, suffering, lonely people all around. A city, often “full of shadows without pity.”

Dr. Leon O. Hynson is professor of Church History and Historical Theology at Asbury Theological Seminary.

Belonging to the city of God *and* of earth contains for us the possibility of a divided mind and spirit. However, the nature of that faith which flows from Jesus the Christ, a living and life-giving spiritual river flowing through us, is designed to make us fit for living in the world. Living in this world we are aware of its illusions, attractive in a compelling sense, yet empty. We are strangers, yet truly at home. As the *Letter to Diognetus* expressed it nearly two millenia ago, we are like the whole company of humankind, with the notable difference that we behave ourselves as those who have been adopted into a transforming relationship. Totally and happily human, we live out our humanity in relationships that are healthy and holy.

This and much more is the fabric of an ancient message which was exemplified in the historical personality, Jesus of Nazareth, and as a treasure in earthen clay vessels in the lives of men and women who were renewed by the breath of His incomparable life.

Mark Twain's book *Life on the Mississippi* is the story of the river, shifting, turning, riding high, falling low, bearing in its currents the power to carry great vessels, but often deceptive in its energy, especially in its undercurrents.

So the church, like a river flowing down its compassed ways, the church of the Spirit has been borne along, always participating in all of contemporary history, shaping and being shaped, sometimes shifting its course, almost subterranean at certain points, but *living*. To know it at a particular stage of its journey we must know the river, ebb and flow, at other points along the way. We cannot understand this river by merely moving into its shallows with tentative step. We need to search out its origins, its history, its goal.

How important is it to know the story of our Christian past? In the television series *Roots* (but not in the book), Kizzy attempts to explain to her son George why at the last moment she had cancelled her impending wedding to Howard. "George," she said, with tears in her eyes, "Howard wasn't like us. Nobody ever told him where he come from, and so he didn't have a dream of where he ought to be goin'."

All of us are inheritors of this living river of the Spirit, as it has advanced to our time. We are debtors to those who have sought to know its power and move with its sweep across the ages. We are especially burdened with obligation to the crucial direction and correction which John Wesley gave to the church of his era. He was

Wesley: A Man for All Seasons

aware of the history of the church in power and weakness; its splendor in mission; the church flawed by the allurements of earthly ambition; conscious of its continuity through persecution, applause, cynicism, intolerance, accommodation or retreat. The church possessed the Scriptures, the tradition, the liturgies, the Spirit, which made it possible for the church to be reformed and renewed, the church *semper reformanda*. For Wesley, the church would be reformed from within. And again, the world could be transformed from within, where salty Christians accepted the interaction and participation. For him, the church in the world is a church for every age and place. And he as one of its authenticators would become a “A Man for All Seasons.”

The appellation “A Man for All Seasons” used to describe the genius of Sir Thomas More aptly describes John Wesley, the leader of Methodism. Recognized universally as a skilled communicator of Christian faith and a gifted organizer of men and societies, he was far more. Increasingly, thoughtful interpreters are exposing the rich veins of theological ore found in Wesley’s sermons, letters, tracts, and journals which cover a 60-year period. In the present century, a century dominated by theological giants, Wesley’s influence has increased and now receives a hearing which could hardly have been imagined earlier. As he experienced an increasing acceptance in his own century, so his significance has grown in ours. Any interpretation of Wesley will show his theology and life as a resource for understanding Christian faith and practice. Those who allow stereotypes of Wesley to form their assessments of him (and the stereotypes are legion) will be deprived of great insights.

Wesley was preeminently a practitioner of theological synthesis, drawing upon the rich variety of the Christian heritage. Trained in the classical disciplines at Oxford, and drawing upon the resurgent interest in the early church (which his century experienced), Wesley’s mind and heart were prepared for the unique ministry he was to perform. In his reading and reflection he became a deposit of many tributaries. The primary source was the biblical tradition, especially the New Testament. Wesley described himself as *homo unius libri*, a man of one book. Another tributary was the Western church with its static and metaphysical doctrines of sin and salvation. Augustine was the primary resource for this dimension of Wesley’s development.

The Eastern church through Gregory of Nyssa provided a more dynamic theology, giving structure to a processive, spiritual doctrine

of sanctification. Medieval theology contributed a mystical style, an ethics of imitation, of renunciation and surrender, especially mediated by Thomas à Kempis. The Reformation theology of *sola fide*, best expressed by Luther, was mediated to Wesley by the Moravians. In the English Reformation, Wesley discovered Thomas Cranmer and his great work on the Book of Common Prayer, the Homilies, and the Thirty-Nine Articles of the Church of England, all of which opened his mind to the church being reformed (*ecclesia reformata sed semper reformanda*). This vision certainly contributed to his often expressed concern that the Methodists were raised up to reform the church and the nation.

The Arminian divergence from Dutch Calvinism entered the stream of the Anglican consciousness in subtle ways. The way from Arminius to Wesley is largely unmarked, still awaiting the research that will show its progress. However it is evident that Arminianism received its most complete explication in the theology of Wesley. Wesley reshaped aspects of Arminian thought, asserting in his theology of sin the metaphysics of Augustine over the dynamic theology of Arminius. While Augustine defined original sin in virtually ontological terms, Arminius, resisting the terminology of “original sin” spoke of the deprivation (*privatio*) of the Holy Spirit in every descendant of Adam. Arminius was therefore more relational and dynamic in contrast to Augustine’s static definitions.¹

Pietist influences sharpened Wesley’s commitment to religious toleration which was historically rooted in his Puritan forebears. When we read his political tracts, with their ringing appeals to civil and religious liberty, we are taken to an era in Wesley’s own family heritage where the exile and persecution of both grandparents and great grandparents led to suffering and at least once to premature death. Wesley’s concern for liberty is derived and borrowed from diverse sources. The writings of Sebastian Castellio, redoubtable opponent of Calvin, provided impetus for Wesley’s commitment to religious toleration. Daniel Neal’s *History of the Puritans*, written in the 1730s, sensitized Wesley to the Puritan struggle, while the English Act of Toleration (1689) became the English landmark of progress in toleration. The Whig dedication to liberty which found a responsive chord in Wesley may also be demonstrated.

There is more. Increasingly one may empathize with Albert Outler’s counsel that the sources of Wesleyan theology are so diverse as to discourage all but the most determined.² We should not

Wesley: A Man for All Seasons

overlook the Anglican dedication to order and authority, manifest in the Homilies, and demonstrably the key to interpretations of sixteenth century English politics, especially Elizabethan politics. The Catholic and Anglican concern for tradition is present. The Puritan passion for devotion, summed up in William Ames, William Perkins, his grandfather Samual Annesley, and modeled in the Puritan diaries, may be recognized in Wesley's lifelong self-discipline in prayer and service. It has been suggested that the Puritan diaries were the struggles of the devout soul fixed in the script of the diary. Wesley's diary and journals were not confessions in the classical mode, but they offer an exceptional insight into the spiritual pilgrimage of a complex person.

Jeremy Taylor and William Law became major influences in the young Wesley's spiritual development. Through their writings he learned that Christianity demands utmost earnestness, sincerity in intention, and purity of affection.

What estimation should be placed upon the man Wesley, the priest of the Church of England with a passion for method? He is esteemed by many in many ways: as the evangelist who put his mark — God's mark — upon a nation. The genius of religious experience, who perceived the rational, emotional, volitional and other human powers as a holistic unity. The forerunner of the theology of experience made modern by Frederick Schleiermacher, the "father of modern theology." John Wesley, who saw most clearly the social character of the church, causing E. Gordon Rupp to credit him as the chief exponent of a fourth "mark" of the church — the church as community. The greatest Anglican theologian of his century, Outler nominates him. The catalyst of social reformation whose proclamation of the worth of man in Christ took a major role in constructively channeling the explosive revolutionary forces of his time. Wesley, the man of superlative theological gifts, weaving a coherent synthesis of Christian thought without the torturous zigzags of some of the great systems. The theologian of the whole church whose theology may be taken as a model for ecumenical dialogue. Wesley forged a remarkably consistent theology in the issues of faith versus reason, theology versus anthropology, nature versus grace, faith or ethics, divine initiative versus human response, freedom or responsibility, law and grace, justification and sanctification. Thought was linked to life resulting in a dynamic style which avoids the hardening of the arteries of classical orthodoxy, the posture of a fundamentalism

which too confidently rests upon a verbalized faith as though it surely speaks the mind of God, or a liberalism which too glibly overlooks biblical faith.

Unlike Augustine, Wesley developed a theology of nature which avoided the negations of the flesh and the material. Contrary to Pelagius, Wesley continually asserted the need for prevenient grace. Against Luther's inability to offer an adequate experiential sequel to his doctrine of justification, Wesley proposes a strong doctrine of sanctification. A corollary to this is Wesley's balanced emphasis on good works. In contrast to Calvin, Wesley offered Arminianism on fire, calling every man to the promise of salvation.

Such theological contrasts and comparisons, though seemingly endless, represent only a part of the justification for a careful consideration of Wesley. Beyond his theology are a multitude of perspectives which make Wesley worthy of a serious hearing. What were his great strengths? How do we account for Wesley's extraordinary success in preaching and reform? Was he blessed with exceptional powers of communication? A commanding presence? A theological giant? A superlative biblical preacher?

We may answer these questions with both yes and no. He could communicate. He did have a "presence" when he preached. Theologically, he was a skillful thinker who walked the tightrope between God's sovereignty and man's responsibility, faith and works, salvation as both initiation and process in Christian life. He was a folk theologian who spoke to the people, the simple and the wise, the rich and the poor. As an exegete of the truths of Scripture, he was competent enough to correct hundreds of problems in the King James Version (some 12,000 modifications), but astute enough to refuse to make critical study the end.³ His effort was always toward announcing the Good News.

Although he was gifted in communication, his written sermons may lull all but the most zealous to sleep. His "presence" was that of a five feet, three inch, 126 pound man. As a theologian he engaged in debate for pages on end, until the reader is often irritated by his boring attack. He was impressed with his own logical training and gifts, dogmatic in some of his judgments, sometimes careless in his reading, caustic in certain assessments, and generally devoid of the kinds of humor which we have come to require from public speakers.

Yet his speech was straightforward and understandable, his logic equal to his peers, his education superior to most, his compassion

Wesley: A Man for All Seasons

strong for those in need, his social sense developed to a high degree, his awareness of the world of man and nature continually enlarging.

In summation, he was an exceptional man, a man of God in whom the Spirit of God was a mighty force; a man whose spirit was enlarged to meet the needs of the day. As long as he lived Wesley never stopped growing. Process, growth, maturity, perfection, completeness, are words expressing key motivations for his life. He could change his theology, his politics, his ecclesiology, if he became convinced that his positions contradicted Scripture, sound practice, or observed reality.

There are a number of discernible reasons why Wesley became an evangelist and reformer par excellence:

Wesley's Experimental Method

His powers of observation were keen. He was aware of nature as well as nature's God. He asked why moisture collected on carriage glass, answering that warmth from people condensed on the windows because the windows remained cooler. In 1748, he spoke concerning the effect of tea on his system, "I observed it [shaking of hand] was always worst after breakfast and that this ceased after a few days abstinence." He tested this with other people and found it held true. He advised drinking herb tea and using the money saved to feed or clothe the poor, proclaiming his concern for others.

In his revival effort, Wesley saw persons falling in a faint. "Enthusiasm!" screamed the sober gentlemen and ladies.⁴ But Wesley weighed the phenomena like a phenomenologist, like a scientist testing the consequences of chemical reactions.

The doctrine of perfection is another example. It has been demonstrated that while Wesley drew the doctrine of sanctification in its broad meaning and promise from Scripture, he based the structure of sanctification (second grace) on observed experience. The "substance" of it was biblical; the Wesleyan "structure" is experimental.⁵ (Substance refers to what sanctification is; structure refers to the process of attainment). How much this empirical approach reflected the rational spirit of the Enlightenment, or the sensationalism of John Locke, who argued that our thoughts are shaped by the senses — no innate ideas exist, or just a common sense approach, isn't easy to assess. He was a Lockean, believing in sense experience as the basis of thought, but beyond Locke he stressed a faith-sense which perceives the reality of the spiritual world.

Wesley Understood Human and Group Psychology

Wesley's psychological perceptions were informed positively by Locke, and negatively by David Hume, Lord Kames, and David Hartley. Hartley had expressed a proto-Skinnerian opinion that volitions depend upon the vibrations of the brain. Thus our actions are determined by the vibrations of brain fibers. The consequence of this, said Wesley, is to render "sin" meaningless. One man said: "I frequently feel tempers and speak many words and do many actions which I do not approve of. But I cannot avoid it. They result whether I will or not from the vibrations of my brain, together with the motions of my blood and the flow of my animal spirits." Another person compared his responses to the barking or biting of a dog. It's his nature to bark and bite.⁶

Wesley recognized the importance of physiological factors and the stimulation of environmental and cultural factors. He refused to permit these arguments to be used to avoid ethical responsibility.

By holding to the Lockean perspective, but reconstructing it by use of the theological analogy of a faith sense, Wesley was able to recognize the forces which moved persons. He used this in his preaching, evoking emotional, volitional, and spiritual responses which led to decision, self-examination and motivated people to climb toward Christ's call to maturity.

A cursory examination of his *Journal* shows Wesley's awareness of the mood of his hearers:

May 7, 1760 — A large, serious, congregation

May 9, 1760 — Several were in tears.

May 12, 1760 - A civil congregation, "but there is no life in them."

May 18, 1760 - All seemed to hear with understanding. Many deeply affected.

June 1, 1760 - Some seemed cut to the heart.

June 9, 1760 - Spoke to large congregation. The "great part of them were as bullocks unaccustomed to the yoke, neither taught of God or man."⁸

A Strong Moral Foundation

Wesley understood the ethical motivations of life. Against Francis Hutcheson he argued for the theological basis of the moral sense (conscience). As the result of prevenient grace, persons are morally aware, responsible beings.

Wesley thus asserted a strong moral foundation for life. This

Wesley: A Man for All Seasons

moral structure has been perverted by some Wesleyans who have made Christian faith a set of moralisms. Wesley avoided that by his insistence upon the doctrine of *fides caritate formata* (faith active in love) and a balance of Spirit with letter. Wesley knew that the Christian life grows not by constriction or restriction, but by spiritual nurture. He knew very well that growth is always structured but that structure alone is skeleton without flesh and blood and breath. Expressed theologically, we need to preach law and grace.

Wesley's ethical message was as thoroughly social as it was individual. His doctrine of love was at the heart of his lifelong effort to reform the nation and the church.

Wesley Broke Class Barriers

He had a special ability in establishing dialogue with persons of many classes. The Revival was powerfully at work among the poor, yet Wesley addressed the rich and the educated as well. His "Earnest Appeal to Men of Reason and Religion" was addressed to cultured men, persons of liberal education. In it Wesley employs overwhelmingly logical arguments, supplemented by earnest appeals, to win a decision of the heart and will. The "Appeals" are evangelism to the upper classes — English gentry and intellectuals. But his special appeal was to plain men and he really communicated. "Plain truth for plain people" was his dictum, his guiding principle. Dr. Samuel Johnson, one of the great literary figures in eighteenth century England, wrote that the clergy "in general did not preach plain enough" and that the common people were "sunk in languor and lethargy" and remained unimpressed by the "polished periods and glittering sentences" which "flew over their heads."⁹ Plain truth is a good principle but it isn't easy for an educated person to manage.¹⁰

Wesley's Flexibility

He was flexible in the structures and institutions he created and employed. Field preaching was one of his earliest departures from tradition. Wesley adapted this mode from George Whitefield who had learned it from Howell Harris and the Welsh evangelists. Wesley scorned and repudiated canon (church) law which in the good name of church order fostered stagnation in the spread of the Gospel. He gently asserted that the Sermon on the Mount was a rather convincing precedent for field preaching.¹¹

The formation of the Methodist societies was a resort to a familiar

exercise in the England church. At the beginning of the eighteenth century, a number of religious societies had been formed for various purposes, particularly for spiritual reform as well as for spreading the message by the spoken and written word. Most prominent were the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts founded in 1701, under whose aegis Wesley came to America in 1735, and the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge founded in 1698. In London alone some forty societies were meeting in 1700.

Wesley fashioned the Methodist societies to be a reforming presence within the Church of England. They were not to be considered as a “gathered church” or a church at all since they lacked one essential ingredient of a church, the offering of the sacraments. They were conceived to bring about reform in the lives of men and women, hence in the church. Wesley’s later years reveal a sharply deteriorating relationship with the Church of England. Perceiving an unfulfilled need for clergy in America, he ordained Thomas Coke, Richard Whatcoat and Thomas Vasey and sent them to minister to the Americans. This action was based upon his pragmatic reading of Scripture, influenced by Lord Peter King, that no distinction need be made between a bishop and a presbyter.

Probably the symbolic act which severed Methodism from the Anglican Church was the registration of his chapels under the terms of the Act of Toleration. The Act of 1689 had permitted dissenting bodies to worship legally provided that they registered with the civil authorities. After a long succession of persecutions, Wesley took the step of registering his chapels to gain protection from the mobs. The legal effect of this action was to set Methodism apart as a dissenting church. Wesley’s appeal to William Wilberforce is poignant in its call for religious toleration.¹²

In summary, the ability of Mr. Wesley to take extraordinary steps in order to accomplish his mission to the whole world is recognized. He modified means to ends as long as both the means and ends were consistent with God’s glory.

Wesley’s Political Sense

He possessed an acute political sense of what shaped the needs and motivations of the people. He knew their economic and social problems, their poverty, hunger, wealth, or depression. When observers said there was a population decline; Wesley said there was an increase. He was correct, as the twentieth century economic historian T.S. Ashton asserts.¹³

Wesley: A Man for All Seasons

Wesley disclaimed any political competence or interest. Yet he continually contradicted that stance by political action, appeals to leaders, and advice to citizens. And he was frequently found in the political arena, especially during the American Revolution. This great-grandson and grandson of politically active Puritans — John White, Samuel Annesley, Bartholomew Wesley — and the son of Susanna and Samuel, who held differing political viewpoints, could hardly avoid politics, and he didn't. While avoiding the involvement of a Walpole, Townshend, Grenville or Pitt, he exerted political influence in other ways, so that many would say of him: "What right does a minister have to mix religion and politics?" Wesley's larger response: "There is no holiness but social holiness. You can't be a solitary Christian!"

Wesley's View of Human Nature

He had a realistic assessment of human nature that contrasted with the prevailing romanticism of the earlier part of the eighteenth century with its stress on the reasonable man. During the second half of the century the philosophers and poets began to look at the other side of human nature. But the Revival touched the lives of simple people not influenced immediately by Romantic visions. Life was too starkly painful for them to be Romantics. The Revival became the realistic religious alternative to Romantic optimism, building upon the biblical themes of sin and salvation. John Walsh has written brilliantly about the Evangelical Revival in England.¹⁴ Walsh suggests that in every Protestant country there are religiously-minded folk who yearn for vital, experiential religion.

In the early eighteenth-century Church of England this type of spirituality was not catered to be either of the two dominant theological systems, the Latitudinarian and the High Church, and was actively discouraged by contemporary prejudice against "enthusiasm." The sermons of the 1720s, 1740s, and 1750s are predominantly (if safely) controversial (against Deists, Papists, or Enthusiasts) or ethical (concerned with philanthropic enterprises like the charity schools) or sonorously pastoral. They offer to the layman little clear-cut, dogmatic content. They speak little to the soul concerned with the great themes of sin and salvation; they have little appreciation of the tragic element

in life. There was, in short, what one might call an “ecological gap” which needed to be filled.

Wesley’s theology after Aldersgate was characterized by the ultimately salvific note of a remedy for the “leprosy of sin.” The dominant Wesleyan theological stance would not be “pessimism of nature” but an “optimism of grace.”¹⁵

Wesley’s Administrative Talent

He was gifted in the administration and organization of the movement. The development of a spiritual cadre of laymen and women and ordained ministers shaped the lives of thousands. The societies and bands provided the structure for penetrating the world — the place where the mission takes place. The societies were disciplined (they represent the church under orders). To become a member of the society, one need only desire to flee from the wrath to come. To continue, one need only to become perfect — in love. If spiritual deterioration and neglect began to prevail, Wesley would purify the body. He knew the frustrations of leadership, that one may more easily perform certain tasks than delegate, pursue, review and review again.

Wesley’s Commitment to Social Reform

Finally, he was committed to the vision of reform, of social transformation. The Wesleyan movement was self-consciously a reform movement. When in 1745 Mr. Wesley and others in his societies conversed about the divine “design” in raising up Methodist preachers, they emphasized reform, both social and ecclesiastical, and the preaching of scriptural holiness. That simple statement of their mission was expressed by a conjunction — reform *and* preaching. Whether Wesley intended to convey the sense of a causal relation through use of the conjunction is not clear. There is suggestion enough in his larger writings to claim that there is such a relation envisioned in the goals of Wesley and his Methodists. This means that for Wesley the doctrine of salvation, defined by the full *ordo salutis*, is a crucial foundation of his reform efforts. By reforming the nation and the church, Wesley is defining the work of the Christian ministry in effecting personal and social transformation.

Reform means that the full range of God’s saving will for the world

Wesley: A Man for All Seasons

is being enfolded in the persons and institutions of the world. "Salvation" is a comprehensive word, describing all of God's restoring work for individuals, societies, the world, and the universe. For Wesley social reform takes place in the heightened moral context wrought by God's saving work in the world. The reform of nation and church is surely borne along by the proclamation of "scriptural holiness" with all of the soteriological breadth which that term includes for Wesley.

In several of his writings, Wesley presents the lineaments of his ethics of reform. In his work, "A Farther Appeal to Men of Reason and Religion," he describes his conflict with the Church of England over Methodist reform efforts. He argues that his is a movement toward the reformation of mankind.

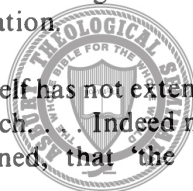
By reformation, I mean the bringing them back . . . to the calm love of God and one another, to a uniform practice of justice, mercy, and truth. With what colour can you lay any claim to humanity, to benevolence, to public spirit, if you can once open your mouth, . . . against such a reformation as this?

Wesley then asks about the impact of his message on the lives of people:

Are they brought to holy tempers and holy lives? This is mine, and should be your, inquiry; since on this, both social and personal happiness depend, happiness temporal and eternal.¹⁶

In this analysis of Wesley's ethics, attention is focused on the developed theological and practical ethics by which Wesley's moral influence impacted the nation and church. He may be seen in the tradition of the reformers, continuing their reforming task in society. Indeed Wesley in his sermon "The Mystery of Iniquity" gives credence in the claim that he recognized the continuity of Methodism with the earlier Reformation

The Reformation itself has not extended to above one third of the Western church. . . . Indeed many of the Reformers themselves complained, that the Reformation was not



carried far enough.' But what did they mean? Why, that they did not sufficiently reform the *rites* and ceremonies of the church. Ye fools and blind! to fix your whole attention on the circumstantialia of religion! Your complaint ought to have been the essentials of religion were not carried far enough! You ought vehemently to have insisted on an entire change of men's *tempers* and *lives*. . . .

Wesley asserts that the "whole world never did, nor can it this day, show a Christian country or city." The sermon concludes with the grand hope "that the time is at hand, when righteousness shall be as universal as unrighteousness is now."¹⁷

For Wesley, the Christian life-style leads to world involvement — not withdrawal. This life-style is a Christian integration which accentuates the potential of Christ's Word to change the world. Never a utopian vision, Wesley's realistic union of reform and perfection offers a way of hope without perfectionist illusions.

Footnotes

¹See Carl Bangs, *Arminius: A Study in the Dutch Reformation* (New York: Abingdon Press, 1971), 339-40. Arminius of course insisted that this privation makes depravity the necessary consequence. Without the Spirit the human spirit is corrupted.

²In a letter to me dated April 8, 1968. In the author's files.

³Robin Scroggs, "John Wesley as Biblical Scholar," *Journal of Bible and Religion* (October, 1960), pp. 415-422. George Cell indicated that in selected parts studied, some one-half to three-fourths of Wesley's changes are paralleled in modern translations like the R.S.V.

⁴Some said 15 people went mad after Whitefield's first sermon. When Bishop Benson of Gloucester heard of this he remarked that he hoped the madness would continue.

⁵Rob L. Staples, "Sanctification and Selfhood: A Phenomenological Analysis of the Wesleyan Message," *Wesleyan Theological Journal*, (Spring, 1972).

⁶See Wesley's "Thoughts Upon Necessity," in Albert C. Outler, ed. *John Wesley* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1964), pp. 474-491.

⁷*Ibid.* p. 489. See pp. 472-491.

⁸*Works* III, pp. 3-5.

⁹Peter Gay, *The Enlightenment* (New York, 1966), p. 346.

¹⁰Edwin Newman, *A Civil Tongue* (New York: Bobbs-Merrill, 1975, 1976).

¹¹*Journal* (April 1, 1739).

¹²*Letters*, VIII, pp. 230-31.

¹³See D. Jarrett, *Britain: 1688-1815* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1965), p. 340. Richard Price, *Essay on the Population of England and Wales*, thought population had fallen by 25% in a century. Jarrett speaks too of the enclosure acts, (which Wesley protested) that from 1760-1800 there were some 1,900 enclosure acts affecting 3

Wesley: A Man for All Seasons

million acres. By middle of the century settled society was breaking up. Large scale migration to cotton towns of Lancashire, Cheshire, and Derbyshire. The old parish structure of static life (Parish authorities prevented ingress or egress as much as possible) was changing. The landless laborer, who earlier in the century had been able to raise chickens and pigs, now had to fall back on poor relief.

¹⁴John Walsh, "Origins of the Evangelical Revival," in G.V. Bennett and J.D. Walsh, eds., *Essays in Modern English Church History* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1966), pp. 140-42.

¹⁵E. Gordon Rupp, *Principalities and Powers* (London: The Epworth Press, 1963), pp. 64-78.

¹⁶*Journal IV* (May 12, 1759), p. 313.

¹⁷John Wesley *Journal*, II ed. Nehemiah Curnock (London: The Epworth Press, 1911), p. 275. Emphasis mine. *Works*. VI, 358-59.

