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Puritanism in Wesley

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Thesis
PURITANISM IN WESLEY

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"If Puritanism did not fashion an Apollo with the bow, or a Venus with the apple, it fashioned virile men."

-Dowden

"Orthodoxy or right opinion, is at best, but a very slender part of religion, if it can be allowed to be any part at all. We think and let think; everyone must give an account of himself to God. We have our desire of spending and being spent, in promoting plain, practical religion. Only see that your heart be right toward God, that you know and love the Lord Jesus Christ; that you love your neighbor and walk as your Master walked; and I desire no more."

-Wesley.
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I. INTRODUCTION

The mighty stream of human history, with its source somewhere in the impenetrable wilderness of antiquity, moves onward with a continual flow. Its goal, the great ocean of happy culmination, lies beyond our horizon and so hidden from our view. We are a part of this onward movement and are included in the countless multitude of small streamlets that make up the powerful stream of human life. We feel the surge of the past as we enter the stream; we are whirled about in the eddies of many cross currents; we are caught in the ebb-tide of doubt, of retrogression, and of defeat; out again we ride the crest of the current of human progress. The stream winds, and doubles back upon itself, but its current is never broken. New streamlets tend to change the course or condition of the stream according to the force and direction of their own currents.

History is an unbroken sequence of events and personalities. There is change and progress but in the main, these are very gradual. Due to the complexities of life and its influences it is hard to know the real reasons for many such changes. However, in all of our study of such changes we must realize that the motive forces come out of the transformation of the national character, by the tillage of human soil, over a long stretch of time. In this paper, in which we try to show the Puritanism in John Wesley, we shall ever bear in mind the slowness of change; the ebb and flow of progress; and the unbroken sequence of activity. Great personalities, which direct the movement of human history are never isolated phenomenon, but are always the product of the human currents that flow into and about this new streamlet.

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Wesley did not consider himself a Puritan. He resented any implication that he was a Dissenter and, I am sure, would have objected most strenuously to being called a Puritan, especially as understood in his day. I feel that this man's greatness is due very largely to his Puritanism. His was, whom Lecky credits with a life that, forms an epoch in English history, is, I believe, a product of the Puritan spirit and ethical mode of life. Is greatness and the permanent influence of his life, is, as the champion of the true Puritan spirit of life and individualism, as above organization or institutions. Also his, having the form of godliness and seeking the power, developed the religio-ethical regimentation of life, which is Puritanism in the essence of development.

The purpose of this paper is not to show that Wesley was a Puritan but simply to show how greatly he was influenced by the Puritan religious ideal and how truly it shows forth in his life and the movement which he started. Wesley, we might say, was many things, with many currents playing in and around his life. As Fitchett says, He sat at the feet of many instructors and had read many books. He had been a sacerdotalist, an ascetic, a mystic, a legalist, all in turns, nay, all together. Yet, in it all, and emerging through all, I hope to show that the Puritan ideal of life was a guiding force.

We realize that in a study of this kind that our data is incomplete, for any record of the history of mankind can, at best, but be but fragmentary. Many of the smaller connections and

(1) Lecky, History of England in 18th c. vol. x. 48.
(2) Fitchett, Wesley and His Century p.148.
influences of life are lost sight of in the process of selecting the important influences of our development. I feel certain that if we had all of these many connections that we would find no breaks in history. What appears to be breaks would then be seen as periods when certain ideals or processes were submerged by raging torrents of conflicting ideas or processes, which in their turn are submerged by the former. Let us keep this in mind as we approach this study.
II. PURITANISM

A. Beginnings.

In order to know what we mean by Puritanism in itself, it is essential that we know what we understand Puritanism to be. It is a name of many shades. Like all movements and institutions, it did not come into being full-grown, nor did it remain a static thing. Puritanism grew out of the experience of the past, it developed and changed. It is a new embodiment of the positive non-Conformist ideal in which the individual and life, not the institution, is considered the center of activity. As Morley says, Puritanism came from the deeps. It was a manifestation of elements in human nature that are indestructible. It flowed from yearnings that make themselves felt in the Eastern world and in the Western; it soared from aspirations that breathe in men and women of many faiths and communions.

Puritanism is an outgrowth of the Protestant Reformation. It stands for evangelical religion instead of sacramentalism; it is based on the Christianity of the New Testament and not that of mediævalism, with its pagan ceremonial excrescences. It came out of the period of restored Protestantism after the short Catholic reign of Mary Tudor. It has its connections with the German and Genevan Reforms; with the religious ideals of Wiclif; and with the Monastic movements among the Catholics. The name first appears about the year 1564. It was given to certain men as an odious nickname, because they were desirous of a purer church, of righteousness, and of freedom from every form reminiscent of 'popery'. Archbishops Parker was it given with that of 'Precisian' and 'Presbyterian' and it was not long until it was in common use.

(1) Quoted from Flynn, "Influence of Puritanism" P. 10.
The term Puritan has been applied to practically all those men and women who sought to reform or completely change the Church of England. Presbyterians, Disciplinarians, and Consistorians, Genevans and Allobrogians, and later even Independents or Separatists. But while there were Puritans in all of these groups, yet, strictly speaking, they were a separate group. Puritanism and Presbyterianism are hardly interchangeable terms. It is true that they both have their roots in the Calvinistic system, in its attempt to combine individual and equal freedom with strict self-imposed law; to establish, under a system of the common endeavor after moral perfection. They followed Calvin in his system of positive education of the individual soul. Both grew up within the Established Church but the distinction lies in their aims. The Puritans, in the truest sense, were men and women of a spiritual passion who sought for the realization of the positive Nonconformist ideal. They had no desire to start a new system, as such, but they wanted the individual brought face to face with God, and they desired the law of God to be brought home to the community. Puritanism was a spirit and not a system. It was the exaltation of life over organization. On the other hand, Presbyterianism cannot be called such a spirit in the truest sense. The Presbyterians wanted the Church reorganized on Presbyterian lines and this was their paramount concern. Both aimed at moral and social, as well as religious reform; both declared rights, duties, and responsibilities, and were the enemies of vice and social disorder; and both had the same system of discipline. But the Puritans simply wanted to purify the Church and
wanted to make central and keep central the individual life and spirit, which would use the organization for its own good and not merely be used by the organization. In Puritanism, organization was made subsidiary to life while in Presbyterianism, their big effort was to substitute the Genevan system for that of the Established Church.

Puritanism is thus an ideal of life and a mode of discipline. It comes out of the past but first receives its rise in the middle of the sixteenth century. It takes shape and becomes fully organized under Cromwell in the first half of the 17th C. Fuller's words are true as they are characteristically quaint and pithy, when he describes Puritanism as a system which "in the days of King Edward was conceived; which in the reign of Queen Mary (but beyond the sea at Frankfort) was born; which in the reign of Queen Elizabeth was nursed and weaned; which under King James grew up a youth or tall stripling; but towards the end of King Charles reign shot up to the full strength and stature of man, able not only to cope with, but conquer the Hierarchy, its adversary." (1)

B. Essentials.

Puritanism has been praised in the most superlative terms and it has also been most adversely criticised and ridiculed. In too many instances, I fear that men have judged Puritanism by its caricatures rather than by its essentials. The Puritans have been exposed to the jibes of an unfriendly criticism. They have born the prejudiced enmity of both political rancour and religious hatred. We must remember that their very existence was

(1) Church History Book VII P. 23.
a struggle against the established order. We must judge them by the ideals of their age and not those of ours. It is plain to see that there were extremists among them, who in their intense zeal for purity, banned Marlowe, Ben Jonson, Shakespeare and even Herrick; who denounced Masques and plays, broke down the exquisitely carved images, and dashed to pieces the stained glass figures in the churches. This however was a reaction against Catholicism. They hated the emblems of monarchy and Prelacy as falsehoods. To their honest minds a falsehood of any kind deserved a burning hatred. Yes we admit that fanaticism, bigotry, intolerance, unreasonableness, strife, jealousies, are all in Puritanism. But these are not the essentials and may well be considered only the nature of the birth-throes of the movement.

The Puritan ideal was one of holiness, not in the older sense of consecration, but of perfectness, of "goodness in itself". While it held to the doctrine of Divine Sovereignty and the Divine Omniscience, yet it stressed man's part in religion, instead of God's part. It held to a strict moral discipline and activity of life. The Puritan faith in essence was the personal accountability of each individual to his God wherein he a prostrated his Maker without the intervention of a priest; no one form of Church government was essential to the existence of a church (yet held that some might be better than others); they held that the Pope was anti-Christ and that the Church of Rome was mystical Babylon; a Puritan was a man of one book and the Scriptures were a final authority on all subjects, national and ecclesiastical.

The Puritans desired the religious situation to be normal.
They resented the fact that "Pluralists and non-residents fleeced the flock, who looked up and were not fed." They were for reforming things. They were tired of a non-preaching clergy, often loose-living, who mumbled the service, with the aid of clarks who could not read, and to a people who could not spell nor write their own names. Instead they held out the promise of a preached gospel, a faithful discipline, a working clergy, and an intelligent, moral, and religious people. They were for a positive education of the individual soul.

In the beginning, Puritanism simply had a passion for spiritual ideals. When Humphreys, President of Magdalen College, Oxford, and Sampson, Dean of Christ Church, were removed by Parker in 1569 from their posts, it was mainly for two things. They were against forcing the use of vestments which they felt was a danger to real piety (the Church held it valuable for its own sake and not for its results); and they wanted the ministry to be based on spiritual qualifications and not upon the sole idea of conformity. They wanted life exalted above organization and were for the inner values, the spiritual ideals, and "goodness" rather than mere conformity. These men remained in the church, but one continued to protest and in 1571 drew up the "Northampton Model" of Puritanism as a program of activity.

The "Northampton Model" had briefly the following ideas:
(1) There was to be simplicity of ministerial dress, and the like;
(2) Music and choirs were done away with;
(3) The communion table was to be set in the nave instead of the chancel;
(4) Before con-

(1) Heron, James, "A Short History of Puritanism" P. 4.
munion would be administered, the individual must render an account of his life, and if absent, must give a reason of the neglect; (5) the children and young people were catechized each Sunday evening, the older people remaining with them; (6) a sermon was preached in the chief church each Sunday after the regular service; (7) the system of "prophesyings" was started, which was a means of mutual help and encouragement.

There were many refined and cultured gentlemen among the Puritans. The makers of Puritanism were largely Cambridge men. Cambridge was called a nest of Puritans in the last half of the sixteenth century. Laurence Chaderton instructed Culverwell, who in turn taught John Winthrop, the governor of our American colony. Chaderton also taught William Perkins, from whose great soul, John Cotton, John Robinson, and William Crashaw caught the Puritan ideals. In general we may say that the Puritans were men of great learning, untarnished piety, and the best friends to the constitution and liberties of the country. We can see many irregularities in the conduct of the Puritans but we must remember the terrible persecutions undergone by them. They endured reproach and ridicule of every kind; they suffered deprivation, imprisonment, and exile; they sacrificed every thing, even life, at the stake, for their nonconformity and love of liberty. As Brock says in his Preface, "They suffered all this for the testimony of a good conscience, and an avowed attachment to the cause of Christ." (1)

Puritanism produced strong men of self-reliance, of independence, and character. They were the outgrowth of a long

spiritual revolution for the freeing of the mind which brought
the consciousness of power, self-confidence, self-reliance, and
the stirrings within the breast of boundless capacities. They
relied on the Scriptures which they came to know through the
public services and the wide spread of the Geneva Bibles. They
discarded the old tradition of a priestly hierarchy and came
close to God through Christ himself. They received faith by
hearing and not through specified ceremonies. Salvation was not
a system of works but the personal submission of the heart and
life to Christ. Each layman must do his own thinking, search for
the truth, and use his reason in deciding. This brought mental
independence, profound seriousness, and manly self-reliance. As
Green says, "The mighty strife of good and evil within the soul
itself, which had overawed the imagination of dramatist and poet,
became the one spiritual conception in the mind of the Puritan--
each saw himself the theatre of daily struggle between darkness
and the powers of light, with his soul as the prize of eternal
conflict between heaven and hell." (1)

This spiritual ideal gave men an indomitable love of free-
dom, high courage, stern integrity and an unbending faithfulness
to the deepest convictions of the soul. It produced characters
that were firm, upright and pure. Their noble aims led to heroic
endurance, heroic resistance against wrong, and to deeds of heroic
achievement. They remained loyal to the church, as far as pos-
sible, until they were ejected. It was inevitable that Puritan
and Anglican must part company sooner or later because their
final authority was not the same. The Puritans held that each

separate community of believing men was a true church and that
the minister got his authority direct from the Lord, and resisted the encroachments of arbitrary power, as they, at the same time, tried to purify the church from secularity and corruption.
Everything must accord with the higher duty owed to God, for they insisted, that all church order and system should be Christ working himself out, as it were, through the members of his church.
We may say that they were in the grip of a spirit which they did not perfectly understand. Their exaltation, of life over organization, was instinctive rather than deliberate and conscious.

The soul of Puritanism, its inner light, was often dimmed, but it has never failed. It has ever influenced the passage of wholesome laws, coloured religious thought, and educated public opinion by always protesting against the popular fallacy, that a State has no conscience. It has often been at war with itself and has given birth, from time to time, to rival sects and rival theories of Church and State, but has possessed a soul unaffected and undaunted by all these mutations.

Its political ideals were few but held with intense tenacity. They stood for religious freedom, orderly government, and the final abolition of the abuses for which Laud and Charles had died. The early Puritans were most patriotic to the state, just as they were loyal to the Church, but the very nature of their movement was democratic. They had a devotion to a higher authority than the Crown. For in their book they read that Kings were the chosen of the nation as well as the anointed of the Lord, even David set on the throne by a united nation; also the Kingdom of God was no respecter of persons, all the least being equal.
the Apostles disclaimed lordship over human liberties. Even divine right of kings, assive obedience, and the exclusive rule of bishops, were claims that rested on shaky foundations. Their noblest gift to politics was in making constitutional tradition, the law and will and wisdom, of the realm. John Pym, one of the greatest of commoners, expressed his merit more than in the days of the Long Parliament, he said his relief at the Lords to act in concert with the Lower house. "Surely only force the Commons to save the King on alone." In regard to their civil and religious liberty more sure, "So absolute was the authority of the Crown at that time, that the precious spark of liberty had been hitherto and was reserved by the puritan alone; and it is to this sect that the English owe the whole freedom of their Constitution."

In the matter of the state of society, the Puritans were for social equality. They believed and held to make this a reality. They stood for toleration, and true to their faith, but sometimes this was not recognized, and in their intense zeal and bitter struggle for life and freedom they were at times most intolerant. In the series of James I the words"Papist" and "Sorcery" were by-words for "assassin" and "foam", for he touched their pocket books by irregular tax methods. They were relieved that so sinful a man should be on the throne and the successful. He lines were seen in their religious convictions. Likewise under Charles I. Their expectations were continued and Archibald Lawson seemed bent upon robbing the Poor out of the Rich,

(1) Quoted by Flynn "Influence of Puritanism" P. 20
(2) Quoted by Heron "A Short History of Puritanism" P. 6
so that thousands fled the country. Then it was found that when Charles’ Divine Right idea failed in Scotland and England, and the Long Parliament was called and the Puritan revolution was successful, the Puritans became more intolerant than the Anglicans had been. But "surely oppression maketh a wise man mad" and though the leaders desired toleration, they hardly knew what to do. They had a hostile and unremitting king on their hands, they were opposed by Anglicans, Presbyterians, Roman Catholics, especially in Ireland, and by the Episcopalians.

Cromwell is the most interesting figure of the seventeenth century in England and his life is characterized by an intense religious zeal in the fear of God but not of man. His Parliament was representative (though only of a small fraction of the people). They were God-fearing men who hated covetousness. His army of Ironsides were honest, sober Christians who were fined 10 pence if they swore; who went into battle "singing psalms"; who went about killing their enemies in serious and prayerful but highly effective manner. (1) The English people accepted Cromwell because he was a respected and strong leader; he advocated a rule of righteousness, reduction of public expenditure, equalization of taxes, the compilation of a single code of laws, and radical proposals for civil marriages and the abolition of titles. Thus with strict enforcement of law and order, trade and industry brought domestic prosperity and the foreign affairs were conducted satisfactorily to the English patriotism and to the English purses.

Another essential of Puritanism must be mentioned. That is

the Puritan home. Their sense of spiritual fellowship gave new tenderness and refinement to the common family affections. There was developed a more manly purity. It produced women of piety, chastity, modesty, and kindness, who mingled strength and sweetness in their characters. A higher conception of duty colored men's actions every day and their aim was for self-command in speech and action. They were grave and against frivolity, life orderly and methodical, being sparing in diet and self-indulgence, and practicing sobriety even in dress. In the Puritan home the wife and child rose from being mere dependents on the will of husband or father, for they were seen as saints, as well as the men, and their souls were hallowed by the touch of a divine Spirit. As Green States, "Home as we conceive it now was the creation of the Puritan." It may have occasioned the loss of the passion, the caprice, the subtle and tender play of feeling, the breadth of the Elizabethan age, but on the other hand life gained in moral grandeur, in a sense of the dignity of manhood, in orderliness and equitable force. The larger geniality of the age that had passed away was replaced by an intense tenderness within the narrower circle of the home, "gravity and seriousness reigned there, softened and warmed by family love, until the home of the honest, upright Englishman has become the sweetest and purest thing on earth." (1)

We thus find austerity of manner, speech, dress and the practice of strict discipline among the Puritans. They had their ways of enjoying life, simpler than ours, but not on that ac-

(1) Quoted from Flynn "influence of the Puritans" P. 75
count less real and satisfactory. But as Clark points out "The sour visaged Puritan, contemning pleasure, despising letters and art, and wrapping his cloak about him in haughty aloofness as he walked the ways of men, exists in fancy rather than in fact— and in so far as it existed, it was exceptional and not typical." At best, the Puritan was an asceticist of, and sympathetic towards all that was best and worthiest, however far outside the distinctly religious realm it might lie, and in no wise forbade its votaries,—but rather impelled them to stand shoulder to shoulder with their fellows under the burden and heat of the private and public working day.

The enemies of Puritanism caricatured them according to the most extremes,—Archbishop Parker called them "Schismatics, belly-rod, deceivers, flatterers, fools, having been unlearnedly brought up in profane occupations, being puffed up with arrogance." Whitgift says, "They hung their heads in the street, self-sorw or never laughed, sought commendation, thought it heinous to wear the cap and surlice, were slandering and backbiting their brethren etc." Dugdale calls them "of their father the devil and his works they could do." Bishop Burnet gives a better picture, "The Puritans gained credit as the bishops lost it—they put on the appearance of sanctity and gravity and took more pains in their parishes than those who adhered to bishops, often preaching against the vices of the court." It is only natural that Puritanism was not popular with the leaders of their day and so were ridiculed, and a

(1) Clark, "History of English Nonconformity" Vol.1. P. 267
(3) ibid. (4) Ibid. (5) Ibid.
quotation from Richard Baxter, shows us the true state of things, "When I heard them speak scornfully of others, as Puritans, whom I never knew, I was at first apt to believe all the lies and slanders with which they loaded them. But when I heard my own father so reproached, and perceived the drunkards were far verdest in the reproach, I perceived that it was mere malice—He used prayer books—but he read Scriptures while others were dancing on the Lord's Day; also they were against him for praying in his house with use of the book even; for reproving drunkards and swearers, for talking of life to come. —He was reviled often with the name Puritan, Preciser, Hypocrite—by the rabble." (1)

Colonel Hutchinson, a Puritan of the Puritans, whose whole life was the rule of temperance in meat, drink, apparel, pleasure, and all things that may be lawfully enjoyed, took delight in the things he enjoyed. He had that activity of spirit which could never endure idleness either in himself or others and made him eager for the time indulged in pleasure as well as in business. Lady Huntington says, "I had at one time eight tutors in several qualities; languages, music, dancing, writing and needlework." (2) Cromwell and many others liked a good horse, rode to hounds, hawked, delighted in good music and cheerful company. Milton says of Thomas Young, a Puritan divine, "First, under his guidance, I explored the recesses of the muses, and beheld the sacred green spots of the cleft summit of Parnassus, and quaffed the Plian cups, and, Olio, favouring me, twice sprinkled my joyous mouth with Castalian wine." (3)

(1) Quoted by Clark "History of Non Conformity" V. 1. P. 263.
(2) Quoted by Lynn "Influences of Puritanism" P. 80.
(3) Quoted by Mercy "Short History of Puritanism" P. 13.
Many Puritans were scholars, lovers of music, and lovers of letters. They were not hostile to culture, human affairs and pleasures except in extreme cases. We do not find it among their great Statesmen like Lord Cecil, Lord Burleigh, Sir Francis Knollys, Sir Francis Walsingham, and Lord Bacon. Nor among their patriots and Parliamentarians as Sir John Eliot, John Pym, and John Hampden. Nor in Cromwell, nor in the poets Spenser and Milton. Nor the great divines as Cartwright, Goodair, Travers, Howe, Owen, Silence, Baxter, Bucylen and many others are not hostile to pleasure and culture, but had such a high aim, such intensity of moral concentration that it did tend to bring a loss of genial delight in all that was human in the age of Elizabeth. As Clark explains,

"It was easy for the seriousness of essential Puritanism to become something like asceticism with not a few, stretching the passion to a desiring, as spiritually profitless, the wisdom of the world. But these excesses were not Puritan's essence. No detailed programme of morality and conduct was insisted upon, but rather were they concerned with the underlying spirit out of which all action comes." And he quotes Dowden thus "The Puritan gentleman might surprise a nineteenth century drawing room by certain peculiarities of manner and speech, but he would not offend by brutal license. His temper might be grave rather than buoyantly gay, but he should possess within certain springs of happiness which do not sap the genuine joy of human life." (Puritan and Anglican P. 91).

Let us not mistake a caricature for a genuine portrait

(1) "History of English Nonconformity" P. 204 Vol. I.
of English Puritanism. They have often been painted a villainous group of hypocrites, by people who forget that hypocrisy is the homage which vice pays to virtue, and that consequently, the assumption of the garb and demeanor of the Puritan, by a dissembler, testified to the high character of the men of that persuasion. The essence of Puritanism was their inner fellowship and direct communion with God through Christ and their orderly moral discipline of life. It is the spirit rather than the denomination that declares the character. In Churchman, Presbyterian, Independent, Baptist, and Quaker, however much they differed among themselves, the Puritan character existed, and continues to exist. They brought English peasantry out of heathen darkness. They were highly influential in securing constitutional liberty, freedom of conscience and orderly government and just laws. In Baxter we see the essence of Puritanism, for he is probably the most representative Puritan in history. Late in life through a comprehensive wisdom acquired in long years of persecution, of labour, and devotion, he corrects his earlier narrowness, sectarianism, and dogmatism. He is a lover of good men; he pleads for a more general recognition of the holy Spirit, guiding life, purifying the heart and instructing the conscience. The Spirit is essential, but it is vain to dispute about the form of Church. He is for tolerance with the Episcopacy and the Papists, pronouncing himself willing to worship with Greeks, Lutherans, or Ana-Baptists if they allow him. He is content with the general sense of Scripture, as revealing man's sinfulness, God's love, and the way of salvation. He thinks all history is partial and deals tenderly
with honest doubt.

C. CONDITIONS

After the downfall of the Protectorate with the death of Cromwell, Puritanism and the spirit of nonconformity entered a long and bitter struggle for toleration. The Act of Uniformity in 1662 caused over 2,000 clergymen to lose their posts. These sober, vigilant, and industrious men weighed the matter in a calm and serious spirit and accepted their doom rather than conform. The "Five Mile Act" meant practically, to conform or starve, for it kept nonconformists out of corporations. And there were terrible persecutions after the second Conventicle Act. It is estimated that 60,000 suffered for conscience sake, during Charles and James reigns, and that 5000 were done to death by prison hardships. However with the accession of William there came the Toleration Act 1689. By this, they were merely tolerated but not recognized. Their struggle for existence was over and they had in perpetuity the right to be.

The position of the Established Church however, became firmly fixed. Everything had tended toward the hardening of the framework and the stereotyping of her methods, removing all traces of elasticity and stopping the smallest gaps at which the spirit of concession or even temporary unbending might slip in. In William's reign the absolutely rigid external organization, to the inward life, had been settled in possession for all time. Apparently the cause of Puritanism and nonconformity was losing ground. Their purpose grew dim and the officeholders abandoned the Nonconformist worship and many drifted back into the Estab-
lished Church. The passing of the great leaders, Fox 1661, Baxter 1691, and Barclay in 1690 also made for the decay of religion. Let the separate "societies" organized quietly under Charles II, were developed under William and Mary and these may be termed the forerunners of the "Methodist" societies. They are a sign of the resurrection of Puritanism within the Establishment, and the evangelical revival more fully expounded. They had religious discussion, reading of the Scriptures, prayer, promotion of holy life in themselves and others, sought the conversion of souls, helped to relieve poverty, and preached the Gospel at home and abroad. Thus we find the puritan spirit somewhat dimmed but still alive and active throughout the land.

III WESLEY

Out of this period of apparent religious decay and lack of passion on a large scale came John Wesley, who gained greater influence on modern English thought than any other single man. In the life history and experience of this religious genius, whose great personality was brought into vivid and direct contact with the masses and so had more social and political influence, than is usual with religious leaders, can be seen the effect of a Puritan heritage and the working out of the Nonconformist ideal. This however is largely unconscious as far as Wesley is concerned.

A Heritage.

The basis of Wesley's Puritan ideals is found in his heritage. He descended from a stormy, heroic race, with a singular fervor and sense of duty, as well as a varied heritage and
His great-grandfather and his grandfather were ejected from their parishes, one in the uniformity Act. His great-grandfather, in Ireland, was on one side, in Ireland Act of 1634. Wesley's father was ejected for being recusant of Mr. Marton, with the vicious poor Commissioners of the uniformity. His, (John's father, Samuel) mother was the daughter of the scholarly Puritan, John White and the niece of the witty divine, Thomas Fuller. Samuel had the moderate mind, the Christian conservatism which every marked the family, and so, disgusted with the ferocity and bigotry he encountered at the Dissenting College, he went to Exeter College in Oxford and became a clergyman in the establishment.

John's mother was the daughter of the eminent Nonconformist, Dr. Amesley, an ejected divine whose family was taken and good family. She knew Greek, Latin, the French, was saturated with theology and had a taste for abstruse knowledge, she wrestled with metaphysical subtleties even at a girl. She was a woman, with a strain of the Spartan mother in her blood, in that stern and devoted discipline of life which was her Puritan heritage. She had theories of education, strength of will, and of arm, to carry them out, but about all of her discipline and correction there was an atmosphere of love. There was no lingering tenderness, and no enervating strain of indulgence, but the love of a deathless quality which bound her children to her. She was the twenty-fifth child of her father and bore to Samuel Wesley 19 children in 21 years.

The heritage of John Wesley is thus seen to be distinctly a Puritan one, even though both his father and mother were...

21.
go into the establishment. Puritanism was not at its best at this time and they were of the nobler stock of Puritans. His father was a scholarly man of poetic ambitions and highly impracticable in matters of business. He was of a blunt independence, with a promptness, that sometimes became rashness and had the habit of obstinancy in defending his views. He was a genial man of true piety and for forty years labored among his boorish folk, instructing, reproving, exhorting, visiting from house to house, till his communicants were increased tenfold, and the moral tone was cleansed and elevated. He dreamed of for wider fields and mapped out a vast missionary program and on his death-bed told Charles, "Be steady; the Christian faith will surely revive in these Kingdoms. You shall see it, though (1) I shall not." So here is a suggestion of where John got his world parish idea.

John received more from Susanna Wesley, the dominant influence in the rectory. She was a woman of remarkable dignity and poise. She was superior to her husband in clearness and force of intellect, in practical judgment, in deliberative steadiness of purpose. She thought for herself and she and Samuel seldom agreed on his questions, yet they were happy in each other's love and respect. Her plan of home discipline shows forth the Puritan influence on English home life.

B. Background.

Let us now briefly consider the age in which Wesley lived

(1) Quoted by Winchester "The Life of John Wesley" P. 7.
and see the background of his life. It was an age of rationalism and of uncompromising individualism. There was no existing social organizations adequate to cope with the evils. The political and religious institutions had crystallized into species of hereditary and privileged oligarchies, with the officialdom not unsympathetic or wholly exclusive, but incapable of change or advance. There was a foulness to much of the literature; cruelty of laws; and a high degree of despair in religion. The earlier half of the 18th C. was an age of materialism, dim ideals, and of expiring hopes. It was the age of self-indulgence and exploitation of Sunderland, of George II and of Walpole. It was a period when the dynamic message of Christ, as a life to touch life, and "frozen into a theology; spun out into ecclesiastical forms; crystallised into a system of external ethics; and become a mere adjunct to politics." It was a period of increasing wealth and world prestige, "an age of practical materialism, hard rationalism and unreasonable self-complacency." Fitchett, in speaking of the state of religion calls it frost bitten formalism and the age of convention-pressed England. The vision had grown faint, while the sense of sin and of God's remedy for it, had largely perished. The element of enthusiasm and heroism was gone from the preaching. Their exhortations were, -don't be drunken or you shall ruin your health; nor commit murder, or you shall be hanged. Every man should be happy, and the way to be happy is to be thoroughly respectable. Two great waves of passion had recently swept over England-the Puritan wave that culminated

(1) Fitchett, "Wesley and His Century" P. 14
(2) Cambridge Modern History V.6 P. 77.
and broke in the civil war; and the recoil from Puritanism which found its triumph in the Restoration. Now peace was the thing. Great debates, fought with sword and musket, with the orison and the pillory, with Acts of Parliament and sentences of the Court, had left England exhausted. The great English characteristic of compromise was evident in the Whig program, in which, there was to be no passion, for it was dreaded, and they hated fanatics. Enthusiasm was suspected on the face of it, and moderation was the only thing. Of course there were protests and rebels, such as Chatham among the politicians; Thomson among the poets; Berkeley among the philosophers; and Law among the Divines; as well as the continuation of the "societies."

C. Influences.

Thus with a distinctly Puritan heritage and introduced into a period of spiritual cloudiness when Christianity was taken as more or less fictitious by intellectual, respectable and materialistic England, let us now see the influences on his life and the development of his ideals.

1. Home.

The Wesley household was one of learning, order, obedience and industry. There was a cluster of brisk, vehement, argumentative boys and girls, living on the plainest fare, drilled to soft tones and pretty formal courtesies. As Fitchett puts it, "Learning was the ideal; duty was the atmosphere; fear of God, was the law; and religion was the master-force running through all." (1)

(1) "Wesley and His Century" P. 31.
In Wesley's Journal of Aug. 1742, he puts in a letter from his mother of July 24 1732, explaining the method of home discipline and training. She had practically all of the training of the children as well as the managing of the house. From birth they were put into a regular method of living, as in dressing, undressing, changing their linen, hours of sleep, etc. When they had turned a year old they were taught to fear the rod, and to cry softly. As soon as possible they were confined to three meals a day and no eating or drinking between meals was allowed. They ate what was provided for them. Their hours of work and rest, their habits of dress, manners, speech, and sleep were all regulated by strict rule, and instant obedience was always required. The first thing to be done with children is to conquer their will, to keep them from the habit of stubbornness and obstinacy, Saving them from many childish follies and inadvertences and making them capable of being governed by the reason and duty of the parents. Religion is doing the will of God and self-will is the root of all sin and misery, as there was to be no indulgences of it. If a trivial thing and denial was profitable, heaven and hell depended on the matter of the will, she said.

Mrs. Wesley explained further that they eat nothing they cried for, and were required to speak handsomely for what they wanted. Taking God's name in vain, cursing and swearing, uncleanliness, obscenity, rude, ill-bred names, were never heard from them. At the age of five came the solemn day when every child was taught his letters, in one day of six hours, and the next morning began his reading lessons with the first verse of the first chapter of Genesis. They never left their lesson period
until perfect in their lesson. There was no loud talking or playing allowed, but they kept to the business at hand for the six hours of school. The children learned some bad habits while in other homes after the rectory fire, which were with difficulty broken, then again in their own home. Then it was that they sang psalms at the beginning and leaving school, morning and evening. Then the general recitation at five began, with the oldest taking the youngest that could speak, and so on, reading the Psalms and a chapter in the New Testament. In the morning there was also the Psalm and a chapter in the Old Testament and private prayers, before breakfast.

The "By-laws" of the household were: Whoever was charged with a fault, of which they were guilty, if they would ingenuously confess it, and promise to amend, should not be beaten. (2) that no sinful action, as lying, pilfering, playing at church, or on the Lord's day, disobedience, swearing, etc., should ever pass unpunished. (3) that no child should ever be child, or beat twice, for the same fault; and that if they amended, they should never be unbraided with it afterwards. (4) that every signal act of obedience should be commended, and frequently rewarded, according to the merits. (5) An act of obedience with the intention to please, though not well performed, should be kindly accepted and the child with sweetness directed how to do better for the future. (6) No one was to invade the property of another in the smallest matter, even to the value of a farthing or a pin; never take anything without the others consent. (7) That promises be strictly observed: a gift once bestowed, the right of the donor passed immediately unless conditional upon certain
performance. (8) No girl taught to work till she can read very well; then kept to her work with the same application, for the same time, what she was held to in reading.

Mrs. Wesley was a tireless teacher and had wonderful patience as was needed in training such a large family. She prepared an admirably clear body of explanation upon the Catechism and the Creed for the children and was accustomed to meet them separately once a week, at a specified time, for an hour of religious conversation and instruction. They never forgot this and when John was a Fellow of Lincoln College he wrote to his mother and asked her to give him an hour of her thought and prayer every Thursday evening, as she used to do when he was a boy at home.

It is from this orderly household of strict but cheerful discipline, both intellectual and religious, that John received his boyhood training. He was the favorite son, for she felt that he had been providentially saved from the rectory fire for a special work. From her, he inherited his logical cast of mind, his executive capacity, his inflexibility of will, his union of independence of judgment with respect for authority, his deep religious temper. Here in a household of the best Puritan characteristics, John was trained for his precision and order, his gift of organization and mastery of details, his notions of education, even in some of the specific rules and customs of his religious societies may be traced to his mother's discipline. This brave, wise, gentle and high-bred woman with the brain of a theologian and the tastes of a scholar had ideals for her children. They were to be gentlefolk, scholars, Christians. This marvelous woman lacked one thing that would have been most helpful—a sense --
of humor. This was also a lack of John.

The Wesley household had little money and lived just above the poverty line much of the time. But Samuel, as well as Susannah, was wrapped up in the children and they sacrificed themselves for them. Samuel was a loving despot, rather irresponsible but with a courageous spirit; tied up with a hot temper. He bore a great deal of damage to his property and much ill-will from his people. But he could sear off to Convocation on bail in jail for debts, in the spirit of most cheerful philosophy. A Spirit of frugality and thrift permeated the household.

The rectory fire, when John was six, and from which he was rather miraculously saved played big in his imagination ever afterwards. A "brand plucked from the burning" was his way of expressing it. The incident became a mystic picture of the condition of the whole world and of the part he was to play in it. He, who had been saved from a burning house at mid-night must save men from the flames of a more dreadful fire. Another incident happened in the home when John was nine years old.

While the Father was away, Mrs. Wesley began to hold religious meetings in the rectory kitchen, first for her own servants and later for the neighbors who wished to come in. As high as 30 or 40 were attending and this "convivial" type of meeting was objected to by Samuel when he heard it. A woman praying publicly and exhorting and reading the Scriptures! She put before problems that John had to meet so far later; of greater importance, dangerous forms or spiritual snare: what it was wrong to do and, if the method of doing it was right, if "men could exist for the sake of ecclesiastical forms, moral..."
ticaI forms for the sake of some goals; His mother showed fine persistency and courageous zeal in building one college. Yet though it "looked particular", yet anything did, that was serious and helped to advance the glory of God, if performed out of the pulpit. She felt that every soul left under her care was talent committed to her, under trust, of the great Lord and she will be faithful to win so she could render an account of her stewardship. It is the realization of life and not that of the organization; it is the Puritan spirit that remains, not policy. She took over, adopts the same policy.

2. School.

The next influence on his life was the Charterhouse school. He had grown up a quiet, silent, solitary boy with after his ears and the habit of requiring the reason for everything he was ever to do. He was early initiated to the communion table because of his religious docility. Before his twentieth birthday he entered Charterhouse on the recommendation of the Duke of Buckingham. Here he had the competition and earnest of a public school, yet he was rather isolated with the strains of the games. The strictness days are the best of everything, especially of the food. Here was a spare diet, but with regular early morning exercise, it developed physical endurance which lasted on arrival at a ripe old age. He was an ideal student, quick, tireless, methodical, frugal of time and sober of spirit, as is to be expected from his mother's training. After six years of strenuous life in Charterhouse and harsh contacts at this public school, in college, court and self-reliance he developed. Both his body and character

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were burned and made ready for Oxford University which he entered as a youth of 17.

Wesley was from a line of Oxford Divines. It had long been a center of learning and religious fervor, but there had been a decline in the early part of the eighteenth century. It seemed a rather insincere field for a clever and serious-minded lad. It was the home of insincerity and idleness and of the vices bred of such conditionings. There was no more for "enthusiastic", not even for athletics! There was of course an element of real scholarship and of moral wholesomeness left about the school, but in the main, they were largely sunk out of sight. A type of professor who, as Gibbon described, "remembered that he had a salary to receive and forgot that he had a duty to perform." "Fitchett says, "The professors drew salaries for lectures they never gave; the students bought dispensations for absence from lectures which were never delivered, and took oaths to obey laws which they never so much as read." There was much intemperance and it was an age of moral and intellectual decrepitude. "From the toil of reading or thinking, or writing, the fellows had absolved their conscience." The impression it made on Adam Smith made him hard on all education in his "Wealth of Nations". Wesley himself, in his last Oxford Sermon preached on St. Bartholomew's Day in 1744, makes a flaming indictment of the university before the professors, fellows, heads of colleges, and the students. After it was over he writes in his Journal, "I preached, I suppose the last time, at St. Mary's. Be it so. I am now clear of the blood of those...

References:
(1) "Wesley and his Times" P. 52.
(2) Ibid. P. 52.
men. I have fully delivered my own soul." Yet he liked Oxford as a place of study, and meditation, and quiet, and says in "His Appeal to Reason and Religion," "Charles and I desired to live in quiet at Oxford. We were sated with noise, with one fatigue, and seeking nothing but to rest. We wanted nothing. We looked for nothing more in this world when we were drafted out again, by earnest importunity, to preach at one place, and another, and another, and so carried on, we knew not how, without any design but the general one of saving souls, into a situation, which, had it been named to us at first would have appeared far worse than death."

Wesley had a studious and successful career at Oxford. He got his B.A. in 1724 and was elected Fellow of Lincoln in 1725. He carried away the merits and faults of the University type. He excelled in logic; he had a confident primness of manner, shone in argument and liked it. His literary style was clear, terse, direct, and marked by a stern scorn of ornament. He liked brevity and talked in enigmas. The general lax atmosphere of the University seemed to spur him on to more intense industry. It was here that he said that he and leisure have parted company. And it was here that his mother wrote him to make poetry his diversion but not his business: His hours were planned with characteristic thoroughness; so many being distributed to classics, so many to logic and ethics; so many to Hebrew and Arabic. Saturday was devoted to poetry and oratory. He was considerate of his personal appearance and seems to of had many friends at this time.

(1) Journal Aug. 24, 1744.
(2) Works of Wesley V. 5. P. 147.
Robert Kirkham, an undergraduate admirer, wrote to him of a dinner "where they tapped a barrel of admirable cider and discussed your most deserving youth character, your little and handsome person, and your obliging and desirable conversation." The basis was laid and he was just started on his life of scholarly ambition. His plans were high and he became an omnivorous reader, regardless of his life of extraordinary activity.

The question of his career however was now before him. He was now a University Fellow, but he had never gotten away from his early piety. He was ordained Deacon in 1725. He left Oxford to assist his father in 1727 and was ordained a Priest in 1728. In 1729 he returned to Oxford as a Tutor and became leader of the Holy Club which was started in 1727. Between 1725 and 1729 we get three rather distinct pictures of him, from his Journals. The first one is of him as the Oxford student in transition, where he is passing from a layman to a clergyman, leaving Christ Church and becoming a Lincoln Fellow. Here he won the reputation of an industrious, keen-witted and successful student, and we find him playing tennis, rowing, swimming, riding, hunting, or walking long distances. He is mastering books, analyzing, extracting, sometimes condensing them for the benefit of his friends, but always collecting. He was not very strong and spent some time in rest and recreation. He visited the "coffee house" to read the news. He read Ben Jonson's play "The Alchemist" and "Punch." And he knew more in a wider field than most of his contemporaries. This, with his habit of economy in requiring rest and rest.

(1) Quoted from Fitchett "Wesley and His Century" P. 54.
made him a leader in popular education for he was the best gather-
er and scatterer of useful knowledge that Georgian Longland had.

The second picture is one he is his father's curate on two
occasions at Wrost and Upworth. His habits were much the same
as at Oxford; he worked in the garden, wrote sermons for himself
and his father, drank tea, sang, went to the religious plays, trans-
cribed letters from Assasia, Vaes, Varanese and his brothers,
and explored the bar's grave. He pursued the classics and theo-
logical studies, read and collected Spencer's "Faerie Queene",
indulging in the "Spectator", in plays and other light literature.
He discussed points of doctrine and moral philosophy with his
mother, copied his father's "Dissertation on Job", discussed
with pretty Miss Hargreaves and preached severely, to the people
of Upworth, not soothing their sins, especially gossip and scan-
dal. He visited the sick and buried the dead. He was gentlemanly
refined, familiar with the best literature of the day, congenial
companion and to some extent worldly but not given to "levity"
and always beffitting his body under the iron rule of law and
resolution. It seems almost a miracle that this little, handsome,
clean living person, immaculate of attire, clever, conventional,
adored by his sisters, and ever welcome companion of his secular-
ly mother, was soon to become the great evangelist.

The third picture is of him as a visitor in the parishes
of Broadway, Buckland and Stanton, from 1725-1729. This was a
land of beautiful scenery and he was on friendly terms with fam-
ilies whose life was of interest and intellectual character. A
correspondence was carried on among the group of young people.
and they used fictitious names to address each other, as Kitty Kirkham, Varanese; Mrs. Pemberton, Azaria; Anne Ironsides, Selina; Charles Wesley, Aresias; and John as Cyrus. They fostered refinement, thoughtfulness and religious aspiration; they gave an incentive to literary study and selections of poetry were written to these and his sisters.

Thus we see Wesley as a friendly person who loved the family circle and congenial company. Here they read aloud, discussed the events of the day, books, points in moral philosophy, history, science, plays, and poetry and natural phenomena. Parlor games were not despised and he occasionally danced with friends and with his sisters when he visited them. He loved companionship and often spoke of "our company". This was the lighter side of Wesley, but in the main he was seriously searching for a theology. He notes in his diary of the discussions with his father and mother over many topics as, how to increase our faith, our hope, our love of God; prudence, sincerity, simplicity; predestination, salvation etc. He was restlessly searching for this satisfying theology for the next thirteen years after 1725. At every stage he cut his theology to the final test of experience and he would have no uncertainties, no easy and soft illusions.

Wesley had read Thomas à Kempis' "Imitation of Christ" when taking his holy orders and it was his companion for life. He came to see and believe in a religion of the heart and sentiments, as well as of words and action. A friend, very likely Miss Kirkham, helped him in the same year to alter his whole form of conversation and to set out in earnest for a new life, and this 'Prince of Israel' was a restless, unsatisfied seeker after the Lord's eye.
after, until that memorable day when his heart was 'strangely warmed'. In this search he was greatly helped by Bishop Taylor's "Holy Living and Dying" and probably even more by Mr Law's "Christian Perfection."

When he returned to Oxford in 1729 he became the leader of the Holy Club and with this group of like-minded fellows he sought to find what he lacked, by an extremely ascetic mode of life and discipline. He had failed utterly and consciously in his early preaching, for he did not get the crowds nor arouse the consciences of the people, although he had all of the human qualifications for success as a minister. He sought to get the power which he lacked, by the study, discussion and communion of this club. He still lacked the relation of the personal soul to the personal Saviour. His conscience was thoroughly awakened by his devotional reading of Kempis, Taylor, and Law, for he says after reading Law's books, "Although I was much offended with many parts of both, yet they convinced me more than ever of the exceeding height and depth and breadth of the law of God. The light flowed in so mightily upon my soul that everything appeared in a new view. I cried to God for help; resolved as I had never done before, not to prolong the time of obeying Him. And, by my continued endeavour to keep his whole law inward and outward to the utmost of my power, I was persuaded that I should be accepted of Him, and that I was even then in a state of salvation. (1)

But he did not yet have forgiveness—of grace through faith, and of obedience. For during his six years as Tutor at Oxford, he strove without attaining, and aspiring he continually

(1) Quoted from Fitchett "Wesley and His Century" P. 72.
met spiritual defeats. He practiced self-denial and had the burning zeal of a fanatic, but all on the high church theology of salvation by works.

In the rules and practices of the members of the Holy Club we see again the austerity of a Puritan heritage and discipline. They were a little group of ordered lives who took all their duties seriously. To the original group of Robert Kirkman, Mr. Morgan, James Harvey, George Whitefield, Charles Kincaid and the two Wesleys, others soon came in, making fifteen members. They were a novelty in the University and naturally received much criticism and ridicule. All of their time of sleep, eating, company, study, recreation etc. was allotted and they fasted regularly, communicated regularly, denied themselves that they might help others. They visited the sick, helped the poor, taught children, and visited the inmates of the workhouse and prison. And they kept a strict and frequent review of their lives as shown by the test of the club: (1) Have I embraced every probable opportunity of doing good, and of preventing, removing, or lessening evil? (2) Have I thought anything too dear to part with, to serve my neighbour? (3) Have I spent an hour at least every day in speaking to some one or other? (4) Have I in speaking to a stranger explained what religion is not, (not negative) and what it is, the recovery of the image of God; searched at what step in it he stops, and what makes him stop? (5) Have I persuaded all I could to attend public prayers, sermons, and sacraments, and in general to obey the laws of the Church Universal, the Church of England, the State, the University, and their respective colleges? (6) Have I, after every visit, asked him to
went with me, did I say anything wrong? (7) Have I rejoiced with and for my soul in virtue or pleasures enjoyed with him in vain, as "the one in him? (7) Have I will been and appeared to be, the sinner of all my justice towards others?

So still unsatisfied, he went to Georgia to convert the heathen. He believed salvation can only be obtained by the whole world and he was finding a rather morbid enjoyment in the process of rigid and mechanical ritualism and asceticism. With it, was also a mystical slant of mental prayer and like exercises, as means of purifying the soul and uniting it with God, but they were only so much "works" and not the religion he sought and later found. He was self-centered and vain, striving to take his father's parish because he thought it like an experience of being more at Oxford, to have one friend, studying only 20 or 30 miles where he could enjoy retirement. He decided that if he were to be more holy there, then, he would travel "outward" although to others. His piety was of the cloistered type and the bond of sacramental exercises, vioce services, physical austerity, was giving him no progress, so he thought that possibly by preachers to the Indians, he could translate the spiritual life into mechanical terms of practice. His mother told him so, as reflects the Puritan courage when she said "Had I twenty sons, I should rejoice that they were all so employed, which I would not see them more."

(1) He went with the chief motive of saving the soul, to learn the true sense of the Gospel of Christ he was driven to the heathen.

(1) Quoted from Mittonett, "Wesley and the Centenary," p. 95.
3. Moravians

His missionary trip was also a failure from his point of view and he came back to England, discouraged, for he still sought righteousness by the works of the law instead of by faith. His ritualism did not bring the reality to either himself or to others. But on the trip and while in Georgia he met some of the Moravian brethren and he saw in them something — which he did not have. A quietness and peace, regardless of danger or outward circumstances. He studied German so that he could converse with them and read their books. They preached to him the doctrine of faith which he tried to fathom. He met Peter Bohler soon after returning to England and made friends with him. His failure to find the peace he sought for himself and the power to reach the hearts of others, did not daunt him. Regardless of his religion, passionate zeal, heroic intensity, unswerving self-sacrifice, the secret of Christianity had evaded him but his training and experiences were preparing him for a new teacher — Peter Bohler, who told him to "believe and thou shalt be saved."

It was through this Moravian piety, which was a revived emphasis of Lutheran Protestantism, that Wesley was to finally attain the personal experience and power he sought. The direct questions of Spangenberg as to whether he had the witness within himself and whether the Spirit of God bore witness with his spirit that he was a child of God, had surprised him, and though he answered that he knew himself to be saved, he afterwards said, "I fear they were vain words." (1) The simplicity of the Moravian piety moved Wesley's admiration, and the certainty of the Moravian faith.

(1) Quoted by Fitchett "Wesley and His Century," p. 102.
awakened his envy, although the fury of his own accorded zeal was none abated. He records on Jan. 24, 1738 what shows his bitter spiritual state, "I have a fair summer religion. I can talk well; nay, and believe myself, while no danger is near; but let death look me in the face and my spirit is troubled. For can I say, "To die is gain!" His mood is one of utter self-abasement: "All my righteousness, my prayers, need an atonement for themselves; so that my mouth is stopped. I have nothing to plead. God is holy; I am unholy. God is consuming fire; I am altogether a sinner, meet to be consumed."

Boehler and Wesley recognized each other as kindred spirits. Bohler described Wesley as "a man of good principles, who knew he did not properly believe on the Saviour, and was willing to be taught." And so Bohler taught him the way of faith, the fruits of which amazed Wesley. For days Wesley sought peace by (1) absolutely renouncing all dependence, in whole or in part, upon his own works or righteousness, and (2) by adding constant use of all the other means of grace—continued prayer, fuller reliance on the blood of Christ and trust in Him as the sole means of justification, sanctification, and redemption. Bohler told him to preach faith till he had it and then he would preach it because he had it. He did this and found that people were helped. He was convinced that it was Scriptural and was a doctrine of the Church of England itself. But he was not entirely satisfied while all the time he was counseling people and with strange effect. But it was on May 24, 1738 that at a meeting at the Aldersgate Street Society, that he felt his heart strangely

(1) Quoted by Fitchett "Wesley and His Century," p. 117.
warmed and that he did trust in Christ, Christ al ne, for salvation; and an assurance was given him that his sins were taken away and he was saved from the law of sin and death.

As was characteristic of Wesley, he decided to study this German piety first hand and so went to Herrnhut where it was at its best. Here he became a personal friend of Zinzendorf and found that the faith was well founded. He studied many cases and was fully convinced of the fruits of this faith. He came back to England ready to go out and preach, in faith believing. Thus we have Wesley, continuing the great tenet of Luthers doctrine, and although he soon repudiated the Moravians for their mysticism, he nevertheless always respected them and recognized his debt to them. He considered his conversion was due to the teaching of Peter Rohler.

4. Societies.

Another influence that must have indirectly helped Wesley in his religious development and activity was that of the Societies. He remained a member of the Established Church all of his life but the societies he started were similar to those of the Independents and were started for the same purpose - of giving life and development to the individual soul, by the inspiration, freedom and mutual help of like-minded groups. There were upwards of 2000 Independent societies at the beginning of the eighteenth century. There was the Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge started in 1696; and the Society for "The Reformation of Manners", which held prayer meetings, weekly communions, Bible readings, carried on charities etc. The religious fervor
in these as well as in the Established Church had gradually diminished and was at low ebb at the time of Wesley. But there were religious protests. William Law was a nonjuror and other great leaders at Cambridge were Wilson, Berkeley, Gardiner, Watts, Doddridge, and Galasy. Dr. Annesley, his father-in-law was a leader of a society and we can see how some of his ideas come from this great man when he quotes as saying, 'live, well, as knowing you are in the presence of God--be serious and frequent in the examination of your heart and life--every evening review your carriage for the day--see its relation to your character. In the morning forethink what you are to do--and in the evening to examine what you have and ought to have done--consider your whole life out of the book, do not venture on sin, be nothing in your own eyes, consult duty and not events, look carefully to the advice you give another, do nothing you cannot pray for a blessing on and consider what Christ would think, say or do.'

Wesley's purpose was the same as the Nonconformist in that he wanted all men, Christian or heathen to fear in God in spirit and in truth. He says the same. Societies are not to be separate sects but are to stir up true religion in all of the parties and especially in the Church of England. Because of his Puritan ideal and honesty of conviction he gradually approached the Nonconformist practice as well as its spirit as necessity forced him to (1) preach in the open air, (2) to pray extempore, (3) to form societies, (4) to accept of the assistance of lay preachers, and in a few other instances, to use such means as occurred, to prevent or remove evils that we either felt or feared. Also

(1) Wesley's Works Vo.2, P. 81.
Wesley attended the meetings of the Moravian Societies and sectarian groups in Germany and England. So that, at the least estimate, the Societies set a precedent which Wesley was quick to follow in carrying out his religious ideal.

5. Puritans.

At the time of Wesley, the Puritans as a group were no more. Many of them had gone into the establishment, many had gone to other shores, and others had joined the different independent groups. However, the Puritan ideals and discipline were thoroughly diffused throughout the country, though it was only barely tolerated, and even somewhat persecuted, under Queen Anne. Green makes this strong statement, "Puritanism slowly but steadily introduced its own seriousness and purity into English society, English literature, English politics. The whole history of the earliest progress since the Restoration, on its moral and spiritual sides has been the history of Puritanism." For it was then that Puritanism laid down the sword and began the inner work of building up a kingdom of righteousness in the hearts and consciences of men that it has done its most worthy work. Then Cromwell's farmer and trader soldiers went back to their old occupations and were known by no other sign than their greater sobriety and industry. And we agree with Morley when he says that "It is in Milton and Bunyan rather than in Cromwell that we seek that most deepest, loftiest, and most abiding in Puritanism. We look to its apostles rather than its soldier."

Flynn makes this general statement in regard to the in-  

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(1) Quoted by Heron "Short History of Puritanism" P. 8.
(2) Quoted by Flynn "Influence of Puritanism" P. 28.
fluence of Puritanism, that so far as the English love truth, hate lies, keep faith, detest shams, countenance honesty, they walk where Hampden and Pym and Baxter walked; their character is true to the Puritan type at its best. Of course Puritanism alone is not entirely responsible for these excellences, but it had a large part — it is a safe rule: Wherever you can trace the democratic spirit in the State—the principle that the will of the people must prevail—and the prominence of the lay element in the Church—there you have Puritanism, under whatever new or old name it may be pleased to designate itself, or strange fellowship it may have found." Flynn also says that "hardly a pious cottager from the Dart to the Tweed, from the Severn to the Thames, on whose shelf you will not see the matchless allegory of the Bedford Tinker, side by side with the English Bible, and often with them a volume of the Greatest Puritan preacher England ever produced, Charles H. Spurgeon: and possibly a copy of Wesley's hymn-book. Baxter finds a place in houses of a higher class, not infrequently in friendly companionship with Jeremy Taylor's "Holy Living and Holy Dying." It is true that these are only general statements but they show the trend of influence that was Wesley's. The similarity of the beginnings of the two movements is also a close parallel. Each started from within the Established Church. Each desired the purer spiritual life and started little societies for its development. Each was ridiculed, by the Church clergy and more worldly people, and odious nicknames were applied to each movement which later became their priory. Each was finally forced but

(1) Flynn "Influence of Puritanism" P. 33 & 44.
(2) Flynn "Influence of Puritanism" P. 38.
of the Church for the same reason- honoe for it. Each was the outworking of a spirit in which the leaders of neither knew where it was leading, for, given the principles that liberate thought, and grant the principle of the authority of conscience, and it is impossible to say thus far shalt thou go and no further. Many of the Puritans were Predestinarians, while Wesley believed in the Arminian freedom of the will. Both held to the outstanding doctrine of the Divine Sovereignty and the Divine omnipotence; both held to justification by faith; total depravity, atonement of Christ and the efficacy of strict moral discipline. Wesley says of the Puritans that they sprang up as it were out of ashes of the ancient martyrs and breathe the same spirit, and were in a lower degree, partakers of the same sufferings." He says their name was a by-word and a proverb of reproach. He criticises their multitude of writings as verbose and full of circumlocutions and repetitions, in which they drag in controversy too much and in which they have generally a low and imperfect view of sanctification or holiness. But Wesley says their excellencies are that they exalt Christ, in all of his offices-glory full of grace and truth; mighty men were they in Scripture-equal to any who went before and far superior to most that have followed them, they tear up the roots of Antinomianism and their peculiar excellency is that they build us up in our most holy faith. They lead us by the hand in the paths of righteousness, and show us how, in the various circumstances of life, we may most surely and swiftly grow in grace, and in the final aim of our Lord Jesus Christ.—and he, especially mentions the most writings of Goodwin, Bolton, Preston, Sibbs eto." (1)

Canon Overton, in a not too sympathetic, yet positively not just appreciative tone of Wesley adds that we are not entitled to call a Puritan, as Blunt quotes, and even then to say, "The truth is, Wesley is a little true for either neutral or partisan to paint. When he speaks of the Stuarts he is a Jacobite or non-Juror, when he turns to Swift or Sterne he is a Puritan of the Puritans. Whatever Wesley was in himself, and we need not cast a judgment on the point, there can be no doubt that the movement which he inaugurated and that for fifty years in a puritan direction of least exaggerated measures; a man of intellect, he founded, and which is a truth to a core." Wesley was humanitarian and he could not agree with the uncharitable and often uncritical Dissenters, no more than he could help taking some of their practices in his attempt to purify the Church. In his societies were found mostly members of the establishment, but there were many of every sort and religious view. In one sense we will find also felt that he could not agree with remaining in the Church and possibly he cannot strictly be called a Puritan, as Prof. in his day, but in another directly is that who the day before and in Puritanism. We must always remember that the Church had "The History of Prelates and Puritans" of Publications in her Articles and Discipline. It has been said that she had "a Catholic Prayer-book, Calvinistic Articles, and an Anglican Church," we must remind ourselves that this is largely true. In his, some of the older Puritans, and by few not like the attitude of many of the modern Dissenters. On reading "A Gentleman's Reasons for Adhering to the Church of England" it seems to us, p. 17, 1709, vol. 27.
Different a spirit does this now with those that write high on paper! The one dipping his pen as it were, in tears, the other in vinegar and gall. Surely the one of that I win, serious Christian writes more than volumes of both tears, sarcastic, Jester." Yet I think we can wisely claim Puritanism as a great influence in his life and activity.

IV WESLEY'S NEW PURITANISM

A. A Purer Nonconformist ideal.

It is now my aim to show Wesley as the developer of a new Puritanism and a new Nonconformist ideal. That is to say, that he more truly subscribed in his movement to either type of the Puritan ideal than had thus far been achieved. To do this it is necessary to show the beginnings of this spirit and to note its main phases up to that of Wesley. We must always keep in mind, of course, that historic Nonconformity is not a perfect manifestation of the Nonconformist spirit, for the organization of any movement whether political, social, or religious, causes it to lose something of its vitality and sin loses its luster. It adjusts itself to the world as well as the world, to it. Thus when we speak of the Nonconformist spirit we mean the spirit that exalts life above organization and holds that any formation should be made by life, and not the opposite. And membership does not mean "Schism" or "Dissent" but is a positive thing of the fullest, freest, and purest development of the individual life. Its very nature implies toleration, while its ideal of association is one of growth and natural development, and not.

one artificially manufactured. It is above any State establish-
ment. It is the religion of personal communion with, and of di-
rect accountability to, God. This spirit has ever been trying to find embodiment in an organization where it might live and not be bound. This has been tried many times but always the ideal has suffered in the process of translation into the real. It is my opinion that Wesley, largely unconsciously, more nearly embodied the ideal in his movement than it had ever before been done.

We see the beginnings of such an ideal in the teachings of the old Hebrew Prophets but its fullest and first complete expression was in the life and teachings of Jesus. He however, gave it no organization and the organization that soon formed to perpetuate it-to spread the glorious work of righteousness, was quickly dimmed and was completely overtaken when Constantine called himself a Christian. Yet as Wesley says, "God was never left without a witness. In every age a few that truly feared God, wrought righteousness. But most of them wearied and went apart or separated themselves from the world into churches or sects. Their light no longer shone among men, amongst those that needed them most; but they contentedly gave up the world to the ser-
vice of its old master." (1)

1. Wiclif.

The term Nonconformist comes into use after the establish-
ment of the Church of England and when the Acts of Uniformity were passed to make all conform to the prayer book and Articles. The spirit of English Nonconformity appears long before this

however. Its first outstanding appearance is in the 14th.C. in
the form of John Wiclif. This patriot, political philosopher,
and religious reformer against the Papacy, was an Oxford Fellow
and theology lecturer. The span of his life was from 1325-1384
and he was chaplain to Edward III. In Wiclif we see the noncon-
formist spirit springing into being, mature and strong; and with a
sudden and almost dramatic appearance. The conception of the in-
ner life was the center of its system. It was against the mere
shows and ceremonies of the Papacy and was set off with the dy-
namic of new ideas from the Scriptures. It was not a new thing
except in its appearance in England. It has a close connection
with the Franciscan Friars, for in the leading features of con-
version, assurance of salvation, depravity of human nature, se-
lection, reprobation, meagreness of ritual, unadorned churches,
we find them following the same paths. Also in Marsilio of Padua,
William of Ockam and other reformers we find antecedents but not
the adult form of reform, the fulness of purity and power at its
emergence.

His work was a part of the 14th.C. restlessness and Ren-
aissance which on the intellectual side runs through Erasmus,
Colet, More and the Shakespearean age; and in the religious realm
runs through the quasi-Reformation under Henry VIII, to the ec-
clesiastical settlement under Edward VI, to the Puritanism of
the 17th.C. and to outspoken nonconformity. It was a period of
war, and just after the terrible 'black death' of 1349. It was
an age when the church and religious question was a social question,
for the rich Churchmen, the ecclesiastical dignitaries, enjoyed
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the fat of the land while there was hardship and no Christian piety for the oppressed and poverty stricken. This could not endure, and brought on the writing of Langland's "Piers the Plowman" and the Peasants' Revolt of 1381 with which, Wyclif was in full sympathy.

Wyclif saw in the Papacy claiming toll from England, an outrage to the vital interests of religion and a disturbance of the relations between God and man. He held that God was the creative force by which the world was made, and that whatever man holds, -rights, powers, authority, whether over elements of his own life and personality or a more external thing, he holds direct from God and is only conditioned by his rendering back to God due service and righteousness. He held that any decree of the Pope's that was wrong was 'ipso facto' futile and any that was right, was such not because they were his but because true to the inspiration of God. He assailed the whole fabric of the Papacy, even its inner citadel, the dogma of transubstantiation. And in his reform movement he did other things in history, he appealed direct to the people. Also for their help and protection, he translated the Bible which was a monumental work, and permanently fruitful work.

The principles of this man were the main ones of later Puritanism and likewise of John Wesley: he held the Bible as the supreme and sole standard of truth and law; there was a direct relation between God and man (1 Thes. 2:13) Christ is the only mediator; no man can merit anything by good works; he renounced the doctrine of transubstantiation and gave the spiritual view of the Lord's supper; he advocated the right of private judgment. He swept
away the system of sacerdotalism or a mediating, sacrificing priestholh, which was the basis of the medieval church, and he stressed the priesthood of all believers; he taught the doctrines of predestination and election; n. said there were six superfluous orders among the clergy, the twelve daughters of the horse-leech, Satan, ever crying, 'Give, give, give, now, now, priests, cardinals, bishops, archdeacons, officials, deans, rectors, priests, men, friars, doorkeepers, and monks.

I feel that Wiclif and Marsiglio may well be called the 'Morning Stars' of the Reformation. For in contrast with the politics of the hour, \( ^{(1)} \) Wiclif's soul was like a star and dwell apart. He stands alone and in advance of his own time and for that matter in advance of our own. In his one essential point of principle found, in sure and final, clear and complete expression than at any subsequent period. For his interest was for the inner life in its essential nature and its essential needs. His influence and the inspiration of his life lived on in the English people: \( ^{(2)} \) 'He lit a fire in England which could never be extinguished.' He was only saved from martyrdom because of the protection of the King and 44 years after his death because of his influence upon Huss, when he was burned at the stake, the remains of Wiclif were disinterred from the river Swift and as Fuller says, \( ^{(3)} \) 'This brook conveyed them into the Avon, the Avon into the Severn, the Severn into the narrow seas, and they into the sea ocean. And the ashes of Wiclif are the emblem of his doctrine, which is now dispersed all the world over.'

\( ^{(1)} \) Clark, H.W. "History of English Nonconformity," p. 64.
\( ^{(2)} \) Aaron, James "A Short History of Puritanism," p. 35.
\( ^{(3)} \) Quoted by Aaron, ibid, p. 35.
besides the influence of Wyclif, an Nonconformist, which continued directly to affect the English people, as his principles were a read throughout England by his trained order of men the "poor priests, barefooted, and clad in russet robes of course woolen cloth—the itinerant preachers (forerunners of those of Wesley) to proclaim a pure gospel to whom multitudes listened with eager attention," there is also his influence which was carried to other lands and finally came back to England.

For the spiritual movement which swept England in the 14th C. influenced Germany through John Huss who made no secret of his debt to Wyclif, which was recognized by the Pope who condemned Wyclif (though dead) with Huss at the Council of Constance. The Moravians came by direct spiritual descent from Huss and Luther was his spiritual heir. Bohler the great Pietistic Lutheran in carrying Moravianism over to England brings Wyclif's teachings back to England after three hundred years and then spoke to John Wesley in Luther's lips in the little gathering in Aldersgate Street, which, Fitchett concludes, shows that "great debts are, in this way, sometimes greaty paid."

The Lollards drew their inspiration and theology from Wyclif's life and Bible, and because of their intense devotion to it, basing all life, conduct and doctrine on a bold literal interpretation of its language, came soon to be regarded as a dangerous element in the State. Under Henry VI, and later, thousands were put to death for one cause or another. The Lollards carried out Wyclif's reforms and ideas only very imperfectly, but as the poor priests in spreading the knowledge of simple primitive Christianity amongst the humbler classes, may be recognized as pre-

(1) Heron, James Ibid P. 44. (2) Fitchett P. 125.
runners of John Wesley's local preachers, so the whole Lollard revival gives a striking likeness to the Methodist revival of the eighteenth century, which was decidedly Puritan from first to last. The Lollards petitioned Parliament in 1395 for: the ordination of fit priests; the abolition of clerical celibacy and vows of chastity; protests against exorcism, the blessing of inanimate objects, prayers for the dead, incantations, pilgrimages, compulsory auricular confession, war and capital punishment; and the inwardness of their movement as for essential righteousness, Godly preachers, converted men, of blameless lives.

The Nonconformist ideal was kept alive by a string of great and courageous men many of whom laid with their lives. Erasmus, who made four visits to England is called the "Odious bird which laid the egg that was hatched by Luther"; the Lutheran and other Reformation literature found its way into England. Erasmus's translation of the Greek New Testament was a great influence on such men as Colet, Bilney, Frith, Latimer, Ridley and Cranmer. Frith, Bilney and Cranmer were burned at the stake. Tyndale's translation of the Bible and active life did much toward non-conformity 1484-1536. He is charged with heresy and some of the essentials of Puritanism when he says "Wherever is not in the Holy Scripture, and cannot be proved thereby, no man should be required to believe as an article of faith." He told a Catholic divine, "Are many years, if God spare my life, I will cause the boy that driveth the clough to know more of the Scriptures than thou dost." He was in close touch with the Swiss and Re-

(1) Bishop Gardiner-Quoted by躺着, "Short History of Puritanism." Page 44. (2) Ibid. P. 47. (3) Ibid. P. 47.
formed Church. Just before being burned at the stake in 1555 he cried with a loud voice, "Lord, open the King of England's eyes!"

Under Edward VI in drawing up a new order of Communion, the German Lutherans Bucer and Melanthon were followed by the committee. Also the great nonconformist under Holme, Coverdale, Rogers, Ridley and others came back from exile and attempted more radical reforms. Hooper studied under, Bullinger, Zwingli's successor at Zurich. Hurstler, in a letter to Bullinger said Hooper refused to use the First Prayer Book at the Lord's Supper and was "striving to effect an entire purification of the Church from the very foundation." And Whitelocke calls Hooper "The Father of the Puritans." He shows the true nonconformist spirit in opposing vestments as an infringement of Christian liberty and his views were adopted by Cranmer and Ridley. Thus we see the nonconformist spirit striving to secure ideal conduct and church life influenced from Wiclif, from Calvinism, Zwinglinian, and from Lutheranism and the Reformed churches. They managed to get the Prayer Book revised but Cranmer was not satisfied with it as he wished a complete change.

But Cranmer, Tyndale, Latimer and the others of this period great as they were, they did not have the dominant personalities and progressiveness to carry the Protestant cause in England, and so the Church of Henry VIII was a religious-religious movement, which was superficially religious but in the whole tenor of the Protestant direction, as really Wharncliffe and the Reformers said they were. They managed to get a genuine Puritan

(1) Quoted by Hurstler, Ibid P. 51.
(2) Ibid P. 57. (3) Ibid P. 58.
antism existed in England, although it was not dominant, and allowed the Established Church to harden into doctrines and practices that later made the ill very oppressive. The new was much steeper, for it did not grow into good instead of the best.

We have already given the rise of Puritanism which is the history of Nonconformity from now on until the time of Wesley. They were great days of heroism, of noble endeavor and of terrible persecution. There was progress and retrogression. There were great souls that practiced toleration and some who could not recognize it, giving back hatred and bitterness. But the Nonconformist ideal lived on in the hearts of many of the clergy of the Establishment, as well as in the "Societies and sectaries" that developed, and the separate sects that grew out of the Nonconformist ideal was more nearly kept by the Baptists. The Congregational sect in a lesser degree and the Presbyterians in a still less comprehensive manner. The Independents were largely Nonconformists. So that though burned without the door of the Church the Spirit of Nonconformity still lived. The Quakers were a new, but short protest of this great spirit under their noble, saintly leader John Fox. He stressed the inner life and the fact of being 'born of God' and held that all things come from God. But starting with the mystical experience they forgot to let the inner life work itself out into a visible body; they held the Church too lightly, became too negative and protesting, and so brought themselves and ideals into trouble.

2. Baxter.

In this paper we cannot go into further detail as to the long process of development of the Nonconformist spirit. It seems...
clear that regardless of the periods of apparent inactivity or lack of activity, that the thread of influence is not broken, and comes, clear through to Wesley. But now let us pick out a man of the century just before that of Wesley, who is considered the type of pure Puritan, and see his possible and actual influence upon John Wesley. There seems to be no question but that this man is Richard Baxter. Flynn says of him, "Probably the greatest Puritan of his time, or of any time, was Richard Baxter." Professor Higgs says, "If you want to know what a Puritan really was you cannot do better than turn to the autobiographical sketch of Richard Baxter. He is the most representative Puritan in History."

Richard Baxter was for many years not very strong of body but a giant in mind and spirit. He had a breadth of mind that was not common in his day, coupled with the deepest spiritual feeling and independence of thought. Ordained in the Church of England, and her outstanding preacher, who has made the Kidderminster pulpit famous for religious zeal and expression, he ended his life as a Nonconformist minister. Appointed, along with Calamy and others, by Charles II, to be chaplains to the Court, he finally came to see that he could not live up to the uniformity acts and, due partly, as he says to meeting "some zealous godly Nonconformists at Shrewsbury, whose fervent prayers, and savoury conference and holy lives did profit me much." He found they were persecuted by the bishops; whereupon he found much prejudice in his heart against the persecutors. It was the influence of those "tender people" as Fox says, "a most old

(1) Influence of Puritanism" P. 64. (2) Quoted by Flynn. Ibid. P. 135. (3) Ibid. P. 166.
fashioned race, who thought a great deal about their souls and very little about vestments, or stone altars. Land was carrying them with fines and censures, wild curates were preaching what sounded to their simple ears like Romanism and the King was driving them into rebellion by his forced loans." Baxter was thus a Nonconformist and Puritan of the Evangelical type to the last degree. As we review some of his beliefs I think we will see much in common with John Wesley. He died in 1691, just a few years before the birth of Wesley, and his devotional and practical religious books were read by Wesley. Wesley refers to him many times in his Journals and Diaries. He speaks of him as that truly Christian and honest man. He tells his ministers to read Baxter and to follow his plan of visiting from house to house. In a letter to Mr. Hill he admits his approval in general with the sense of both Baxter and Goodwin. So we feel justified in claiming a Puritan influence from Baxter for Wesley, which will be made more evident, as we trace their similarities.

Baxter was a most successful preacher and pastor. His success lay in the natural human way he spoke to men and he spoke directly from Christ to people. He spoke not so much about his Master as from him. He knew his people and had a group about him in his home to talk over the sermon, had personal catechising for each family etc. This is very similar to the practice of Wesley in his class meetings and house to house visitation. To-day we look upon Baxter as the synonym for orthodoxy, but then, he was looked on with suspicion as heterodox—neither a Calvin-

(1) Quoted from Fynn "Influence of Puritanism" P. 147.
ist nor Arminian as then understood. He stood in opposition to extreme views or opinions and was eclectic, as one of the first stones laid in that temple of theological unity which takes so many generations to build. He believed in Godliness of life and toleration in attitude.

In line with the great religious leaders of all times he centered every thing in God, who is everlasting and everlastingly to be enjoyed. He said in all worship see that God was the end of it all and not to let any ordinance, nor any common mercy to satisfy you, if you have not God himself. He says to watch the heart that it be not idle for now easily it is turned aside and made to think of impertinent vanities, he says watch therefore unto prayer and every duty. Look also to your tenures and the deportment of your bodies, that the whole may worship God in holiness, as he requireth. First look to the heart, then to words and then to bodies. "Religion consists in the inward worship of God, to love him above all, to fear him, believe him, trust him, delight in him, to be zealous for him." He however says to be serious and delight also in all those parts of the outward worship of God that all sober Christians are agreed on, use common sense and test out any disagreements, and always have the advice of men in due subordination to the will of God and the teachings of Christ.

Baxter is for reason, sense and toleration. "Condemn not all that in others, which you dare not do yourselves.: nor con-
tinue not all that yourselves, which you dare not condemn in others.

He says let the manner of worship be according to the situation. Offer no lie to God, such as the Papists, in saying that the bread and wine are the body and blood of Christ, which is an

evident lie. Let not passion over top your reason, let your zeal be according to your knowledge and remember that the heart was made to lead the tongue. The Scripture is not a law and rule of worship, as such, but the spirit of such, and such is left to man's determination. He says, "set not preaching against praying; nor public against private worship; more internal against external worship; but do all." He believed that baptism was a mutual covenant between God and man. Infants should be baptized and should review the covenant when they become of years. He said. Belief should be professed soundly and boldly as a means of saving others—by words, actions, public ordinances in season, and occasional or private profession by conference or conversation. Boast not of self but only of God and Christ and know that "truth may be sometimes silenced but a lie may never be refuted or a prove."

In regard to conduct with others he says: take no vow in the ordinary things of life and when made in a public way to a lawful authority, first consult God and see if it is not against His will. In regard to heresy and heretic he says that truth is the object of man's understanding and that an honest, sanctified one, is fittest to entertain truth. Neither contam nor be captivated by others in the search for truth, "multitudes of men have tormented and murdered others in devotion, and some lives must be tormented in Hell, for non being Christian." Take heed of pride and slothfulness and impatience, so I have and keep out of passion in disputes and know that charity is the end of truth. Know God first and test all by this truth. But not un-

certainties against certainties and not text against plain ones. He was for union and the communion of Saints and against all schism. He urged family worship and the attendance of all services, in a reverent and thoughtful mind "(1) "trying all the word of God to yourselves according to its usefulness." He said to conform to all the lawful customs and customs of the Church, doing all in faith and hope. In the matter of conscience, in regard to ecclesiastical matters, he said none of the churches was the true church. The Reformed churches are the soundest and purest that we know in the world, and therefore their privilege is exceedingly great, though they are not all the Universal Church. The Roman Church is not Christ's institution but a human sinful policy formed by the temptation of Satan, the prince of pride, deceit and darkness. The Roman clergy are not true ministers but they are not null and neither is the baptism and ordination of Rome. No man can tell what is objectively certain or revealed in God's word, who hath not subjective certainty or knowledge of it.

In the matter of election he says, "I deny not God's eternal antecedent election; but I deny that the Scripture ever mentioned his pardoning or glorifying any, upon the account of election only, without certain spiritual conditions, which are given as the reason of the difference in judgment. God may freely give the Gospel to whom he will, and also Faith, or the first grace by the Gospel, without any previous condition in men, but according to his free election only." (2)

(1) "A Christian Director." P. 610.
(2) Ibid. P. 643.
In regard to public affairs he desires influence but not to try to dictate. "My judgment is much against oratorical presumptuous preachers, who are over-forward to meddle with their governors, or their affairs, and think that God mandates them to reprove persons, and things that are adverse to them, and above them, and vent their distastes upon uncertain reports, or without a call—how far the people have, in any country, the power of electing the persons, families, or forms of government, or how far nature giveth them propriety and the consequents of this, I meddle not with at all." Thus like all the Puritans or in most part, at least, he was patriotic and stood by the existing government, not realizing that the very nature of their beliefs meant democracy. Wesley did the same thing, living a Tory but holding democratic principles.

In giving rules for an upright life we see much similarity to the rules of Wesley. Hold to sincerity instead of hypocrisy; to rectitude of heart and life rather than crookedness and sin. The fruit of grace, and the pillars of human society, are truth and justice, peace of conscience and holy security. In his twenty rules we find him saying one must be subject to God, have his hope set on heaven with Christ as his infallible teacher and the word of God as his infallible rule. One must have large and solid understanding for there is no walking upright in the dark. Zeal causes one to go apace, but not at all to go right, without judgment to guide. Must study and take unwearying pains for knowledge, for wisdom doth no where more prosper than with infidels in their conceit and lack of knowledge. One must know the difference between a greater and lesser good as well as good and

(1) Ibid p. 72.
evil, hold to the essentials of religion, master the nations, attend the means of crime, love one's neighbor and be impartial and use charity in the matter of parties or sects. Give not rash judgments but be willing to receive and obey truth at the nearest rate, especially of laborious study and self-denying life. Be humble, considerate, foreseeing, and kill the censorious desires of appetite, sense, lust, and self. Be ever watchful and live as one going to the grave-to death and eternity, for this makes one wise,-as doing men are not drawn to drunkenness, filthiness, or time wasting sports.

To all groups of people in authority he tells them to remember that their power is from God, whereby for God, and not against God,-so that the one is for public good, he tells them to be examples of holiness to the people. He tells the nobility to be obedient and that all arguments for a natural democracy are built upon false suppositions as the King gets his right from God alone. He says that ministers are advised, well qualified of their honor and worthiness to revere it.

Baxter does not sympathize with the idea of the poor, that God will not punish them in the next world; because they have had their part in this; and does not speak for them and rich, and they themselves would be in rick and what is they are how to attain it; he says they are communicated in the hand of the government. He tells lawyers to know the whole of policy and make the salvation of the poor end, and to the good righteous God, their chief end. He tells Physicians despite health-enjoying of life. Their first thought, and by essence their compassion and mercy to men's souls, as well as to their
bodies. He urges teachers to glorify God and fit the pupils for public service. Soldiers are to make peace with God and be sure that they are in a warrantable cause for war, and in order to live their lives, we must renounce the sensual vices and abolish that lead to murder, and neglect for James., and to try and seek God in personal love and to love Him for that of God which is with Him. We have more to be forgiven than we have to forgive so all ourselves of selfishness. He stands against perjury, escando, soul murder and tells Christians to seek the salvation of others, to save themselves, satisfactions and reproof and to be at war with all, not our for justice in contracts and against the work of making of that which in another.

He stands for thrift and against all prodigality and sinful wastefulness and holds it a sin to desire richer in apparel and sensualities, but use the fruits of their honors for the relief of the poor. We said it was a sin to give to the Church in blind zeal to maintain useless pomp or superstition etc., as it was a sin to bloody give to the poor or a and more, in useless music and recreations etc. He speaks against injuries law suite, witnessing and judgment; against backbiting, slander- ing, and evil speaking; against slanderers as unanswerable judging. He considers all time as precious, and to be saved and so, must be redeemed and improved. Therefore directions are giving this which we will take up more in detail in another to Puritan ethics.
3. Revival.

Wesley having read the works of such men as this, he who had such a high trust and regard, along with other great Puritan writers, it is only to be expected with the other Puritan influences that there would be considerable of Puritanism in him. Thus it is that in the Methodist Revival that the Nonconformity spirit has probably its strongest and surest embodiment in any movement of any sort. It was the old ideal gradually working itself out in a new form. There had been dark days since 1662 and the men with the Nonconformist ideal had had to suffer and endure, while the ideal crept on. Out from his Puritan heritage and discipline of life, and after his personal experience, through the help of the Lutheran doctrine of faith, caught from the Moravians by their stress on the inwardness and individual assurance of religion, Wesley, the rich Churchman, was set on fire with a new Puritanism and a purer Nonconformity ideal.

Speaking generally but with historical basis, we may say that Wesley was really a synthesis of the two former outbreaks of Protestantism—that of Luther and Calvin. He combined Luther's emphasis on religious understanding of the Gospel with Calvin's religious evaluation of activity in the world. Wesley was not a Calvinist, mainly because of their predestination belief, but he was brought up on their "good works" idea, and moral discipline. The idea of work out your own salvation in fear and trembling, for it is God that works in you etc., God governing the world directly and man being judged by his activity. Every life is the fulfilment of a divine vocation. Then through his close contact and diligent study and practice of their Lutheran idea of justi-
sification by faith, he was converted and went out with the assurance of a personal experience. As James says "nothing in Catholic theology or teaching has ever opened so many souls in such healing ways as Luther's experience has spoken to Wesley." He had now journeyed from the experiment with the Catholic conception of religion and life, to Luther's religion of faith. It had been a process out of which came a new idealism. Faith superseded the sacraments and he was saved by grace, which was the gift of God. And the birthday of a Christian was shifted from that of baptism to that of conversion. He asserted that salvation was the work of God in as strong terms as ever did Augustine, Luther or Calvin, but he at the same time held to the freedom of the will. He was greater than Calvin for he was less of a logician and truer to the experiences of life; while he worked out the essence of Luther's faith in a better way because he tested it by experience. He allowed this faith-assurance to come gradually, or instantly, and that it might be partial, or complete. Wesley held not to dogma but to discipline; not to orthodoxy, but to the ethical conduct of life. The sum total of life's activities, social, civic, political, and economic were considered as equally parts of worship owed to God. This taught multitudes to look on the whole of life; it taught humility before God; it linked the highest spiritual prizes with vocational fruitfulness, thus lifting men from the low level of instinct to visions, to purposes, and to eternities. Work became Godly labor and productive service became the end and sign of active faith. They were men "having the form of Godliness and seeking the power."

(1) James, "Varieties of faith and experience." P. 246.
The revival grew out of Moravian Pietism and Wesley, for a time an apostle of the Moravians, was Moravian in spirit and experience but not in system or method, for in these, he was a Churchman. He soon broke with the Moravians because of their extreme mysticism and the English Moravians held to the complete salvation that saved them from the means of grace and institutions. Wesley believed in degrees of faith which they did not. He was against their quietism for he believed in human freedom, human energy and the ethical working of religion. He placed the highest importance upon personal religion and yet he clung to the wholesome tradition and history of the Church with great tenacity. He believed in the corporate consciousness of the Church, as indispensable to religion. "Just as the cluster of coals will glow with heat and a single one never" as there is no 'Robinson Crusoe religion' as Bell says.

Wesley combined the two foci of religion, i.e. a profound submission and goodness with a heroic self-reliance activity or moral energy. He had too much healthy mindedness to drift off into dreamy mysticism. He kept personal religious experience uppermost in his religion, but it was always under the test of whether or not it worked, and secured the results desired. He was mystical but his mysticism was seasoned with reason. Wesley had resolved, on reading Taylor's teachings, and his mother's advice, to make religion the chief business of life. He had never looked at religion in a more scientific way, or tried it more absolutely by scientific methods. With unshakable purpose, supreme loyalty, and no trace of compromise he followed truth at all
risks and through all worlds. After his conversion, religion is for him, no longer an experiment, but an attainment into certainty, which however, he continued to test and develop. He has all his old thoroughness, his enterprising, his power of compromise, his unsparing self-sacrifice; but through all these fine qualities there now runs something new—a note of victory, a fire of gladness. He is not the greatest intellect of the time; he has no new doctrine; he has no new ares; he has the old truths of religion translated into terms of living human experience, and dwelling as a divin energy in the soul, and it was this mystic current of a divine life, that he poured through the calcined soul of a nation, and so turned blackness into flame.

Wesley found England a religious wilderness and left it a watered garden spiritually. He found the spirit of Nonconformity frozen, and the main quest of the nation was for liberty and this only in a lukewarm manner. The Socian tendency grew strong, and also Deism was flourishing. In the main, religion was scoffed at by the higher society and the poor were ignorant of it, although of course there were some households of real piety as that one at Edworth. Berkley however says, "little can be hoped for if we consider the corrupt degenerate age we live in—we have cancelled all respect for whatever our laws and religion amount sacred." (1) There was no zeal for religion and there are very little writing about its decay. The zeal for the old profound mystical view of early Independency was silent, and in the Establishment there was no depth, warmth, or fulness of religious life. In early 18th. C. Christianity there were no tears of repentance;

(1) Quoted by Clark "History of English Nonconformity" V. 2 P. 127.
the note of passion was silent; and the hush of reverence was missing: because the vision had grown faint, and the sense of sin and of God's remedy for it had perished, and a religion of this kind transfigures no lives, inspires no martyrs; creates no saints and sends out no missionaries. It generated a morality of ignoble temper and resembled nothing so much as an atmosphere exhausted of oxygen. Wesley felt the religious need of his age and when his heart was strangely warmed he went out with a new zeal and power. His acceptance of the evangelical position, justification by faith, changed him from a servant to a son, gave him a religion of joy and freedom instead of a religion of servitude. He went out confident in the Lord and after fifty years of strenuous labours he yielded up his life, exclaiming "best of all? God is with us" and singing with a faltering voice "I'll praise my Maker while I've breath."

Wesley tells of the change thus: "From the year 1725-1729 I preached much, but saw no fruit of my labour. Indeed it could not be that I should; for I neither laid the foundation of repentance, nor of believing the Gospel; taking it for granted, that all to whom I preached were believers, and that many of them needed no repentance. From the year 1729-1734, laying a deeper foundation of repentance, I saw a little fruit. But it was only a little; and no wonder: for I did not preach faith in the blood of the covenant. From 1734-1738, speaking more of faith in Christ, I saw more fruit of my preaching, and visiting from house to house, than ever I had done before; though I know not if any of those who were outwardly reformed were inwardly and truly my con-
verted to God. From 1738 to this time, speaking continually of Jesus Christ, laying him only for the foundation of the whole building, making him all in all, the 'first and the last: teaching only on this plan, 'the Kingdom of God is at hand; repent ye, and believe the Gospel;' the 'word of God ran as fire' among the stubble; it 'was glorified' more and more; multitudes crying out, 'what must we do to be saved?' and afterwards witnessing, 'by grace we are saved through faith.' Being criticised for boasting, he says, 'If I ascribe anything to God and do everything, it is enthusiasm. If I do not, or if I do, it is vanity and boasting, supposing me to mention it at all. What then can I do to escape your censure? Why, be silent; say nothing at all. I cannot, I dare not. Were I thus to please men, I could not be the servant of Christ.' For he says, "A dispensation of the Gospel is committed to me, and the is as if I preach not the Gospel."

Here is Puritanism revived and here is the Nonconformist ideal given new life. The new Puritanism became aggressive again when Whitefield in 1739 stood in the open and had the first open-air service at Colliers near Bristol. This is what Bishop Gibson called the dreadful stop of "inviting the rabble to hear him." His success stirred Wesley to emulation and so the working out of a new Nonconformity is begun. Wesley is undecided just what to do. He says in 1739 "I look upon all the world as my parish, thus far, I mean, that in whatever part of it I judge it meet, right, and my bounden duty, to declare unto all that are willing to hear the glad tidings of salvation, this is the work which I know God call me to do; and sure I am that his blessing attends it."
yet he does not want to leave the Church. He was decided, that he was going to do certain things, and he was going to stay in the Church if possible, but he was going to do these regardless. To call this the resurrection of Puritanism is to bestow upon it the name it deserves. Like the older Puritanism in the names of Humphrey and Sampson, the Evangelical revival was essentially a protest of the Nonconformist ideal or spirit and a protest which did not fully recognize itself, for what it was, nor discern the implications it contained. It was the spirit of life over organization, again asserting itself, and it strove to break through the organization's adamantine wall. The intense and fiery evangelistic zeal of Whitefield and Wesley, though neither of them knew it, or could have formulated it as would likely have rejudged the idea, it was really the Nonconformist spirit striving to make them, as Humphrey and Sampson before them, the agents of its power and will. The first two had seen vital religion in danger of dying, and now these two saw vital religion practically dead. It was a second reformation. It was the real reformation being realized. Luther's justification by faith took the soul out of the hands of the priest and now Wesley and Whitefield with their doctrine of new birth, free the soul from the evil spirit of formalism. The aim was to insure that Church-going shall lead to the Church of Christ; to vitalize an admitted creed. They, left metaphysics to the philosophers, history to the historians, and are left the means of greatest moral and spiritual renovation to those who needed it. And it was the work.
The main doctrines were repentance, faith, and holiness. "The first of these we account, as it were, the porch; the next, the door; the third, religion itself." However, the Puritan ideal of good works and moral purity was not a state of salvation. They made thieves honest, drunks sober, thieves honest; this 14th hour fitted into the 13th. People had sent even condemned men to the gallows with hymns on their lips. They had no quarrel with the Articles or the ritual of the Church but the distinction that was their chief test. They were the separatists, not conformists.

This new Puritanism failed to comprehend its implications and indulged the very core of conformism at the cost of the nonconformist spirit. What became of the nonconformist within the conformist pale and like the old Puritans in England to take exile for its doom. Wesley only made changes that were absolutely necessary for his purpose. These were in the main four, all of which were Puritan practices, namely; to form the converts into societies in 1739 with the organization of "bands," "select bands," and "classes" with leaders and watch night services, covenant meetings etc.; (2) lay preaching which was on the circuit system and under close supervision; (3) semi-lay sprinkler baptism; (4) the work of the large society; (5) the work of the small society, to which he returned in 1744 by Wesley’s "Works" V. 3. P. 361.
not claim (as the Presbyterians) that it was divinely ordained, but Hooker's idea of it was a sort of secondary validity with approval and confirmed. But Methodism and conformity to the established Church turned out to be inconsistent. Wesley's life was a slow and reluctantly made discovery of the fact. The clergy on the other hand, sensed this early. They certainly felt nonconformist sentiments intruding into their jealously guarded preserves and therefore Wesley received a full assault from them. His failure to separate or to recognize, that in reality they were separated, and his desire, not to desecrate the established Church, actually impaired the prosperity of his movement, for after his death a change was necessary and they were not qualified to meet the situation as he would have been. But a new movement was started, for in their preaching to the masses, they drew the crowds, won and kept it, so that they were compelled to leave the established Church and take care of the crowd. It was the new revelation of life protesting against organizations too exclusive and too arrogant rule.

Wesley expressed or gave expression to a more nonconformist than any existing group could match or even approach. He had a high religious aim and says, "The design of Methodists is not to form any new sect; but to reform the nation, particularly the Church; and to spread Scriptural holiness over the land." He admits that they come close to Calvinism in ascribing all good to the free grace of God; in denying all natural free-will, and all power antecedent to grace; in excluding all merits from man; even for what he has or does by the grace of God. He admits that

(1) "Works V.5. P. 217"
they come close to Antinomianism in exalting the merits or love of Christ; and in rejoicing ever more, he says Antinomianism strikes directly at the root of all holiness and that Calvinism is the antidote to Methodism which of all the devices of Satan for fifty years has done more to stop the work of God, than all the rest, for it strikes at the root of salvation from sin, previous to glory. It seems to magnify Christ but in reality it presupposes him to have died in vain for the elect would have been saved without him and the non-elect cannot be saved by him.

He holds to toleration which is essential to true Puritanism. He also upholds the individual accountability which each must give to God. "You cannot force the conscience of any one. You cannot compel another to see as you see; you ought not to attempt it. Reason and persuasion are the only reasons you ought to use, even toward your own wife and children." He says "We have our desire of spending and being spent, in promoting plain, practical religion-- only see that your heart be right toward God, that you know and love the Lord Jesus Christ; that you love your neighbor, and walk as your Master waketh; and I desire no more. I am sick of opinions; I am weary to bear them, give me solid and substantial religion; give me an humble, gentle lover of God and man; a man full of mercy and good fruits, without partiality and without hypocrisy." Near the end of his life in "Thoughts upon a Late Phenomenon" he gives a good picture of Methodism, exalting life above organization, when after commenting that all revivals have been short, he goes on to say "But fifty or sixty years ago a new phenomenon appeared in the world. Two or three

\[\text{(1) Works V.s. P. 89. (2) Ibid P. 170.}\]
Young men at Oxford" and he goes on to tell of the Holy Club
and how fast Methodism grew till thousands were in the society.
"They are practically all members of the Church. This is the
peculiar glory of the people called Methodists. They abhor separ-
aration and do not want to be a distinct body. There is nothing
like it in ancient or modern history. They choose to remain in
connection with their own Church. It would be easier to separate
as friends advise and enemies provoke us to do, but we believe
in the Church, we may be more effectually the servants of all.
Another peculiar thing is the terms of admission to the societies.
They impose no opinions. They let them hold a tenet like a general
redemption, absolute or conditional decrees; let them be Church-
men or Dissenters, Presbyterians or Independents, it is no ob-
stacle. Let them choose one mode of baptism or another, it is
no bar to their admission. The Presbyterian may be a Presbyterian
still; the Independent or Anabaptist use his own mode of worship.
So may the Quaker; and none will contend with him about it. They
think, and let think. One condition and one only, is required,—
a real desire to save their soul. Where this is, it is enough;
they desire no more; they lay stress upon nothing else; they ask
only, 'is thy heart herein as my heart? if it be, give me thy hand.'
Where else such a society? I know none. Let no man show it me
that can. Till then let no one talk of the bigotry of the meth-
odists."

The Wesley revival is a new embodiment of the nonconformist
ideal and it is unquestionably Puritanism revived in its purest
form. It had the real Puritan spirit of attempting to purify the Church.

(1) "Works" Vol. 7. P. 317.
It gave both the establishment and the Dissenting bodies a breath of a new and invigorating life. Souls in the hedges and by-way knew the blessedness of religious certainty and conviction. To the overeducated and unspiritual, Wesley always remained a mystery; Walpole thought him an actor and despised his "enthusiasm", and loathed the movement to raise the common wretched above their station. It was a great humanitarian movement. He used the strongest invectives against smuggling, alcohol, and the slave trade. He stood for justice. He was a supporter of the government and condemned any disobedience; and so in retrospect during the American Revolution. He condemned lawyers, British landlords, and princes. And with true Puritan courage he endured mobs, ridicule, stonings, beatings, and the almost continuous journeys up and down the land on horseback. He was called "enthusiast", "Dissenting", and "Papist", but he went on his way and everywhere he went he organized the people and, as United Wesley and manufacturers, he baptized these centers of population. He was continually in the fires of conflict and controversy, sneered at by the educated and frowned on by the uneducated. Friends fell away and comrades often proved faithless, but he went ahead and built slowly and solidly, leaving lasting materials in the shape of schools, missions, rooms, meeting places, unions for prayer, for charity and for self-help. These were not new but he gave new meaning and force to them. He effected a sudden and far reaching transformation which is a marvel in that intellectual age, and it is to his glory that in such an age he appealed to the heart, and was able to restore emotion to its rightful place in religion.
B. Wesley's Puritan Ethics.

1. Individual Ethics.

In the field of ethics it is not hard to trace the Puritanism in Wesley. His life is built around the Puritan discipline of life with its austere, ascetic and unimaginative mode of life. First we will consider his individual ethics. The rules for his life and for those of his followers are very closely formed in his early strict training in the home, with its method and discipline of life. He never got away from the saying, exact discipline of his mother who in her childhood was allowed as much time for recreation as for devotion, one hour in the morning and one in the evening, in prayer and meditation as well as time at noon. He thus early entered the paths of seriousness and asceticism. He planned his week with every hour of the day planned; he marked the time for eating and sleeping with accurate precision; he refused conformity in the matter of apparel, speech, etc.; he arranged all regular and precise in the matter of fasting, meditation and prayer. So strict an ascetic was the group that they were called "Methodists" "Sacramentarians" "Supercorrectionists" "Bible moths" and "Bible Bigots". On his journey to Georgia he reduced the number of meals; ate only rice and biscuits; slept on the floor, for he believed that an appetite starved into submission, or otherwise suppressed, was a traitor hanged. Wesley in his rules for improving time, for the Oxford Club, for his helpers, and for the united Societies, is greatly indebted to Jeremy Taylor of whom he says, "I have no conception of a greater religious writer, than Dr. Jeremy Taylor, whose first rule and the result of all, is purity of intention, aiming singly at God with his whole heart.
loving, and in serving God." Wesley says: "Simplicity and purity are the two wings that lift the soul up to heaven, simplicity in the intentions and purity in the affections." He also gives credit for this idea to Mr. Law. Dr. Taylor although a clergyman of the establishment is of that Puritan devotional zeal that aimed at Purity and discipline of life as his many rules clearly reveal. Mr. Law was a like-minded man. With these we must keep in mind the writings and influence of Mr. Baxter that honest Christian men whom Wesley read and recommended.

Yes, early in life especially, Wesley was an ascetic and a strict disciplinarism. The tests and questions of the Holy Club, quoted earlier in this paper, were means of keeping themselves on trial and in keeping their souls under the microscope by practical means. It sprang from their theology of Good Works. His self-examination every night and his Saturday night private bond, with his own soul, at which he read his resolutions; made rigid inquest upon his own thoughts, conversations, studies, and amusements during the week, studied his secret motives and emotions; confessed at the bar of his own conscience, thus showing his ascetic discipline. These questions and confessions are written in his remorseful diary. He lived by rules and inquisition, and in his early religion had little joy. Later in his pilgri-mage, through the instruction in faith and righteousness, and the prophecies of the future, he was led from legality to the cross, and Methodism and the whole world is richer because he was so led, humbled, and proved during these years. After his conversion he is a man of a frank tongue and shining face.

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an habitual gait of heart, whom Alexander Knox describes as "The most perfect specimen of moral happiness which I ever saw." As Fitchett says, "The difference between Wesley the ascetic and the evangelist is as that of a landscape on which night is lying and one on which the sun has risen." Yet he is a Puritan in his ethics throughout life. This is found in the three general rules for Methodists given in 1759:

(1) Avoid evil in every kind and remember that the fruits are the evidence of desire. Do not take the name of God in vain; avoid profaning the day of the Lord by ordinary work-buying or selling; drunkenness, buying or selling spirituous liquors or drinking them unless in extreme necessity; fighting, quarreling, brawling and going to law with a brother; returning evil for evil; railing for railing; using many words in buying or selling; buying or selling uncustomed goods; usury, uncharitable or unprofitable conversation; particular speaking evil of magistrates or ministers; doing for others as we would not they should do to us; doing—not to the glory of God, but to the profit of self or costly apparel; taking such diversions as diest not in the name of the Lord Jesus; singing songs, reading books not tending to the love of God; softness or needless self-indulgence; losing up pleasures on earth; maintaining without necessity or remonstrance.

(2) Do all the good, to all men, of every possible sort, to their bodies and to their souls, especially to the household of faith. Love, then, buy at them, help one in business with all possible diligence and frugality; running with patience the

(1) Quoted by Fitchett "Wesley and his Century." P. 90. (2) Ibid. (3) Works Vol. 5, P. 191.
race; denying yourselves, taking up the cross daily; to bear the reproach of Christ to be as filthy and the off-spring upon the world.

(3) Attend all the ordinances of God—public worships, ministry of the word, read or expounded; a piece of the Lord, daily and private prayer, searching the Scriptures; fasting or obstinence.

Then in 1743 in advising the Methodists, he says, their strictness in life, taking the whole of it together, may be called new. "I mean your making it a rule, to abstain from fashionable diversions, from reading plays, romances, or books of humour; from singing innocent songs or talking in a merry, gay, diverting manner; your strictness of dress; your mode of dealing in trade; your exactness in observing the Lord's day; your second allusion to things that are to be done; your total renunciation from ardentuous liquors; your rule not to allow the fault of an absent person, in particular of ministers of these in authority; for it's a new model." (1)

On the matter of dress, he says it was almost upon the same words of Parker that he so was very clearly, "imitate the Quakers in neatness, cleanliness, plainness. Or even being hurt, let your clothes be so seen and approved of God; thus you shall not dress when he can see, or shall not, 'be seen of men'. Let your seriousness shine before men, not your dress." (2) He repeats that "cleanliness is next to godliness and that slovenliness is as great an afflication. As there's a moderate difference in several members against two corners." (1)

(1) Works v. 3, P. 480. (2) Third P. 545.
Since you are about, why do honest people, as in every case leave themselves naked? People get InterruptedException; waste paper; create and collate files; it opposes to rose rover; and in opposite to fine issue of God.

In Solomon, die man above fineness in the phrase of money and I. S. "The knowledge of the will of God is money, avoiding every needless expense. Do Solomon the gold, but you also must increase at not thin that your new treasure in what you buy, whether-clothes, eat, or drink, in defiance of reason or religion. Get all you can, you will your face, asking for custom, and not in actuality the raging, the desires of the rule, or the pride of life; board others, and all you can. [1] "Gold and silver, I count it mere woe dress; I think the smallest fact if I leave behind me 10 lbs., other debts, debts, or shall proceed to be done on them, you can all manner. I am, however, fast I lived and died a thief and a robber." I am quite out of conceit with almost all of those who have this worldly goods. Let us take care to not go our treasure is heaven. Only by living can you extract the poison from riches. In I must grow, unless you are Lord of heaven and earth, and it will be with you more. The trouble of people is, that people must either hard times or difference in that, and not God, so the, the deadly hindrance to faith and the fruit of faith.

So he it in the matter of sleep. Intemperance in sleep causes nervous disorders. He says that I move from 6 to 8 hours

is unhealthy if done for years. Take as much as experience proves our nature to require, and set a fixed hour. For if you rise early you must sleep early. As each one require more than others for health and vigor of mind and body. Taylor supposed ten hours enough. Baxter said not much nearer the truth. In believing four hours enough. He was convinced after 50 years of testing that six hours is required, a little more for women and himself wanted six and a half. The main thing can, be temperate, or take no more than is required.

He exhorts the brethren to practice fasting, for it is a true remark of Kemmis "The more thou deniest thyself, the more thou wilt grow in Grace." In the matter of gossiping he says do not do it, and of all gossiping, religious is the worst, for it adds hypocrisy to uncharitableness. Talk of no absent person and talk little; for can talk profitably above an hour, and keep at the utmost distance from pious chit-chat. In the matter of suffering he urges the stolid endurance of the best Puritans. Always remember it is in the Lord and "the Lord gave and he taketh away; blessed be the name of the Lord." Suffering is a means of grace and the love of a neighbor gives rise to sympathizing sorrow and we should mix our pitying tears with those that weep. Practice love, "enduring all things, with utmost confidence in God, and own him in the face of danger, and in defiance of sorrow, sickness, pain or death."

2. Attitude on Aesthetics.

The Puritans are often criticized for their attitude towards

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amusements and the aesthetic side of life, but while they were strict and austere yet as I pointed out earlier in the paper, much of that is caricature. These men and Wesley, in their train, had the one big aim of religion—to know, love and serve God and that through Jesus Christ. Also the aesthetics and amusements of their day were of a rather crude sort, in the main, and almost entirely detrimental to the highest development and spread of religion. Wesley is a Puritan in this matter. "What ever weakens your reason, impairs the tenderness of your conscience, obscures your sense of God, or takes off the relish of spiritual things— in short, whatever increases the strength and sulli ty of your body over your mind, that thing is sin to you, how ever innocent it may be in itself." He would have no uncertainties and no easy and soft illusions. He was against the savage diversions of bull baiting, cock-fighting, horse racing, and hunting, for it was cruel to the animals and base to the ones with cruel ful concomitant and consequent vices of these severe sports. This kind of recreations are innocent it is easy to determine by that plain rule; "whether ye eat or drink, or whatsoever ye do, do it to the glory of God." His emphasis was positive and he sought a conscience void of offence in its behavior and one that abstained from the appearance of evil, and ever sought Christian holiness. With this ideal, he had no time or commendation for the corrupt theatres of his day which "sap the foundation of all religion and naturally take the traces even of vanity and sinfulness out of the minds of men; -- they make youth gay, trifling, and directly opposite to the spirit of Industry and the best

(1) Quoted by Fitchett, Wesley and His Century" P. 68.
(2)Works V. 5. P. 50.
application to business, and lead to drinking and debauchery of every kind, together with indolence, effeminacy, and idleness."

He said there may be more said in defence of a seri us tragedy but he couldn't do it with a clear conscience, at least, but in an English theatre, sunk in all profaneness and debauchery, but he, allowed that possibly others could. For the same reason he is against dancing for it leads young men to numberless evils and the hazards seem to overbalance the little inconvenience of not dancing. In regard to reading novels he thinks the time may be better employed in reading history, biographies, and travels. In regard to cards he felt the same as with tragedies, he could not do it with a clear conscience but would not pass judgment on those otherwise minded, 'I leave that to their own Master; to Him let them stand or fall.' He believed in temperance in all things and so would have nothing to do with rummishments, 'a vile word the very sound I abhor.' Speak truth, for truth and love united together, are the essence of virtue and holiness. He stood against sloth and the luxury of the day as did Baxter in his day. He believes in a more excellent way of life, and for diversion, set out in the open air, in a wild field, plant and perfect gardens and orchards; visit the sick, poor, widows, or read history, pious and learned poetry, philosophy, or scientific music or philosophical experiments. He always believed in religious poetry and was for good music. One of the most great things of the Methodist movement was its joyous and assuring hymns, and a Puritan who never made innovations in religion he believed.

(1) Works V. 6. P. 667
(2) Ibid v. 2. P. 272.
(3) Ibid p. 278.
that there is a taste for disinterested benevolence, which was just as real and infinitely more delightful than utmost refinements of music, poetry, or painting.

3. Ethical Obedience.

Wesley believed in strict ethical obedience and would follow truth and the ethical ideal through any and all trials. In order to have a conscience void of offence it must be guided by reason, in regard to the duties of parents and children, of husband and wife, servant and master, duties of common life etc. Man must use all the understanding God has given him and nothing that separates from God, in dissipation and sin, whether it be silly pleasures, diversions, work, writing, drinking, dancing, balls, races, etc., or whether it be business employment, the study of mathematics, astronomy etc. He lived in a world of wonders and divine interpretations and as such was essentially practical, orderly, and conservative. He became a new moral enthusiasm as did the Puritans of old, though in virile and ascetic, he was nevertheless healthier in his social tone. In the disappearance of profligacy of the upper classes, foulness of literature; introducing a New Civil Liturgy; reforming prisons, getting clearness and wisdom in civil law, polishing the slave trade and giving the first great impulse to popular education.

"I have one point in view, to promote, so far as I am able, vital, practical religion; and by the grace of God to arrest, preserve, and increase the life of God in the souls of men." The Church of England and the cause of Methodism were subordinately in the same

eral and practical religion of Jesus Christ. He was bothered about the question of separation. He thought they could do more good in the Church but he wondered if it was lawful to stay in. He said that the episcopal form of Church government was Scriptural and apostolic but that neither Christ nor his apostles had prescribed any particular form of Church government and he did not regard orthodoxy or right opinions as never more than a slender part of religion; and sometimes not at all. More that many of the ministers were not sent of God and that they might later or might not be sent, the Gospel not taught in the fundamental, nor the doctrines; yet he felt, and he was bold to reason in the truth although he admitted 'he was slow at times to say or to insist that are to bear its weight.' He admitted that the soul-saving clergyman laid him under more difficulties than the soul-salving laymen. He introduced new things and changed his procedure, as it was necessary to carry on the expanding work, but he said they would stay in the Church until forced out and then it would be well.

He was a progressive and tolerant moralist. As said the rules of the Societies are merely rudimental and not essential, not divine, and he wanted to prevent as far as possible their growing formal or dead. He was always open to instruction, willing to be wiser every day than he was the day before, and so above whatever he could for the other. He admitted lay preaching but felt there was no necessity for lay administering. He followed the right as he saw it. He felt that the Church was aware.

pensive and unhealthful habit for his people and so he quit drinking it himself to set them an example, before giving up the excrescence. He was bitterly opposed to slavery, calling it the 'excruciable sum of all villanies.' He was against war, arising from innumerable causes due to the ambition of princes, corruption of ministers; and differences of opinion. "What a way of trying the right! It lacked both common sense and true humanity, for who can reconcile war, I will not say to religion but to any degree of reason or common sense." He was sometimes called a holiness fanatic yet he says, "I neither teach nor believe such an instantaneous working of the Holy Spirit as finishes the business of salvation once for all. I believe a gradual improvement in grace and goodness,—I mean in the knowledge and love of God which is a good testimony of our present sincerity towards God." He is an ethical pragmatist, holding that methodists are people, who pursue (in whatever measure they have attained) holiness of heart and life, inward and outward conformity in all things to the revealed will of God. He felt that the hand of the Lord had been stayed in Scotland and in America in the beginnings due to the pride, bitterness, bigotry and self-indulgence; self-denial was little taught, and practiced. Therefore the spirit of God was grieved. Inward experimental religion was his center, and in regard to opinions and the externals of religion he says "use every ordinance which you believe is of God; but be one of narrowness of spirit toward those who use not. Conform yourself to those modes of worship which you approve yet love as brothers those who cannot conform. Lay so much stress on opinions, "

that all your own, if it be possible, say and write truth and reason; but have a care of never, never, or external toward those whose opinions differ from yours. Let every man only, the full and free liberty of thinking for himself, let every man use his own judgment since every man must give an account of himself to God." Here was a man of ethical obedience, following the truth, with a spiritual and ethical message that meant his doom if he did not preach the Gospel. He did it as an aristocrat but laid down democratic principles. Near the close of life he said "As long as I live, the people shall have no share in choosing either stewards or leaders. There are no republicans, and never intend to be. I have been uniform in both doctrine and discipline for above 50 years and it is a little too late for me to turn into a new way now. But headed—I have not lived in vain, never, let me live to strike at Satan's kingdom, and even a small descent in (1)


In the matter of business ethics we find the work of the earlier Reformers extended, wherein the energies of vocational idealism, as developed in the social services of the Church, and the monastic communities, and the work in law, science, and channels of secular activity, this was a Puritan spirit as well as all the Western Protestant movements. Baxter and others were here in stressing the work of trade, as in business, as the important in our life. And since 16th and 17th centuries, with its proliferation of types of manifest. Further:

and, 'This present world is not the best of Worlds in vain; but the every moment of it is a new contingent stage. All speedily err is the way of all. They are born into Dis- 
covery, but doing the best and greatest good while we are life 
and have a call to do. That it is our duty to the last life, of 
us then in the best manner and in the worst it is wise, the as 
so such would we possibly re join. It is well the collate come 
to labor. And all that should dwell in the land of Jove, 
with out and that with the best 2nd,' Baxter 

Baxter tells his people to remember that precious and un- 
grows rich by using his time profitably. — in the judgment 

'1' he says to all who are idle, "Labor. In say the same busi- 
ness ethics of thrift and frugality, and distance of idleness 
and sloth. He says it is impossible for an idle man to be a good 
man, and that idio is inconsistent into said man and "never 
your hand to idle to to", in thou shall ever that, pertaining to 
all their due, -justice, mercy.(2) (3), if the tale to 
justice, and intermix mercy of heart in the interest of the body 
if you are a Christian." He is the last kingdoms and stilled-salve. 
He says that one cannot sell a their good arts of live on. 

(2) Wesley's Works V.P. P. 282.
and that others cannot live or be contented unless they become Methodists; they cannot appear, or do, or deserve their neighbors; cannot lie, or say what they do not mean; speak the truth from their heart and have none of the world's yields, for it is the record of industry, not their own desire to vie of their substance in order to save their souls from the love of money. He tells the Stewards to be frugal, save every thing that they can honestly; to spend no more than they receive, and not contract no debts; to pay no long accounts and pay within a week; to give none that asks relief either in the word or in the look; to expect no thanks from men. Thus he develops the "religio-ethical regimentation of life" as Weber puts it. He stresses the Puritan business ethics, believing that idleness slays and therefore that work and duty, were synonymous. He practiced the stewardship of life; recognizing the subordination of life to the glory of God; and daily practicing the presence of God. Work was serving God, while idleness was a sin, and industry, carefulness in expenditures, and charity were the signs of a life of continual membership in early Methodism. There he developed the idea of fruitful vocational activity as the sum and substance of a good life, with its spirit of service, or touching the quality and quantity of a man's output. His ethics not only meant industry but they meant business integrity and the duty of doing one's best in any situation.
5. Education.

Wesley was for popular education yet he showed the Puritan restraint in his theory of education rather than a broad culture. He read widely himself and to some of his leading ministers he recommended reading in many fields, but in the main he was for restraint. The central thing and essential, was to make Christians through the education. All else was subordinate to it. He loved good breeding but said how difficult it was to keep it quite clear of affectation. He believed the children should be trained in every branch of useful learning and at Kingswood they taught, reading, writing, arithmetic, English, French, Latin, German, history, geography, chronology, rhetoric, logic, ethics, geometry, algebra, physics, and music. For the manners of ancient Christians they used Bunyan's "Pilgrim's Progress"; "Moral and Sacred Poems"; Erasmus' select Dialogues; Law's "Christian Perfection"; Virgil's Aeneid; Milton; Law's "Serious Call"; Some of Homer's Iliad and the like.

He considered the training of a child a huge task. He quoted Baxter on "Whoever attempts to teach children will find need of all the understanding God has given them." He said it was not enough to bring souls to Christ but they must be built up in the most holy faith, in the fear of God, free from vice, particularly, from idleness and inefficacy. They must obey all rules and stay in school all the time. He did not desire any vacation even. He ruled that they rise at four and each hour of the day was laid out for devotion, singing, meditation, work and study. There was no play for "he that plays when he is a child will lay when he is a man."

For exercise they were to take walks and work in the garden.

Their fare of eats was plain, solid, wholesome but with little variation. They were to have nothing between meals and drink water at meal times. They were to fast till three on Friday if they desired. They slept in one room on separate mattresses and went to bed at 8 P.M. They had strict observance of Sunday and the services. He believed in early instruction, plainly and frequently given and persevered in. He believed in correction when needed. He said to obey parents and that the child diseases of pride, love of world, anger, devotion from truth, and unrighteousness to Justice should be healed. He said children must be taught that religion consists in holy temper, in the love of God and our neighbor; in humility, gentleness, patience, long-suffering, contentedness in every condition and to sum up, to be the kind that was in Christ. The instruction should be done in mildness, softness, and gentleness, but if these methods fail there must be correction with kind severity.

In writing to a young minister he says, "you have (1) volumes of "Philosophical Transactions"; Dr. Burton's Latin and Greek Poems; Malebranche and other books of Locke which you cannot crack without a tutor. I buy other books as fast as I can meet with them at sales." So we see he was for study and thorough study.

He recommends among a vast list of other pieces of literature; Spencer's "Faerie Queen", Hutchinson's Works, Hume's "History of England", Neal's "History of the Puritans", Hilton's "Poetical Works, Locke's Essay, Malebranche and Shakespeare,

(1) Works V. 7. P. GC.
which is a rather readily array of Puritan writings. He sums up by saying, "whoever carefully goes through this course of study (his entire list) will be a better scholar than most of 10 of the graduates at Oxford or Cambridge." He believed in his social system. He himself wrote in several different fields. For instance, "Christian Library" in which he compiled the best Christian writings, "I mind not who works but what in system." He wrote a Primitive Physic; a treat on electricity made plain and useful; and he wrote a grammar of English, Latin, French, and Hebrew and translated some of the classics.

Through all of his educational theory there runs the Puritan strictness and exactness, for repression and austerity, for rule and prescription. He was rather liberal but everything had to conform to the one ideal and he says in story to the eye fixed on the same point, your soul and make your time and pains go so far as they can't. as it were, no large, and not sufficient culture, as such, but he warns to beware you be not swallowed up in books; for an ounce of love is worth a pound of knowledge."

o. Activity.

We have already mentioned the fact of Wesley's great energy and high ethics. As where else his Puritan influence show forth more plainly, it seems, than in the moral activity of this man. The idea of good works, as the rest of salvation and the fruit of the soul which Calvin taught, was with the Puritans not an empty, empty to Wesley not. through the Church and his home. Much of his devotional influence went through this line.
Moravians tended toward mysticism and as in the union of the soul with God. But his mystical views had inadvertently discovered the feeling of soul near and far life exercises, for unifying the soul, really became righteousness in itself as much as good works, so broke with Mysticism and says to his brother Samuel, "I think the rock on which I stood to rest main exercises of the faith is the writings of the mystics; for this light as of the means of grace and are directed at first (1), of self-love and self-activity and thus set in a passion show, especially contemplation, not only above faith but above every work as it entirely free from images, sounds, and discourses, or never interrupted by sins of infirmity or voluntary distractions. They have absolutely renounced their reason and understanding," he broke with the Moravians on their "quietistic" and extreme religious views. He was true to his Puritan heritage and not the religion worked out in the walks of life. His rigorous manner of early life, strict rules, attendance at Holy Communion, strict observance of the Church orders, devout study of Holy Scripture, hours stolen from sleep and worldly amusements and devotion to religious exercises had so formed him that he could not drift into mysticism. His was a practical religion that worked itself out in the case of the poor, the infirm and the dying. All must be active and work out their own salvation. "An idle person known to be such, is not suffered to remain in any of our societies; we drive them, as we would a thief or a murderer. To show all poss-

(1) Quoted from Fitchett, Wesley and His Century. P. 91-92.
sible diligence (as well as economy) is one of our standing rules, concerning which we make a strict inquiry." It was the desire to work out his ideal of salvation and life that caused the societies to develop, and brought on the Methodist organization, bearing one another's burdens and car for one another. Time, as with all Puritans, was precious and not to be wasted away or slov-

fully occupied. All must be active.

V. CONCLUSIONS.

A. Nonconformist Ideal.

In conclusion let us repeat that the evidence seems to be decisive, that although Wesley was not a Puritan in his day and did not so consider himself, yet in his life one especially in the movement that bore his name, Puritanism, one of the principle factors and influences. Not so was in import, but the spirit lives on and so it is of his Nonconformist ideal. Wesley lived and died a member of the Church of England, as did many Puritan Nonconformists before his time, but nevertheless the ideal led him to question the lawfulness of staying in the Church and caused him to make innovations which he made regardless of the consequences. The organization of Methodism is the embodiment of the Nonconformist ideal which at the death of Wesley was really before, when ministers were ordained, a factor out of the Church of England. And not only this, but a new movement started on the Ideal of exaltation of life was awakened all over England in the world. Into a nation where its spiritual skies were black as with the gloom of an arctic midnight, and as icy as with arctic frosts,
(1) Works V. 5. P. 92.
came this rebirth of religion, this awakening of the soul of the nation as of an electric current and showing, the whole terror of the modern world, giving new ideals in politics, a new spirit in religion, and a new standard in philanthropy.held for, with its emphasis on life, again triumphed over convention and ceremonialism. Wesley made one of the strongest protests that the non-conformist spirit has ever made, even though it was made through one of the most strongly conformist natures in the world ever to seize. He loved law and order and though starting democratic societies, he was an autocrat. His experiences are the history of the soul and again gave to the world a sense of eternal things. In line with the best in Puritanism, a liberated thought and counted the principle of the authority of conscience, ever stressing that greatest modern or ancient thought, of the individual accountability of man to God.

5. Puritan Ethics.

Wesley saw the soul of life through mysticism, but it did not teach him the way. The dynamic which he found grew in the experience which worked itself out in an ethical mode of life. Here is clearly seen one Puritan idea of religion working itself out in all walks of life, with a strict obedience to God's will, with restraint, and yet with joy in an austere service of mankind. His great balance is seen, expressed in his own words of advice to the Methodists: "You cannot think of not giving offence, your very name Methodist renders it impossible. To think that it is still heathen very name Methodist renders it impossible. To think that it is still heathen very name Methodist renders it impossible. To think that it is still heathen very name Methodist renders it impossible. To think that it is still heathen very name Methodist renders it impossible. To think that it is still heathen very name Methodist renders it impossible. 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offence by your principles also. Be obligate, for your safety, modes of worship and ordinances, by so doing - 'The first things.' to bigots against them; to live and against the unfeigned, by initiating so frequently and openly as to wound one of religion; to more or less, (consider,) we declare the absolute necessity of faith, in order to acceptance with God. To us in a sense you will also offence, by taking of inspiration where using the Holy Ghost; to drunkards, Sabbath breakers, women mourners, and other open sinners, by refraining from their company, as well as by that disapprobation of their walk; for you will often be obliged to express, and indeed you will see this; the continual offence; your sobriety is unnecessarily of evil to a drunkard; these subtle ways which is equally injurious to a any more; and, as we shall see, it is the more and more, the more people to show our love. 'Thou wilt give us also offence to such hands; or to be, your friends (we will) not be principally.' Thus stands the Puritan influence, be it large, as we call it.

6. Spiritual Organization.

Wesley, not only had the ideal of Nonconformity as the essence of the Puritan method of life, but we see with our eyes as manifest, that every one of the societies was self-governed, and each one of the members the glory, thus, in our present estimation, with great sense of brotherhood, and one fellow with another, and so on as we see it.

He was a child of the poor and he did not go among the rich, but as a man of unselfish spirit, he followed a Friend's initiative, and for more than one generation, The class meeting, a most essential part of our life, has not been senseless waste of daily activity. He also gave us preaching and the love feast etc., every week to spread love him. His church is not one... in the calm... of the church... a religious center and made the revolutionary change in the course... of the church... and Formula... D. His Place and Recognition.

 Wesley was a child of the poor and he did not go among the rich, but as a man of unselfish spirit, he followed a Friend's initiative, and for more than one generation, the class meeting, a most essential part of our life, has not been senseless waste of daily activity. He also gave us preaching and the love feast etc., every week to spread love him. His church is not one... in the calm... of the church... a religious center and made the revolutionary change in the course... of the church... and Formula...
order, regularity, and form and alike to judge everything only as an instrument of righteousness. Hence the creditor, for instance, was no other than a humble man in whom all was discipline and this true lead men to discharge all those duties with the strictest diligence and closest attention. He was ever willing to learn for he says, "If anyone shows me, (by argument—not hard names) that is wrong, I will thank God and him." Wesle was not popular in his day by the intellectual and clergy classes, but in his over forty years of traveling and evangelistic contesting three kingdoms and in almost continuous travel, mostly on horseback, he appealed to the masses. A great philanthropist and social reformer, he was first of all, and above all, the preacher of personal religion which again placed emotion where it belonged in religion. This man who left behind him nothing but a good library of books, a well-worn clergyman's gown, a much abused reputation, and the Methodist Church as direct results of his life, really left much more in the moral temper of the English nation. For the legend of the Wesleyan emotional influence worked within as well as without the established Church and becomes the starting point of modern religious history. Some of his biographers paints Wesley in glowing terms but let us just give the opinion of one or two historians. McCleary says that "among the events which have determined the history of England is the rise of Methodism—and Wesley was a genius for government not inferior to that of Richelieu." Lecky says that his life forms an "epoch in English history and a day of the civil forces that saved England from a revolution much as France lost."

Birrell says, "No other man did such a life's work for England; you cannot cut him out of our national life." And so the other man. (1)

Mother Arnold called "A Genius for Godliness" has at last gained the recognition due him. As Winchester says: "Go through the great names the world calls great in that century—a general like Marlborough, great monarchs like Frederick, great statesmen like Chatham and Burke, poets and critics like Pope and Johnson, and Lessing, writers like Voltaire and Rousseau; but among them whose motives were so true, whose life so unselfish, whose character was so spotless and whose influence—social, moral, religious—was productive of such vast good and of so little evil." (2)

Fitchett calls Wesley the greatest man of his age, 'not because he outshone the men of his century in genius, but because he dealt with loftier forces than they. He awakened the great energies of religion, tapped the elemental forces in human life; a force deeper than politics, loftier than literature, and wider than science. Wesley worked in a realm through which blue air from eternity.' (3)

After this study of the life and work of Wesley I am convinced that these splendid praise of this great Revivalist and Reformer can hardly be said to be out of proportion. He worked with other men, and influenced great men. He did a work that lived on in his great spiritual and missionary organization as well as in all English institutions. "Among Reformers I cannot find a nobler figure, a purer example of a life hospitable to truth, fostering culture, yet subordinating all ambition, directing all culture to the unselfish service of humanity." (4)

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