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Proceedings OF THE Wesley Historical Society

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SAMUEL ANNESLEY (1620-1696)

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ON 17th February 1780, John Wesley, then in his seventy-seventh year, wrote a letter of condolence to one of his most faithful women helpers, Hannah Ball of High Wycombe. Hannah, who was a Sunday-school pioneer before Robert Raikes, and one of Wesley's regular correspondents, was at that time mourning the loss of an old friend. She and Samuel Wells, one of Wesley's itinerant preachers, had been very close during his lifetime, and Hannah had confided to Wesley that she was still conscious of Samuel's nearness to her, even after his death. Wesley wrote back to say that he found nothing unusual in her account and encouraged her to accept the experience, in a reply which began:

My Dear Sister,

There is nothing strange in a particular union of spirit between two persons who truly fear God . . . And I see not any reason why this union should be destroyed by death.

He then went on to look back to the time, nearly forty years before, when his mother, Susanna, was alive, and recalled a similar "particular union of spirit" between her and her father, Dr. Samuel Annesley.

I have heard my mother say [he wrote] that she had many times been "as sensible of the presence of the spirit of my grandfather as she could have been if she had seen him standing before her face".¹

This reference of Wesley to his maternal grandfather is one of the few that occur in his published writings. One would give much to have had more of the same kind, drawn from his mother's vivid recollection of her father; but this mention has a peculiar interest, from more than one angle. It is a truism that Wesley's mother was, humanly speaking, the most important single influence in his life. Between Susanna and her second son there was a very "particular

¹ *Letters* vi, pp. 380-1.

union of spirit", which Mrs. Elsie Harrison and others have impressively explored. Again, the evidence suggests that there were very strong ties of affection and likemindedness between Susanna and her father. What has not been investigated is the extent and nature of Samuel Annesley's posthumous influence on John Wesley. Annesley, of course, died seven years before John was born; but if we take seriously the "union of spirit" between the father and daughter, then we must reckon with the likelihood—to put it no higher—that Annesley's life and ministry made a marked impression on his grandson John. Moreover, we know for a fact that Wesley read some of his grandfather's writings, and gave them the imprimatur of his approval by reprinting a selection of them in his *Christian Library*.

This paper has three aims. First, it will examine the life and ministry of Dr. Annesley, as a distinguished representative of late seventeenth-century Nonconformity. Secondly, it will explore the relationship between Annesley and his favourite daughter, Susanna.

Finally, it will examine how far Annesley's impact on Wesley may be seen as one aspect of that Puritan-Methodist continuity for which I have argued elsewhere.² Dr. Horton Davies has suggested that Wesley may with equal justice be seen as either "the precursor of the Oxford Movement" or as "the last of the Puritan divines".³ I would myself regard the latter title as the more fitting, and would argue that one strand of the evidence is the relationship discernible between Wesley and that Puritan divine who was his maternal grandfather.

First, then, let me remind you of the main events of Samuel Annesley's life, and attempt a brief sketch of his character and ministry. He was born of a good family at Kenilworth in Warwickshire, in the year 1620. Orphaned by his father, John, when he was only four years old, he was piously brought up by his mother. Edmund Calamy, in his biographical dictionary of Puritan ministers ejected in 1662, describes Annesley as

An Israelite indeed. One that may be said to be sanctify'd from the Womb; inasmuch as he was so early under Serious Impressions, that he oft declar'd He never knew the Time he was not Converted.⁴

Even as a child, he had a strong sense of vocation to the ordained ministry, and was not dissuaded from responding to the call by what Calamy describes as

² See J. A. Newton: *Methodism and the Puritans* (1964) and *Susanna Wesley and the Puritan Tradition in Methodism* (1969).

³ Horton Davies: *Worship and Theology in England: From Watts and Wesley to Maurice, 1690-1850* (1961), p. 184.

⁴ E. Calamy: *An Account of the Ministers . . . Ejected or Silenced after the Restoration in 1660*, 2nd edn. (1713), p. 47.

an affecting Dream he had while he was a Child ; Which was, that he was a Minister, and sent for by the Bishop of London, and to be bound for a Martyr.⁵

The dream was certainly a portent ; not that he was to endure literal martyrdom, but certainly in that he was to suffer in and for his ministry, at the hands of the episcopal Church. With his many brethren of 1662, he was to be "Church-outed by the prelates".

At the age of fifteen, he left Kenilworth to go up to Oxford, matriculated at Queen's College, and graduated B.A. in 1639, just as the skies over England were darkened by the approaching menace of the Civil War. We lose track of him for a few years, as the smoke of battle covered the land. When it clears a little, we find him, in December 1642, authorized as a lecturer, or special preacher, at Chatham.⁶ Unless he were a deacon already—and the evidence here is uncertain—he must have exercised this early preaching ministry as a young layman of twenty-two. Soon the war drew him away from Chatham into its own sphere. It may be that the call of the sea came to him through the naval dockyards of that Medway town, or it may be that a sense of pastoral duty led him to follow his young men as they were called away to service. Certainly, we find him in 1644 being ordained a minister according to the Presbyterian rite and serving as a chaplain in the Parliamentary navy. His ordination was strictly *presbyteral*, that is to say he was ordained by Presbyterian ministers only, not, after the strict Reformed manner, by a classis or presbytery, which would include lay elders as well.⁷ He was ordained by the seven Presbyterian ministers whom the prevailing Parliamentary ordinance prescribed as the requisite number, on board the warship *Globe*, one of the fleet commanded by the Earl of Warwick, Lord High Admiral of the Parliament's navy.

His first spell of service at sea, however, did not last long, and by 1645 he was back in Kent as rector of the parish of Cliffe, near Gravesend. His departure from the fleet had evidently not lost him the regard of the Lord High Admiral, for in 1648, thanks to the backing of the Earl of Warwick, Annesley was honoured by his university with a Doctorate of Civil Law—no small accolade for a man of twenty-eight. The year 1648 brought him another distinction, when he was chosen to preach a Fast-day sermon before the House of Commons, gathered in St. Margaret's, Westminster. His text was Job xxvii 5-6—"God forbid that I should justify you : till I die I will not remove my integrity from me . . ."—and the uncompromising note it struck was not belied by the discourse which followed. It was

⁵ E. Calamy : *A Continuation of the Account of the Ministers . . . Ejected and Silenced after the Restoration in 1660*, 2 vols. (1727), i, p. 65.

⁶ *Commons Journals*, ii, p. 897, cited by W. A. Shaw : *The English Church, 1640-1660*, ii, p. 304.

⁷ See Calamy : *Continuation*, i, p. 66f., and G. F. Nuttall in *From Uniformity to Unity, 1662-1962*, ed. G. F. Nuttall and O. Chadwick (1962), p. 172.

indeed the preface to a searching Puritan sermon in the authentic tradition of John Knox. The young Annesley was not one to prophesy smooth things, but told the M.P.s straight: "... forget your greatness, and give account of your goodness (if you have it)".⁸ He went on to ask, as a question clearly expecting the answer "yes",

Do not some of you cause the Enemies of God to blasphem, & the very name of Reformation to be a by-word among those that hate it? ⁸

To read the whole sermon is to be reminded that we are not far in spirit from Annesley's grandson, John Wesley, who once preached to a rich and fashionable congregation on the suggestive text: "You brood of vipers, who warned you to flee from the wrath to come?"

By the August of 1648, Annesley had gone back to sea, and we find him preparing his Commons sermon for the press, as he himself writes, "aboard the *George* riding off Goree in Holland".⁹ He kept a journal of his second sea-voyage, which ended in November 1648, and then apparently returned to his pastoral charge at Cliffe.

Dr. Annesley was typical of many Presbyterian ministers in being bitterly opposed to the execution of Charles I, and, by his own account, "publicly detested the horrid murder". When Cromwell defeated the future Charles II at Worcester, Annesley locked the church doors so that there should be no church bells rung and no service of celebration for the victory. Like his friend Richard Baxter, he had a low opinion of Cromwell, whom he denounced as "the arrantest hypocrite that ever the Church of Christ was pestered with", and his opposition to Oliver seems eventually to have lost him his Kentish living. He was driven to take what he could, and accepted what he termed "the least parish in London", St. John the Evangelist, Friday Street, where he began his incumbency in 1652. Five years later, his meagre income was augmented by the grant of a Sunday afternoon lectureship, or preaching, at St. Paul's Cathedral, for which he received £120 a year.

In 1653 his fortunes further improved, as Richard Cromwell granted him the important living of St. Giles, Cripplegate—said to be worth £700 a year—where he remained until he was ejected in 1662. In his last year as vicar of St. Giles, his church became the venue for the "Morning Exercise", a daily early morning service at which leading Puritan ministers took it in turn to preach. It had begun during the Civil War, on the initiative of Thomas Case, the rector of St. Mary Magdalen, Milk Street. It produced some fine preaching, and in due course Annesley was to edit four volumes of the sermons preached in this pulpit. The great watershed of his ministry came in 1662, when, with so many of his friends and colleagues, he was ejected from his living as a Nonconformist for refusing to subscribe to the Book of

⁸ Annesley: *A Sermon preached to the Honourable House of Commons, July 26, 1648* (1648) p. 23.

⁹ Calamy: *Continuation*, i, p. 67.

Common Prayer and the Act of Uniformity. He continued his ministry in London, however, though in straitened circumstances, and in 1669 we find him preaching to an 800-strong congregation of Presbyterians in Spitalfields, in a newly-built meeting-house, which was spacious and well-appointed, with "three good galleries". In 1672, the Declaration of Indulgence formally allowed public worship for Nonconformists, and Annesley was duly licensed as a Presbyterian "teacher".¹⁰ The Declaration was revoked the following year, and Nonconformists were again exposed to informers, raids upon their homes and property, and crippling fines. In November 1682, Dr. Annesley's house was broken into and his goods distrained to pay the fines inflicted on him for leading Nonconformist worship.

His goods were worth distraining, for he was a man of some means. He had inherited property through his family, and no doubt had been able to save appreciably from his income at St. Giles, Cripplegate. We know also from his magnificent library, of which the sale catalogue has survived in the British Library, that he cannot have been short of money. (Incidentally, his daughter Susanna's constant struggle against grinding poverty must have been all the more galling, by contrast with the relative affluence in which she had been brought up.) Yet Annesley, despite the fines imposed on him for Nonconformity, was consistently generous with his money. John Dunton, the eccentric bookseller who married Annesley's daughter Elizabeth, described his father-in-law as "the Saint Paul of the Nonconformists", because "he had the care of all the Churches upon his mind, and was the great support of Dissenting Ministers, and of the Morning Lecture."¹¹ When the Presbyterians and Congregationalists set up their Common Fund in 1690, to support needy ministers and congregations, Annesley became one of its managers, and made a handsome initial donation of £100.¹² This financial support was of course only one part of the leadership he gave to Nonconformity in the capital, but it was a very important part. Dr. Martin Schmidt gives Annesley a splendid epitaph, and reminds us that we are considering one of the most distinguished Puritan ministers of his age, when he writes: "For more than thirty years after his ejection he ruled as a patriarch of Dissent in the capital until his death on 31st December 1696."¹³

So much, in brief outline, for Dr. Annesley's career; but what was he like as a man and a minister? We are fortunate in having on record the judgement of several who knew him well. They are a mixed bag of both clerical and lay friends, relatives and acquaintances, but they all speak with one voice of his calibre. First, let us call in evidence Richard Baxter, a close friend and co-adjutor, a dis-

¹⁰ A. Gordon: *Freedom after Ejection* (1917), p. 201.

¹¹ *The Life and Errors of John Dunton*, ed. J. B. Nicholls, 2 vols. (1818), i, p. 165.

¹² Gordon, *op.cit.*, pp. 158f.

¹³ Martin Schmidt: *John Wesley: A Theological Biography*, 3 vols. (1962-73), i, p.

criminating judge of ministerial character, whose honesty was almost second nature to him. Baxter describes Annesley as

a most sincere, godly, humble Man, totally devoted to God . . . whose preaching in those two greatest Auditories, Giles's Cripplegate, and Paul's Church, did very much good till he was silenced.¹⁴

Another friend and fellow-minister, Dr. Daniel Williams—commemorated in the great Library of Nonconformity in Gordon Square which still bears his name—preached Annesley's funeral sermon. Like Baxter, he fastens on Annesley's power as a preacher and in particular his concentration on the practical issues of Christian living. In every age many moral dilemmas have confronted the Christian. In the seventeenth century, they were subsumed under the heading of "cases of conscience", and in this area of pastoral and moral theology, Dr. Annesley excelled. Dr. Williams reminded the congregation at Annesley's funeral:

By his very often reading over the Scriptures from his Childhood, he became a great Textuary ; and by aptly produced Texts, he oft surprised eminent Ministers ; as his solution of Cases of Conscience (which his Sermons much considered of) did instruct and satisfie them.¹⁵

To surprise, instruct and satisfy eminent ministers—never the easiest hearers to preach to—argues an uncommon pulpit mastery in Dr. Annesley, for this was an age of great preaching.

Yet he was not a preacher who set out to impress the *cognoscenti* or his fellow-experts. His characteristic aim was deeply pastoral, as he strove to help "troubled Souls", who were going through the darkness of doubt and despair. Bunyan's terrible picture of the man in the iron cage, held in the vice-like grip of despair, is a reminder of how Calvinist divinity could prove a torment to sensitive people with a bias to introspection. Annesley knew experimentally what it meant to pass through the darkness, as Williams recalled, though the predominant note of his discipleship was one of quiet, joyful assurance, which John Wesley would have approved. Williams testified of Annesley:

He had uninterrupted peace and assurance of God's Covenant-Love for above 30 years last past. It's true, he walked in Darkness for several years before that, which is common to those who are Converted in Childhood, their change not being remarkable, and so apter to be questioned, and they oft make up, in a long time, by frequent returns, the sad hours that others have pressing in at once. But God had a further design, *viz.* The fitting and enclining him to relieve wounded Consciences, by his Ministry and Discourse, wherein he was so Eminent, that most troubled Souls resorted to him : He used to say, that this made him unable to preach a Sermon without some word to them . . .¹⁶

¹⁴ Richard Baxter : *Reliquiæ Baxterianæ*, ed. M. Sylvester (1696), Part iii, p. 95.

¹⁵ Daniel Williams : *The Excellency of a Publick Spirit* (1697), p. 139.

¹⁶ *ibid.*, p. 145.

That is a significant testimony, which reminds us that the Puritans, whilst preachers *par excellence*, were at their best intensely pastoral in their pulpits as well. Annesley's special concern for those who were wounded spirits, or who had bruised consciences, is striking. It no doubt derives in part from the "sad hours" and the "darkness" he had himself passed through, and suggests that he was—to use the language of current pastoral theology—a "wounded healer". Set in the context of his own writing, it underlines the truth that at the heart of his preaching, as of his character, there shone the gospel of the forgiving and restoring grace of God.

It has been said that the Puritans were Calvinists in the study, but Arminians in the pulpit ; and certainly there are numerous examples of Calvinist preachers tempering the predestinarian wind to the shorn lambs in the pew. Dr. Annesley was among them, as we see clearly if we listen to him preaching a funeral sermon for the Rev. Mr. Thomas Brand (1635-91), and including a word of encouragement for any "troubled souls" within the congregation. He grasps the nettle of Election, which tormented so many in that age, and declares:

There's not any one now perisheth under the Gospel, but if he had, or would comply with the strivings of the Spirit he might be saved. You will say, 'tis only the Elect shall be saved. I say so to[o]. But add then ; There is not any one in the World (the Sinner against the Holy Ghost excepted) can prove he is not elected. I grant 'tis easie to prove that they are not yet effectually called, but who can prove they never shall be. Though Salvation be of Grace, yet Damnation is onely for Sin. There's not any one in the World, ever was, or shall be damned, onely because he was not elected. Do you therefore catch at the offer of Salvation, and let not one offer slip : you'll say, this Counsel is too late, you have let many slip. Well, but be intreated to slip no more, cast thy self at the feet of Christ in a way of Duty, and there humbly resolve to live and die. I do once more in the name of my Master invite and adjure thee to accept of this offer, do not neglect it, it may be thy last ; thou canst not of thy self close with it, call in help from the Spirit of God.¹⁷

This language of pleading and entreaty, which holds out hope for any sinner and excludes none from the mercy of God, may not sit very easily within a strict Calvinist orthodoxy ; but it movingly exemplifies Dr. Annesley's evangelical concern.

Alongside Richard Baxter's and Daniel William's clerical character-studies we may set a portrait of Annesley which comes from a very different source. It was written, soon after Annesley's death, by a member of his congregation, a man who was to show himself superbly gifted as a journalist and picaresque novelist ; an author whose pen, though it sometime ran away with him, was yet one of the most accurate and accomplished in a century that abounded in great writers. He was of course Daniel Defoe (1660-1731), whose prolific output has

¹⁷ Annesley : *The Life and Funeral Sermon of the Reverend Mr. Thomas Brand* (1692), pp. 104-5.

created almost a minor industry among modern students of English literature, and with whom, one imagines, the structuralists would have a field-day. A recent assessment of his work, which runs to 560 books, pamphlets and journals, describes him as

a master of plain prose and powerful narrative, with a journalist's curiosity and love of detail ; his peculiar gifts made him one of the greatest reporters of his time, as well as a great imaginative writer who in *Robinson Crusoe* created one of the most familiar and resonant myths of modern literature.¹⁸

It is a bonus to have a sketch of Annesley from the pen of such an artist.

At first sight, it may seem strange to find the author of *Moll Flanders*, *Robinson Crusoe*, and *A Journal of the Plague Year*, penning a pamphlet like *The Character of the late Dr. Samuel Annesley by way of Elegy* (1697) ;

parents were devout attenders at Annesley's meeting-house, and Daniel himself was educated at the Dissenting Academy kept by the Rev. Charles Morton, with the original intention of entering the ministry. There is no doubt that Defoe, who lived and died a Dissenter, owed much of his religious formation to Dr. Annesley. At least two recent scholars have argued that Annesley's preaching may also have helped to shape Defoe's perspicuous style as a writer. In his *Elegy* on Annesley, Defoe commends his easy, natural way of speaking and preaching:

His native Candor, and familiar Stile,
Which did so oft his Hearers' Hours beguile.

James Sutherland comments:

It is significant that Defoe in all his controversies aimed at this calmness of temper which he praised in his old minister ; and it is surely worth noting, too, that the familiar style which Defoe afterwards made so much his own might have been acquired from Dr. Annesley no less than from Mr. Morton.¹⁹

Another modern student of Defoe suggests a closer link:

The clarity of expression that made him [i.e. Defoe] a master political pamphleteer may also be credited to an exercise of his youth. The Reverend Annesley (!) required Daniel to take notes of his weekly sermons and then reconstruct his whole argument, point by point from the notes. Hostile critics were later to accuse Defoe of forever preaching in his *Review* ; the truth in the accusation lies in this writer's moral tone and sustained biblical style.²⁰

¹⁸ *The Oxford Companion to English Literature*, 5th edn., ed. Margaret Drabble (1985), Daniel Defoe, s.v.

¹⁹ James Sutherland : *Defoe* (1937), p. 24.

²⁰ P. Dotten : *The Life and Strange and Surprising Adventures of Daniel Defoe* (1928), p. 12.

It may well be that both these authors exaggerate the influence of Annesley on Defoe as author, at the expense of Morton's Academy and of wider literary influences from within Dissent. Nevertheless, Defoe knew Annesley well, admired him greatly, and in his formative years responded keenly to his preaching. How did Defoe see Dr. Annesley? In his prose preface to his verse *Elegy*, he emphasizes Annesley's attractive courtesy, and comments:

How beautiful is it, to see a man that is a minister be also a Gentleman !
For certainly Good Manners are the most consistent with Christianity of
any thing in the World.

Again, Defoe esteemed him as a "generous Soul", who "had nothing in him that was little or mean". He endorses Daniel Williams's judgement on Annesley's theological predilection when he writes: "Practical Divinity was his Business, and Cases of Conscience his Study". Finally, in words that might equally well describe John Wesley, Defoe sums up Annesley's best qualities:

But 'tis the Zeal, the Candor, and Sincerity of his Mind ; the Largeness
of his Charity, the Greatness of his Soul, the Sweetness of his Temper, and
the Vastness of his Designs to propagate the Kingdom and Interest of his
Master. These are the Vertues which I magnify to such a heighth [sic] in
Dr. Annesley, and for which, I believe, no Man will think himself reflected
on, by saying, HE HAD NO EQUAL.²¹

The *Elegy* itself traces his early devotion ("His pious Course with Childhood he began"); his biblicism ("The Heavenly Book he made his only School, In Youth his Study, and in Age his Rule"); his personal graces ("A taking Aspect, and a charming Tongue"); and the way in which, as preacher and pastor, his words and his life made one music:

The Sacred Bow he so Divinely drew,
That every shot both hit and overthrew ;
His native Candor and familiar Stile,
Which did so oft his Hearers' Hours beguile,
Charm'd us with Godliness, and while he spake,
We lov'd the Doctrine for the Teacher's sake.

His pleasant good temper was a consistent trait :

A Pleasing Smile sate ever on his Brow,
A sign that chearful Peace was lodged below.²²

We may call one final witness as to Annesley's character and ministry, his son-in-law John Dunton. Dunton, with his vanity, his taste for self-display, and his amorous propensities, is a kind of mild

²¹ D. F. (= Daniel De Foe) : *The Character of the Late Dr. Samuel Annesley, By way of Elegy* (1697), Preface.

²² *ibid.*, pp. 6, 8.

Puritan Boswell ; who yet had his serious side, and as bookseller published many leading Puritan divines. His memoirs evince his reverence for Dr. Annesley, of whom he could write : "I reckon it the greatest happiness of my life that I had him for my Father-in-law", and recognized him as "a man of wonderful Piety and Humility." Dunton singles out in Annesley the fact that all his cares and responsibilities as a leading Nonconformist never soured his temper or robbed him of his equanimity:

... He had the care of all the Churches upon his mind, and was the great support of Dissenting Ministers, and of the Morning Exercise. His Nonconformity created his many troubles ; however, all the difficulties and disappointments he met with from an ungrateful world did never alter the goodness and the cheerfulness of his humour.²³

Such, then, was Dr. Annesley, as portrayed by friends and contemporaries. We now turn to his relationship with his daughter Susanna. He had a quiver-full of children, according to that rather gossipy witness, John Dunton, who recalled :

I heard him say, "he has had twenty-five children". Dr. Manton baptizing one of them, and being asked how many children the Doctor had, he returned his answer : "that he believed it was two dozen, or a quarter of a hundred ;" which reckoning of children by dozens was a thing so very uncommon, that I have heard Dr. Annesley mention it with a special remark.²⁴

We are reminded of Sir Joseph Porter, First Lord of the Admiralty in *H.M.S. Pinafore*, who shared his pride at being the ruler of the Queen's Navee, with

His sisters and his cousins,
Whom he reckons up by dozens,
And his Aunts!

Yet, sadly, most of Dr. Annesley's prolific brood are not even known to us by name. One son, Samuel, prospered as an East India merchant ; another, Benjamin, was destined for the ministry. Of the girls, besides Susanna, we know of Elizabeth, Judith, Anne—all of whom John Dunton extols for their Puritan piety—and Sarah, who is no more than a name. Annesley's favourite daughter, however, was his youngest, Susanna, who was graced with beauty, intellect, and a strength of character which her Puritan upbringing served only to enhance. When her sister, Elizabeth was dying, she found it a comfort to look back to her childhood home and upbringing, and testified :

Though Death were never so near, I can look back with Joy on some of the early years that I sweetly spent in my Father's House, and how I comfortably lived there.²⁵

²³ *The Life and Errors of John Dunton*, i, p. 165.

²⁴ *ibid.*, i, p. 166.

²⁵ Timothy Rogers : *The Character of a Good Woman* (Funeral Sermon for Elizabeth Dunton, née Annesley) (1697), p. 158.

Susanna's writings imply a similar gratitude, and the 'unity of spirit' between father and daughter which survived his death points to a strong bond of affection.

The moral certainty of the closeness of that bond is increased by the fact that it held fast despite Susanna's decision not to conform to her father's Nonconformity. In the year 1682, when her father was in his early sixties and Susanna rising thirteen, the movement of her mind led her, with careful deliberation, to quit Dissent and join the Church of England. It was a singular decision, arguing a strongly independent judgement in the child. It says much for both parties, and for the sterling quality of their relationship, that it did not snap under the strain. Defoe's *Elegy* extolled Annesley as being without peer in the 'Largeness of his Charity, the Greatness of his Soul', and 'the Sweetness of his Temper'. He needed all three qualities, pressed down and running over, to deal graciously with his teenage daughter in what must have been for him a devastating decision. One of the no doubt fascinating papers which went up in the flames of the fire at Epworth Rectory in 1709 was a carefully considered account by Susanna of how and why she became an Anglican. All we have is a letter, written after the fire, to her eldest son, Samuel, to whom she explains :

Because I was educated among the Dissenters, and there was somewhat remarkable in my leaving them at so early an age, not being full thirteen, I had drawn up an account of the whole transaction, under which head I had included the main of the Controversy between them and the Established Church, as far as they had come to my Knowledge ; and then followed the reasons that determined my judgement to the preference of the Church of England. I had fairly transcribed a great part of it, but you writing to me for some directions about receiving the Sacrament, I began a short discourse on that head, intending to send all together ; but before I could finish my design, the flames consumed that with all the rest of my writings.²⁶

A number of comments are in order here. The intellectual maturity and theological sophistication of a girl rising thirteen are striking. So is her carefully-reasoned approach to this crucial matter for decision. She studies the controversy, and weighs the evidence ; writes down in summary form the main issues in dispute ; and finally sets out the reasons that led her to come down on the Anglican side. It is a wise head on young shoulders that decides so responsibly, and Susanna's methodical, reasoned approach reminds us—like mother, like son—of John Wesley's own pattern of decision-making.

Susanna's resolve to join the Church of England may have been made easier by the writings and preaching of several outstanding Anglican clergy in London at this period. They sought to win back Nonconformists to the Church by studied moderation and a reasoned, sympathetic approach. They included John Sharp, at St. Giles-in-the-Fields ; John Tillotson ; Thomas Tenison, vicar of St.

²⁶ Wesley College, Bristol, Headingley MSS, C.f.9. This letter, dated 11th October 1709, is printed in Adam Clarke : *Memoirs of the Wesley Family*, 2 vols., (1836), II, p. 33.

Martin-in-the-Fields ; Edward Stillingfleet, Dean of St. Paul's ; and William Beveridge, vicar of St. Peter's, Cornhill. The year before Susanna broke with Dissent, Stillingfleet published *The Unreasonableness of Separation* (1681), which might have been designed to aid her thinking. This work was in her father's library, as was Stillingfleet's much earlier *Irenicum* of 1659, which had argued for a union of Episcopalians and Presbyterians. On the other side of the argument, she could find on her father's shelves works like *The Nonconformist's Plea for Peace* by Richard Baxter (1679).²⁷ Yet, however inevitable her decision may have seemed to Susanna, it must have tested her father's tolerance to the limit. He was a convinced and leading Presbyterian, who had suffered much for his Nonconformity. He had given his daughter an excellent Puritan education. It would have been no cause for surprise if he had shown resentment at this precocious change of denomination ; or at least forbidden her to change until she had come of age.

He did not such thing. He who specialized, in his pulpit ministry, in 'cases of conscience', took very seriously the integrity with which his young daughter sought to resolve her own. He no doubt wanted to be sure she had faced the issues and thought them through ; granted this, he acknowledged the rights of conscience, even in a child. There is a sermon of Dr. Annesley's which sheds an indirect light on his own temper and convictions, and enables us to understand how he could react so magnanimously to his youngest daughter's joining the Church of England. It is the funeral sermon already referred to, for Thomas Brand, who, though the son of a dignitary of the Church of England, became under Annesley's influence a Dissenting minister. Having mentioned the strong Anglican background from which Brand came, Annesley comments :

... the mentioning of this unavoidably leads me to obviate the only plausible Objection against his being so zealous a Dissenter, to which I need say but this : His chief Zeal was neither for, nor against any Party whatsoever, but for the vigorous Promoting of the sound Knowledge of those Doctrines wherein we are all agreed, and of that Holiness which we all commend, tho' too few practice : And this right Christian Temper be exercised towards the Conforming Clergy. He spoke honourably of the Piety and Learning of some, and never let fly indecent Reflections, or bitter Invectives against any, but maintained and increased this commendable Moderation all his Life.²⁸

We need to hear that remarkable tribute, not against the background of the liberal ecumenism of the twentieth century, but in the context of the bitter party warfare and polemics of the seventeenth. Annesley's portrait of Brand reminds us of the large charity of Richard Baxter, who was for Christianity, and against parties. It also makes it far more intelligible that Dr. Annesley "never let fly indecent

²⁷ *Bibliotheca Annesleiana : or a Catalogue of . . . the Library of the Reverend Samuel Annesley, LL.D.* (1697), p. 12.

²⁸ Annesley : *Funeral Sermon of . . . Thomas Brand*, pp. 3-5.

Reflections, or bitter Invectives" against his young daughter on her conforming to the Church of England, but rather showed, a "right Christian Temper" towards her, though the experience of her conversion must have searched him to the depths. The question with these men—as for John Wesley later—was not, "What party or sect within the Church of Christ do you belong to?" but rather "Are you committed to Christ and His people, in a life of downright practical godliness, of faith working by love?" Thus, though we can know little of the inwardness of this decisive episode for father and daughter, we can understand why it did not cause a breach between them.

In fact, Susanna remained his favourite daughter. Her first child, Samuel, was born in her father's London house, and Annesley bequeathed to her all his private manuscripts and personal papers—all sadly destroyed in the Epworth fire of 1709. Over forty years after his death, we find Susanna writing to her son, Charles, to comfort him on the death of Samuel, his eldest brother, with an affectionate recollection of her father: "As your good old grandfather often used to say, 'That is an affliction, that God makes an affliction!'"²⁹ In other words, whether an event is a misfortune to a believer depends, not on a conventional worldly judgement of such matters, but on how it affects—and is affected by—his relationship with God. In that sense, it is not a paradox to say that, though Dr. Annesley must have found it a struggle to accept Susanna's renunciation of Dissent, it was not an "affliction" to him.

Loyalty to conscience, humility before God and boldness in the face of men, and a zeal for practical godliness: these were all traits which Dr. Annesley shared with his daughter. She in turn, by teaching and example, inculcated these same virtues on the minds of her children, including, most notably, John Wesley himself. The rest of this paper will look at the relationship between Annesley and Wesley, as one way in which the legacy of the Puritans was taken up into Methodism.

In early February 1769, John Wesley was in London. His *Journal* records an encounter with a very old lady, who gave him a lively glimpse of the disciplined, ascetic life which his grandfather Annesley had lived during the previous century:

FEB. 6, Mon.—I spent an hour with a venerable woman, near ninety years of age, who retains her health, her senses, her understanding, and even her memory, to a good degree. In the last century she belonged to my grandfather Annesley's congregation, at whose house her father and she used to dine every Thursday; and whom she remembers to have frequently seen in his study, at the top of the house, with his window open, and without any fire, winter or summer. He lived seventy-seven years, and would probably have lived longer, had he not began water-drinking at seventy.³⁰

²⁹ See John Kirk: *The Mother of the Wesleys* (1864), p. 225; and *Christian Library*, ed. John Wesley, 30 vols., (1819-27), xxiv, p. 44.

³⁰ *Journal*, v, p. 299.

Wesley does not give his own reaction to this account, but he must surely have admired this example of Puritan plain living and high thinking. We know that he warmed to the products of Annesley's unheated study, because he reprinted specimens of them in his *Christian Library*, that great treasury of Christian literature, for which he ransacked the centuries to promote practical godliness among his people.

Wesley published four of Annesley's sermons, originally preached at the Morning Exercise in St. Giles, Cripplegate.³¹ Their subjects show Annesley as very much the pastor in the pulpit, concerned with the kind of practical divinity which Wesley relished. The four sermons are entitled :

- (1) How We May Be Universally and Exactly Conscientious ;
- (2) God's Sovereignty Our Support in all Worldly Distractions ;
- (3) The Hindrance and Helps to a Good Memory of Spiritual Things ;
- (4) The Adherent Vanity of Every Condition Is Most Effectually Abated by Serious Godliness.

The last of the four, which I shall examine in more detail, is based on Ecclesiastes vi. 11-12, "Seeing there be many things that increase vanity, what is man the better ? For who knoweth what is good for man in this life ?" Annesley assumes that Solomon is the author of Ecclesiastes, and argues that he was "the fittest man that ever lived to extract what was possible to be extracted out of worldly vanities". Yet, though in worldly terms Solomon had everything going for him, he still concludes that the only way to dispel "that vexation of spirit that stems from such multiplication of vanity" is "Serious Godliness". Annesley then urges that "Every condition is clogged with vanity". This world can never provide final rest and satisfaction, because it is both time-bound and marred by sin. To support his contention that it is vanity for human beings to try to "mend the works of Creation and Providence", he illustrates the point by homely examples from daily life:

... God made man only to have the use of speech ; but how do persons please themselves with teaching birds to speak some few words, which they cannot possibly furnish them with reason to make use of ; and yet they are delighted to hear them speak what they understand not, more than to hear the most edifying discourse of a serious Christian. How have others cried up some chemical extracts to make men immortal, when their own life being cut off in the midst of their days unanswerably confuted their ill-grounded boasting ! How do others prate of governing the world by stars, as if they would ease GOD of the trouble of it, while they know not one star of a thousand, nor what it their influence ! ... So true is that [word] of the Psalmist : "Verily every man at his best state is altogether vanity. Surely every man walketh in a vain show."³²

This passage is typical of Annesley's preaching style. The similitudes drawn from everyday living ; the crisp phrasing and

³¹ See R. C. Monk : *John Wesley : His Puritan Heritage* (1966), p. 260.

³² *Christian Library*, xxiv, pp. 422-3.

plain, forceful style ; the personal challenge and high seriousness of the preacher's tone : all of these are characteristic, and all might be paralleled from the sermons of Wesley himself. The second reason he gives for the vanity that adheres to every state of human life is that

We know but very little of the true nature of things, nor of ourselves, nor of our temptations, nor of our interests ; and therefore we cannot find out that good that is possible to be had in the creature.

In other words, left to the light of nature, we simply do not know what is best for us. He then uses a medical analogy, which would have appealed to Wesley as the author of *Primitive Physick*, and which is a reminder that Annesley's capacious library included medical text books like Dr. William Salmon's *Anatomy of Human Bodies*, Boyle's *Of Specifick Medicines*, Sir Kenelm Digby's *Of Bodies*, and Nicholas Culpeper's *London Dispensatory*, first published in 1649, and comprising a translation into English of the College of Physicians' *Pharmacopœia*.

Expounding his point that we do not know what is best for us, in terms of the conditions of our life, he goes on :

There must be some distinct knowledge of these things, or we can never find out what is best for us. For example : Let one that is utterly unacquainted with the *Materia Medica*, go into a physic-garden, where are all manner of simples, and thence into an Apothecary's shop, where are all manner of drugs and compounds with which medicines are made for all diseases ; he knows not what to do with them ; his disease may be to him incurable, though surrounded with remedies : "We are but of yesterday, and know nothing, because our days upon earth are a shadow."³³

The implication of Annesley's illustration is that, although we do not know, by the light of nature, what is the true remedy for our sickness, there is a great Physician who does, and who from His ample *pharmacopœia* can select the prescription which is right for each one of us.

Medical analogies come naturally to Annesley from his reading and pastoral experience ; and we are reminded that it was by no means uncommon for Puritan ministers to practise the healing art.

Some turned to medicine after their parishes, and Richard Baxter, though always primarily committed to the ministry of Word and Sacrament, practised physic in an ancillary way, and testified that he could easily have so spent his whole time. Annesley runs through a great gamut of life-situations : riches and poverty ; pleasure or sorrow ; honour or obscurity ; wisdom or ignorance ; business or leisure, and so on.

He drives home forcefully the point that none of these states can of themselves bring happiness, that every one of them, apart from God, carries with it an element of vanity, disillusion, disappointment. It is a variation on the great theme of Augustine "Thou hast made us for

³³ *ibid.*, xxiv, p. 423.

Thyself, and our hearts are restless, until they find rest in Thee.” Annesley, with his penchant for the medical illustration, puts it like this :

It is only serious godliness that can really abate the vanity that cleaves to every condition. Other things may, like topical medicines, (as plasters to the wrists), repel the disease, but while they do not remove the cause, they cannot cure it. We may exchange one vanity for another, and the novelty may please us for a while ; but when that is over, the vexation returns.³⁴

Or again, listen to Annesley’s warning against letting the things of the world, which have their place, dominate our lives. Who could easily forget the preacher’s reference to a complaint that was all too common in his day, when he counselled his hearers :

The world, in this, is like the gout : though you keep it at your feet, it is troublesome, but if it reach the heart, it is mortal : the world, through grace, may be a good servant, but it is impossible it should be a good master.³⁵

Annesley’s sermons repay careful analysis, for they are a choice sample of Puritan preaching : biblical, pastoral, practical, and grounded in the daily life of the people. They are evangelical, searchingly personal, urgent in their plea for wholehearted commitment. In all these qualities they challenge comparison with Wesley’s preaching. They are a pointer to the great debt—acknowledged by Wesley, but not always by his followers—which he owed to the Puritan tradition. Dr. Annesley represents something of the fine flower of that tradition, and this paper may have served to underline some of the resonances between him and his grandson. These include : Annesley’s striking experience of assurance and forgiveness ; his insistence that “serious godliness” brought “the best enjoyments” of which man was capable—just as Wesley spoke of the “Pleasantness of religion” and stressed that “religion is a cheerful thing” ; their shared conviction of the need for practical divinity and “downright godliness”. Above all, there is Annesley’s zeal for holiness, rooted in faith in Jesus Christ, and expressed in love to God and man. I cannot better conclude than by quoting the peroration of Annesley’s sermon on serious godliness. It might be an exposition of Wesley’s favourite Pauline summary of the Christian life as “faith working by love”. Not only the thought, but the very phrasing and expression are astonishingly redolent of Wesley. It is my thesis that the similarities are not accidental, but bear witness to a Puritan—Methodist continuity in faith and devotion, which still awaits full recognition among the “People called Methodists”. Dr. Annesley urged his hearers :

Remember these two words, though you forget all the rest of the Sermon, *viz.*, “CHRIST and Holiness, Holiness and CHRIST :” interweave these

³⁴ *ibid.*, xxiv, p. 424.

³⁵ *ibid.*, xxiv, p. 437.

all manner of ways, in your whole conversation. Press after holiness as much as is possible, had you no CHRIST to befriend you ; (for it is a shame to mind holiness the less, for any benefits you expect from CHRIST ;) and rest as entirely upon CHRIST, as if there were nothing else required : (for the best of your holiness doth not merit acceptance.) It is serious Christianity that I press, as the only way to better every condition : it is Christianity, downright Christianity, that alone can do it : it is not morality without faith ; that is but refined Heathenism : it is not faith without morality ; that is but downright hypocrisy : it must be a divine faith, wrought by the HOLY GHOST, where GOD and man concur in the operation ; such a faith as works by love, both to GOD and man ; a holy faith, full of good works. "For we are his workmanship, created in CHRIST JESUS unto good works, which GOD hath before ordained, that we should walk in them : Worshipping GOD in the Spirit, rejoicing in CHRIST JESUS, and having no confidence in the flesh ; yea, doubtless, counting all things but loss for the excellency of the knowledge of CHRIST JESUS, that we may be found in him, "not having" (not trusting in) "our own righteousness, but that which is through the faith of CHRIST, the righteousness which is of GOD by faith."³⁶

Unquestionably, John Wesley would have said Amen to that.

JOHN A. NEWTON

³⁶ *ibid.*, xxiv, pp. 453-454.

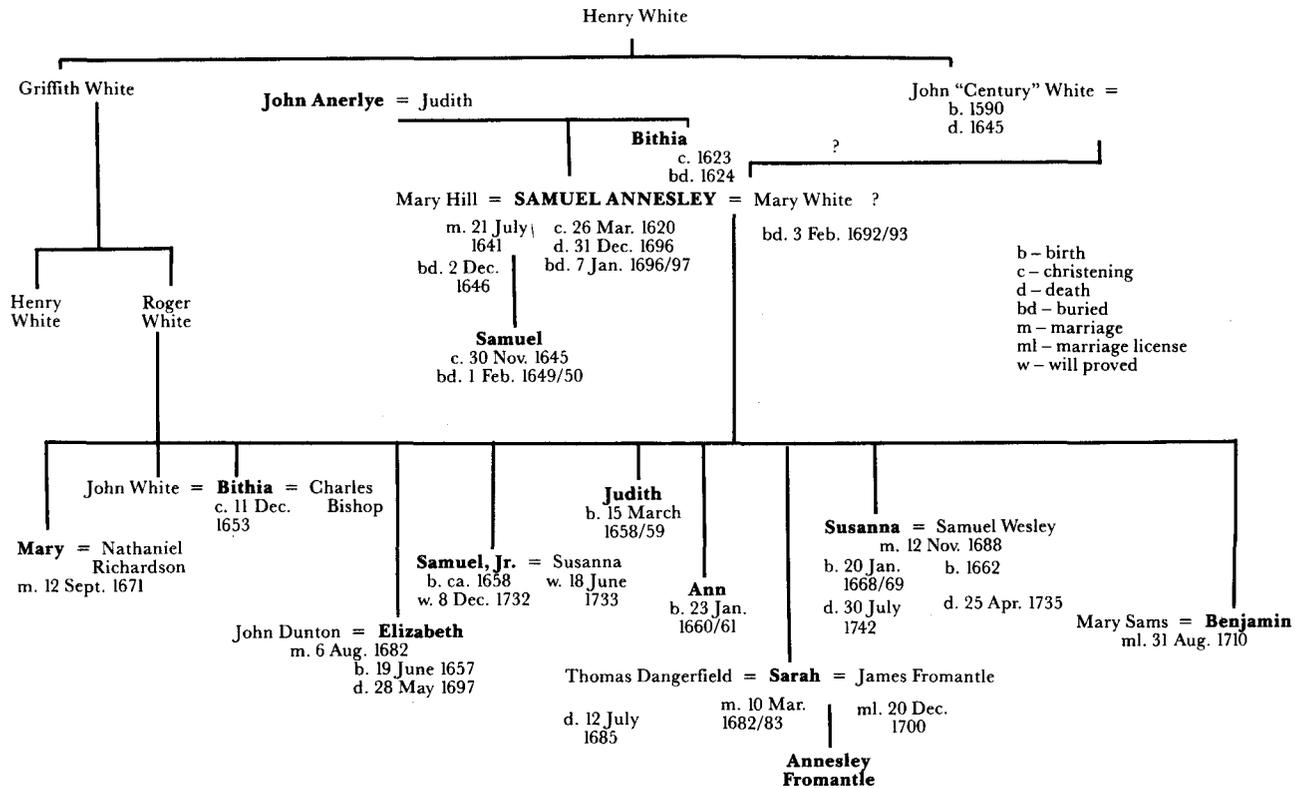
NOTES AND QUERIES

1837. 'A History of the Methodist Church in Great Britain' Vol. 3. 'Proceedings, Vol. xlv, page 180)

I feel it should be pointed out that Dr. Royle's comment about the lack of reference to Women's Work in the index of this volume is incorrect. Under the general heading of Overseas Missions (p. 399/400) there are to be found four entries—all of which relate to Allen Birtwhistle's chapter.

As Women's Work was an important part of Overseas Missions it would seem the logical place to find it. Obviously, it would have been desirable to have had a cross reference under 'W' (and doubtless this could be said of other subjects too), but indexers are severely restricted by the publishers with regard to the length of the index and an element of judicious selection is necessary.

E. DOROTHY GRAHAM



SOURCES FOR THE ANNESLEY FAMILY

SUSANNA Wesley, the “Mother of Methodism,” has long been recognized for her influence on her sons, not only in religious thought but in other areas, such as child rearing, morality, and organizing the activities of a household. How did Susanna develop her ideas and character that became so influential in the development of Methodism? From whom did she receive her training? Wesley scholars have given her father, Samuel Annesley, sole credit for her ideas and personality. In referring to her ancestry, most books on the Wesleys identify Susanna only as the daughter of Samuel Annesley, as if that renowned and pious dissenter somehow parented her without the aid of a mother—as Athena sprang from the head of Zeus. A few writers do mention a mother, who is sometimes identified as the daughter of John “Century” White of the Middle Temple and a Member of Parliament from Southwark. John Newton adds that “her Christian name is unknown.”¹

In trying to discover more about Susanna’s family, especially her mother who might have had some influence on her ideas, I became aware not only of the paucity of information, but, also of the repetition through the centuries of stories concerning the family with apparently no attempt to verify the facts. For instance, what is the basis for twenty-four being quoted consistently as the number of children born to Samuel by his second wife, and for Susanna being the twenty-fourth child? How many children can be documented? Can the tradition be verified that Susanna’s mother was the daughter of John “Century” White, who was so active in removing “scandalous” ministers from their livings and replacing them with preaching ministers favourable to Parliament? Why are there so many discrepancies in the dating of Susanna’s marriage?

Adam Clarke has been the most popular source of information about the Annesleys.² His account includes many errors. He even contradicted himself regarding the marriage date of Susanna, and in neither place was he correct. Other sources often cited are the article on Samuel Annesley in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, George Stevenson in his *Memorials of the Wesley Family*,³ Edmund Calamy’s accounts of ejected ministers, and Matthews’ revision of Calamy,⁴

¹ John A. Newton; *Susanna Wesley and the Puritan Tradition in Methodism* (London: Epworth Press, 1968), p. 20.

² *Memoirs of the Wesley Family Collected Principally from Original Documents* (London: J. and T. Clarke, 1823).

³ (New York: Nelson and Phillips, 1876).

⁴ *The Nonconformist’s Memorial: Being an Account of the Ministers who were Ejected or Silenced after the Restoration* (London: W. Harris, 1775); *A Continuation of the Account of the Ministers, . . .* (London: R. Ford, 1727), and A. G. Matthews: *Calamy Revised* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1934).

the sermon preached at Samuel Annesley's funeral,⁵ and the stories related by Annesley's son-in-law, John Dunton.⁶ Only Dunton and the funeral sermon are close to being contemporary accounts, and some of Dunton's information has been overlooked because of his habit of referring to individuals by initials rather than clearly identifying persons. Unfortunately, records are very incomplete for the years important for studying the Annesleys, a fact that does explain to a certain extent the repetition of stories without documentation. During the Commonwealth period parish records (baptisms, marriages, and burials) were not kept consistently, and after the ejection in 1662 almost no records were kept in conventicles during the remainder of the seventeenth century. However, I have been able to find a few documents pertaining to the Annesleys, some that clarify and add to our knowledge of the family and some that raise new questions.

Samuel Annesley was christened in the parish church of Haseley in Warwickshire on 26th March, 1620, as the son of John and Judith Anerlye.⁷ An entry in 1623 records his sister Bithia's christening, but she died before she was a year old.⁸ The story that Samuel's father died when Samuel was four years old apparently is incorrect, because as late as 1629 John Anerlye was signing the parish register as a church warden.⁹ He may have died, however, before Samuel reached the age of ten.

After Samuel received his B. A. degree from Queen's College, Oxford, on 21st November, 1639,¹⁰ he probably returned to Warwickshire for about one year. On 21st July 1641, in the church of All Hallows, Bread Street, London, he married Mary Hill, and both were recorded as being from Barford, Warwickshire.¹¹ The House of Commons had set up a committee late in 1640 to look into the problems of clergy not carrying out their responsibilities and of the availa-

⁵ Daniel Williams : *The Excellency of a Public Spirit : Set Forth in a Sermon preach'd at the funeral of that late Reverend Dr. Samuel Annesley who Departed this Life December 31, 1696* (London : John Dunton, 1697).

⁶ *The Life and Errors of John Dunton, Citizen of London*, ed. J. B. Nichols, (London, 1818). This book was first published by S. Malthus in 1705.

⁷ Parish register of Haseley, Warwickshire, AC13590, Society of Genealogists, London.

⁸ *ibid.*, 14th April, 1623, and 1st February, 1623/24.

⁹ *ibid.*, 1629.

¹⁰ Joseph Foster : *Alumni Oxonienses : the Members of the University of Oxford 1500-1714* (Oxford : Parker and Co., 1891), I, p. 27.

¹¹ Parish register of All Hallows, Bread Street, London, 1618-1684, The Guildhall Library, London. The first portion of this entry in the parish register reads, "The 21st day of July 1641 was married Samuell Annerley of Barford in Warwickshire and Mary Hill of the same place." The remainder of the entry is very difficult to read, and Professor Lawrence Richardson of Duke University helped me in deciphering it. It appears to say "received nothing for the parsson attending they were fronds [friends] of Mr. Seamans." "Mr. Seaman" probably was a curate at All Hallows Bread Street because a Lazarus Seaman became rector of that parish in February 1642; the rector at the time of the marriage was John Lawson (George Hennesey, *Novum Repertorium Ecclesiasticum Parochiale Londinense ; London Diocesan Clergy Succession from the Earliest Time of the Year 1898* [London : S. Sonnenschein, 1898], p. 76).

bility of preaching ministers, and the Commons enforced a decree that parishioners could choose preachers to lecture when the incumbent minister failed to preach at least once a week.¹² Annesley may have gone to London to take advantage of this opportunity. Answering a request from the parish of Chatham, near Rochester, the House of Commons ordered on 20th December, 1642, that Samuel Annesley, "an orthodox and learned Divine shall be the Lecturer"; that the minister of the church, Thomas Vaughan, allow him to do so; and that the churchwardens carry out the order.¹³

Edmund Calamy gives the full certificate of Annesley's Presbyterian ordination in the recognized church as established by Parliament, which states that Annesley was ordained on 18th December, 1644, for ministry on the ship named the *Globe* under the Lord High Admiral, the Earl of Warwick.¹⁴ Having been recognized earlier as "a learned Divine", Annesley must have been ordained after obtaining his Oxford degree, but no record of this seems to exist. Nor did I find documentation for his appointment to the living of Cliffe-at-Hoo, Kent, or when his predecessor Griffith Higgs was sequestered, but, from entries in the parish record of Cliffe, it appears Annesley began his work there in September 1645. His son Samuel was baptized there on 30th November, 1645, and there is a record of his wife Mary's burial on 2nd December, 1646.¹⁵ An entry on 1st February, 1649/50, records the burial of the son Samuel, although Annesley did not sign the register after 1647, and the handwriting of the entries changes after that time.

We know that in 1648 Samuel Annesley was in London away from his charge at least some of the time. On 31st March, 1648, he added an opinion to a parliamentary paper on the question of marriage after divorce, and he had preached before the House of Commons on several occasions earlier that year.¹⁶ His published sermon to the Commons on 26th July, 1648 shows an acceptance of the overthrow of the King, but is strong in its exhortation to members to face up to their responsibilities and move ahead to bring about a better and fairer government.¹⁷ Earlier in 1648, on 14th April, Annesley received his Doctor of Civil Law from Oxford.¹⁸ Wood and Calamy disagree as to why he was granted the degree—Wood states that it was because of the jurisdictional obligations at Cliffe, and Calamy gives the reason as

¹² Great Britain, *House of Commons Journal*, December 19, 1640, II, 54, and throughout 1641.

¹³ *ibid.*, December 20, 1642, II, 897.

¹⁴ *A Continuation*, I, 66-67.

¹⁵ Parish register of Cliffe-at-Hoo, Baptisms November 1645, Burials 1646, Kent Archives Office, Maidstone.

¹⁶ *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series of the Reign of Charles I, 1648-1649* (London, 1893), March 31, 1648, p. 39.

¹⁷ Samuel Annesley: *A Sermon Preached to the Honourable House of Commons, July 26, 1648, at Margarets Westminster* (London: F. Macock), 1648.

¹⁸ Anthony A. Wood: *Athenae Oxoniensis, an Exact History of all the Writers and Bishops who have had their Education in the University of Oxford* (London Thomas Bennett, 1691), II, 747.

a desire by the Earl of Warwick to have his chaplain a "Doctor".¹⁹

After his sermons to Parliament, Annesley did not return to Cliffe, at least not for long, because the Commons required him to join the Earl of Warwick on the *Globe*. Calamy wrote that he once saw Annesley's diary (25th August—10th December, 1648) of that voyage to Holland pursuing the ships that supported Prince Charles.²¹

The question of when Annesley permanently moved to London cannot be answered, nor did I find any record of his second marriage. In a later petition to King Charles II, Annesley related that he had been forced to leave Cliffe because he publicly detested the murder of Charles I, called Cromwell a hypocrite, refused to send a horse against the future Charles II at the battle of Worcester on 3rd September, 1651, and sent someone "forty miles" to seize the keys of the Cliffe church so that no celebration of the parliamentary victory could be held there.²² Presumably he had to leave Cliffe late in 1651 or in 1652 as a result of his actions. The "Returns of the Scribe of the First Classis" show no minister for St. John the Evangelist, Friday Street, between March 1651 and March 1652.²³ The registers for that parish do not begin until 11th December, 1653, with the baptism of Bithia, daughter of Samuel and Mary "Ansloe" as the first entry.²⁴ Most writers follow Clarke's reason for Dr. Annesley's going to St. John the Evangelist—"a very signal providence"²⁵ However, Annesley could have known persons there, because his first marriage took place nearby in All Hallows, Bread Street, a church which later absorbed the parish of St. John.

Bithia Annesley, who was born after her father went to St. John, later brought about financial problems for her family through her marriage to John White of Pembrokeshire, a grandson of her brother of John "Century" White.²⁶ Not only did Bithia and her husband borrow money from her brother-in-law, John Dunton, and persuade him to sign as surety on their loans, which eventually led to his arrest and flight to America in 1685-86,²⁷ but about the same time Dr. Annesley became involved with his daughter Bithia in a lawsuit over land in Pembrokeshire that White had mortgaged to Annesley for large sums of ready cash. At the time of the lawsuit, which the Annesleys lost, White had died and Bithia was married to Charles

¹⁹ *ibid.*, (London: Rivington, 1815), IV, 509; Calamy: *A Continuation*, I, 67.

²⁰ Great Britain, *House of Commons Journal*, August 15, 1648, V, 672.

²¹ *A Continuation*, I, 67.

²² *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series of the Reign of Charles II, 1660-1661* (London, 1860), July 25, 1660, p. 130; George L. Turner, "Papers containing a Ward by Ward Survey of the City of London 1641-72 noting Parishes, Ministers, Conventicles, etc.," ms. 89. 3, p. 22, Dr. Williams Library, London.

²³ William A. Shaw: *History of the English Church 1640-1660* (London: Longmans, 1900), II, 109.

²⁴ Parish register of St. John the Evangelist, Friday Street, London, December 11, 1653, The Guildhall Library, London.

²⁵ Clarke, p. 237.

²⁶ British Library, Egerton MS. 3520, f. 95.

²⁷ Dunton, *Life and Errors*, I, 81-85, II, 446.

Bishop.²⁸ The fact that Bithia married a John White of Pembroke-shire may have caused confusion leading to the tradition that her mother was the daughter of John "Century" White of Pembroke-shire. Certainly, references to Bithia by Dunton, where he refers to his sister-in-law as "B. W.", have been mis-identified as his sister-in-law Susanna Wesley; these references are even indexed under 'Wesley' in Dunton's book.²⁹

It is possible that Samuel Annesley married his second wife before his departure from Cliffe in 1651 or 1652 because, prior to Bithia's birth in 1653, they had at least one child, Mary, who later married Nathaniel Richardson at All Hallows, London Wall, on 12th September, 1671.³⁰ Mary Richardson was the first family member that John Dunton saw when he returned from America in 1686, and she accompanied him to Spitalfields for a reunion with his wife Elizabeth who was living with her parents, the Annesleys.³¹ Dunton stayed with Mary's husband in Holland soon afterward when he fled England to avoid his debts partially incurred by helping Bithia.³² Mary Richardson also is mentioned in the will of her brother Samuel, Jr.³³

In addition to Bithia, the only Annesley christened at St. John the Evangelist was Elizabeth who was born 19th June, 1657.³⁴ More is known about Elizabeth than any other of the Annesley children except Susanna. Elizabeth married John Dunton at All Hallows on 6th August, 1682,³⁵ and he gave considerable information about her in two of his works.³⁶ Also, the funeral sermon published after Elizabeth's death includes not only an account of her life but also some excerpts from her diary.³⁷

In 1656, during the time that Dr. Annesley was at St. John the Evangelist, he was appointed a ministerial delegate to the Provincial Assembly of London.³⁸ The following year, at the recommendation of the Trustees for Maintenance of Ministers, Oliver Cromwell

²⁸ British Library, Egerton Ms. 3520-3521.

²⁹ *Life and Errors*, II, 772, referring to I, 82-85.

³⁰ Parish register of All Hallows, London Wall, September 12, 1671, The Guildhall Library, London.

³¹ Dunton: *Life and Errors*, I, 138.

³² *ibid.*, I, 140.

³³ "Bombay copies of wills etc. registered in the Mayor's Court, 7 December 1732-18 January 1738," #416/78, p. 1, India Office Records Library, London.

³⁴ Parish register of St. John the Evangelist, Friday Street, London, June 28, 1657 (baptism), The Guildhall Library, London.

³⁵ Parish register of All Hallows, London Wall, August 6, 1682, The Guildhall Library, London.

³⁶ Dunton: *Life and Errors*; John Dunton: *An Essay Proving We Shall Know Our Friends in Heaven* (London, 1698).

³⁷ Timothy Rogers: *The Character of a Good Woman, Both in a Single and Mary'd State, in a Funeral Discourse Occasion'd by the Decease of Mrs. Elizabeth Dunton who died May 28, 1697, with an Account of her Life and Death, and part of a Diary writ with her own Hand* (London: John Harris, 1697).

³⁸ Charles E. Surman: "Records of the Provincial Assembly of London 1647-1660," MS.201/12-13, II, 186, Dr. Williams's Library, London.

appointed him to give the "Divinity-lectures" on Sunday afternoons at St. Paul's Cathedral.³⁹ The Annesleys' son Samuel, Jr., was born between the time Dr. Annesley received the position at St. Paul's and his appointment to the living at St. Giles, Cripplegate, if Samuel, Jr.'s own statements of his age are accurate.⁴⁰ This may explain the absence of any baptismal record either at St. John or St. Giles. When he was only sixteen years old, Samuel, Jr., went to India in the service of the East India Company, where he was employed for twenty-one years prior to being dismissed by the company. He remained in Surat as an independent merchant the remainder of his life, never returning to England.⁴¹ His will, proved in Surat on 8th December, 1732, and the will of his wife Susanna, proved in Surat on 18th June, 1733, give only token recognition of his sister Susanna Wesley and family.⁴²

Mary and Samuel Annesley already had at least four living children and were expecting another when their income was improved with Dr. Annesley's appointment to St. Giles, Cripplegate. He was nominated by Richard Cromwell and approved by the Commissioners on 20th October, 1658.⁴³ On 5th March, 1658/59, Judith, whom Dunton later described as a "Virgin of eminent piety", was born.⁴⁴ The only other child of Samuel and Mary baptized at St. Giles was Ann, who was born 23rd January, 1660/61 and baptized 5th February.⁴⁵ Ann, like Judith, never married, and they were the only daughters mentioned in their father's will.⁴⁶ Ann had been engaged at the time John Dunton first saw the Annesley girls, so, although he was first attracted to Ann, he turned his attentions to her older sister Elizabeth.⁴⁷ Ann was a favourite of her brother Samuel, Jr., as evidenced by both his and his wife's wills. One wonders if Ann may have gone to India because the will of Samuel, Jr., left her money for mourning and referred to his paying her an annual sum of money. His wife's will left almost all of her estate to her sister-in-law Ann Annesley and made her the sole executrix.⁴⁸

³⁹ *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series, 1657-8* (London, 1884), August 4, 1657, p. 52. See Calamy; *A Continuation*, I, 68 for the text of the certificate of appointment dated July 8, 1657.

⁴⁰ "Original Correspondence 1706-1708," E/3/69, item 8556, India Office Records Library, London.

⁴¹ *ibid.*

⁴² "Bombay copies of wills," #416/78, pp. 1-2, 40, India Office Records Library, London.

⁴³ Calamy: *A Continuation*, I, 69.

⁴⁴ Parish register of St. Giles, Cripplegate, March 30, 1659 (baptism), The Guildhall Library, London; Dunton, *Life and Errors*, I, 355.

⁴⁵ Parish register of St. Giles, Cripplegate, February 5, 1660/61 (baptism), The Guildhall Library, London.

⁴⁶ The complete will is in Clarke, p. 240 and in William Turner: *A Compleat History of the Most Remarkable Providences, both of Judgement and Mercy, which have hapned in This Present Age* (London, John Dunton, 1697), part 1, chapt. 143, p. 87.

⁴⁷ Dunton: *Life and Errors*, I, pp. 64-65, 354.

⁴⁸ "Bombay copies of wills," #416/78, pp. 1-2, 40, India Office Records Library, London.

After Samuel Annesley's ejection from St. Giles in 1662, there are no records of children being born to Mary and Samuel; those born after that time probably were baptized in conventicles and the events not recorded. Even Susanna's birth on 20th January, 1668/69, cannot be verified. The only children born after 1662 about which any information could be found are Sarah, Susanna, and Benjamin. On Susanna, about whom much has been written, I will comment only that the place and date of her marriage are definitely known—Marylebone on 12th November, 1688⁴⁹—even though most writers have overlooked this fact.

Sarah Annesley was as independent as her sister Susanna. In January of 1682/83 Sarah was arrested and fined for speaking out against the Justices of the Peace who were trying to dissolve an unlawful conventicle,⁵⁰ and on 10th March, 1682/83, at Marylebone church, she secretly married Thomas Dangerfield, the notorious informer in the Popish Plot.⁵¹ On 7th April, according to a contemporary account, Dangerfield claimed her at her parents' home which made "a great deal of discourse in town".⁵² While Dangerfield was moving around to avoid being apprehended for his actions, Sarah was staying at the Annesley home in Spittleyard. His diary from December 1684 until his capture in March 1685 records frequent visits to the Annesley home to see Sarah, whom he calls his "Dear", as well as trips by Sarah and her sister Judith to meet him. Another sister, identified as Nesse, also accompanied them on two occasions, but I have found no other reference to an Annesley daughter called by that name. Several times during this period Dangerfield visited Samuel Wesley at Exeter College, Oxford, or Wesley went to Dangerfield's lodgings to "sup" with him.⁵³ After Dangerfield's capture and whipping from Newgate to Tyburn, he was struck in the eye during a quarrel and died from the wound on 12th July, 1685.⁵⁴ Sarah did not marry again until 1700 when she married James Fromantle, and her son, Annesley Fromantle later figured in the will of Samuel Annesley, Jr.⁵⁵ John Dunton described Sarah's life as one of "tenderness, wit,

⁴⁹ Parish register of St. Marylebone, November 12, 1688, Greater London Record Office; letter of Samuel Wesley, August 22, 1692 in H. A. Beecham, "Samuel Wesley Senior: New Biographical Evidence," *Renaissance and Modern Studies*, VII (1963), 106.

⁵⁰ *Middlesex County Records*, ed. by John C. Jeaffreson (London: Middlesex County Records Society, 1886-92), IV, 193, "Sessions of the Peace Roll," 15 January 1682/83.

⁵¹ Parish register of St. Marylebone, March 10, 1682/83, Greater London Record Office. In addition to Sarah and Susanna Annesley, three Annesley men were married at Marylebone, but there is no evidence to show that they were sons of Samuel and Mary Annesley—James, 1676; John, 1681; Abraham, 1690.

⁵² [Roger] Morrice: "The Entering Book; being an Historical Register of Occurrences from April 1677 to April 1691," I, 363, MS. in Dr. Williams's Library, London.

⁵³ *Dangerfield's Memories, digested into Adventures, Receipts, and Expenses, by his own Hand* (London: J. Bennet, 1685), pp. 1, 3-5, 15, 22-27, 29-30, 34-37.

⁵⁴ Morrice, I, 473.

⁵⁵ "Marriage licenses issued by the Vicar General, Archbishop of Canterbury," December 20, 1700, Lambeth Palace Library; "Bombay copies of Wills," #416/78, pp. 1-2.

and piety”⁵⁶

Benjamin Annesley was not yet of age when his father died in 1696, and he was most likely the child being baptized by Dr. Manton when Annesley remarked that that child made two dozen (or twenty-five), if that anecdote is fact and not fiction.⁵⁷ Certainly the youngest child could not have been Susanna, as usually stated, because in 1669 only about nineteen years had elapsed from the earliest time the Annesleys could have been married, and clearly Benjamin was much younger than Susanna to have been a minor at his father's death. The statement that John Wesley put on his mother's tomb says only that she was the youngest daughter, not the youngest child. Benjamin's sister Elizabeth, according to a statement made in 1697, was pleased that Benjamin planned to be a minister,⁵⁸ and, in a letter to Dunton, Bithia referred to Dunton's kindness to Ben after the death of her father.⁵⁹ In 1710, Benjamin married Mary Sams.⁶⁰

It is likely that more Annesley children lived to adulthood than the seven girls and two boys (Mary, Bithia, Elizabeth, Samuel, Jr., Judith, Ann, Sarah, Susanna, and Benjamin) that I have been able to identify, although some of the large number would have died in infancy. At the funeral of Elizabeth, reference is made to her “brothers and sisters” present.⁶¹ Benjamin was no doubt there, but Samuel, Jr., was in India, so another brother or brothers must have attended. One Annesley son could have been the “Peter Anslow” who, in addition to “Samuel Anslow”, was recorded as holding a conventicle in Spitalfields in 1676.⁶² The lack of knowledge about Annesley sons may be due to their having been sent away young to boarding school. On the other hand, some of the girls (at least Elizabeth, Sarah, and Susanna) lived with the Annesleys at times even after their marriages. Susanna's first child was born at the home of her parents according to Samuel Wesley's own account.⁶³

The years during which the Annesley children were growing up were not easy ones for their father. After the ejection he promptly went to the Spitalfields area and began a nonconformist ministry in spite of the threat of arrest. As early as 1664 his conventicles were reported at his own house in Spitalfields, at the “Minorys”, and at “ye seven stares on Ludgate Hill.”⁶⁴ Richard Baxter noted that after the fire of London in 1666 Dr. Annesley held his meetings very openly.⁶⁵

⁵⁶ Dunton : *Life and Errors*, I, p. 358.

⁵⁷ This story apparently originated with Dunton : *Life and Errors*, I, p. 166.

⁵⁸ Rogers : p. 149.

⁵⁹ Dunton : *Life and Errors*, I, p. 84.

⁶⁰ “Marriage licenses issued by the Archdeacon of Middlesex,” August 31, 1710, Lambeth Palace Library.

⁶¹ Rogers, p. 164.

⁶² Historical Manuscripts Commission, *Eleventh Report*, Appendix, Part VII (London, 1888), p. 16.

⁶³ Beecham, p. 107.

⁶⁴ Turner, “Papers,” p. 7.

⁶⁵ *Reliquiae Baxterianae, or Mr. Richard Baxter's Narrative of the Most Memorable Passages of his Life and Times* (London : Parkhurst, 1696), pt. 3, p. 19.

The Episcopal returns for 1669 show that, for the eight hundred in his congregation, he had built a new place of worship that we know as Little St. Helen's.⁶⁶ In the *Calendar of State Papers* during the 1670s and 1680s and the *Middlesex County Records* of "Certifications of Convictions of Conventicles" in the 1680s, many references appear of fines levied against Samuel Annesley for holding illegal conventicles and for not observing the Five Mile Act. A contemporary account of occurrences in 1682 reveals that Annesley's house was broken into and his goods seized for previous convictions.⁶⁷ In addition to his preaching ministry, many of his other activities are well-known—helping with education and subsistence of ministers, supporting the Morning Lecture, dispersing Bibles and other books, and assisting the sick, poor, widows, and orphans. How could he have had sole responsibility for educating his children as well?

Burial records for both Dr. Samuel Annesley and his wife Mary are found in the register of St. Leonard's, Shoreditch. Mary was buried on 3rd February 1692/93, and, at his request to be buried beside his wife, Samuel Annesley was buried there on 7th January, 1696/97.⁶⁸ It does seem strange that such a strongly nonconformist couple would have chosen to be buried in an Anglican church, particularly since at that time many nonconformists were buried in the "new burial ground" in Bunhill Fields. Could John Wickes, the minister of St. Leonard's at that time, have been a friend of the Annesleys? Wickes was earlier fined for helping a man for his part in Monmouth's rebellion in the west of England in 1685, an event in which one Abraham Annesley also was accused.⁶⁹ Or, had the Annesley's attitude changed towards a more unified church as promoted by Richard Baxter?

Returning now to the original object of my search—to learn more about the mother of Susanna Wesley and her influence on Susanna—I did establish from her burial record and the birth of four children that her name was Mary. I have not been able to prove nor disprove the story that she was the daughter of John "Century" White. Bithia's marriage to a relative John White could have brought about a confusion, or perhaps Bithia met her John White of Pembrokehire because he was a grand-nephew of her maternal grandfather. The nearest to contemporary evidence for Mary Annesley being the daughter of John "Century" White comes from a book, written by a vicar of Walberton, Sussex, and published in 1697 by John Dunton, which refers to John "Century" White as the "Father to Dr. Annesley's wife, lately deceased".⁷⁰ If this is correct, as it probably is, Mary

⁶⁶ George L. Turner: *Original Records of Early Nonconformity Under Persecution and Indulgence* (London: T. Unwin, 1911), II, p. 89.

⁶⁷ Morrice, I, p. 345.

⁶⁸ Parish register of St. Leonard's, Shoreditch, February 3, 1692/93, January 7, 1696/97, The Guildhall Library, London.

⁶⁹ *Middlesex County Records*, IV. 288, "Sessions of the Peace Roll," 13 July 1685; IV, 296, "Gaol Delivery Rolls," 26th August 1685.

⁷⁰ Turner: *Compleat History*, part 1, chapt. 145, p. 157.

Annesley would have brought a strong Puritan background to the training of her children.

Whoever was her father, and whether or not she had two dozen children, Mary Annesley must have been a remarkable woman. To have managed such a large household was no easy task. The fact that almost nothing is known about her is in keeping with the picture given in Pepys' diary of how men viewed women in the seventeenth century—modest, useful, obedient, loyal, and pious. Contemporary evidence does indicate that mothers were often the source of education for the children. The younger Edmund Calamy of about the same age as Susanna referred to being taught his catechism and to read by his mother.⁷¹ Comenius, who visited England in the early seventeenth century and influenced ideas on education, wrote about “the school of the mother,”⁷² and a modern study of women in this period concludes that girls generally received their education from their mothers.⁷³ We know from her own writings that Susanna had a good education, and she taught her own daughters. Elizabeth's letters and excerpts from her diary also are indicative of an educated woman, and, before her marriage, she wrote about how she would train her children and even teach her servants to read because of the importance of that skill.⁷⁴

The Annesley girls, then, probably received much of their education from their mother. Not all writers have ignored the possibility that Susanna's mother, rather than Dr. Annesley, may have been the one who gave Susanna her ideas about running a household and teaching children. John Kirk suggested that Susanna's mother was most likely the influence that created piety and strength of character in Susanna,⁷⁵ and George Eayrs firmly declared that it was through the example of Samuel Annesley's wife “that their daughter Susanna learned the method of ordering a godly household . . .”⁷⁶

Contemporary references to Susanna's mother are very few. Elizabeth thanked “the good providence of God in giving her Religious Parents, that with United Endeavours, took a mighty care of her Education.”⁷⁷ She had a desire for approval from her mother as shown in her reflection “Occasioned upon seeing my Mother very melancholy one day after she and I had had some words, and I fearing

⁷¹ Edmund Calamy : *An Historical Account of My Own Life With some Reflections on the Times I have Lived In* (London : Colburn and Bentley, 1829), I, p. 73.

⁷² John A. Comenius : *The School of Infancy*, ed. by Ernest Eller (Chapel Hill, N.C. : Univ. of North Carolina Press, 1956), p. 21.

⁷³ Roger Thompson : *Women in Stuart England and America* (London : Routledge, 1974), p. 189.

⁷⁴ Dunton : *Essay*, pp. 21-23 ; Turner : *Compleat History*, part 1, chapt. 51, pp. 36-40 ; chapt. 143, pp. 146-147 ; Dunton : *Life and Errors*, I, pp. 67-68, 92-93, 143-144, 198, 282-283 ; Rogers, pp. 169f.

⁷⁵ *The Mother of the Wesleys* (Cincinnati : Poe and Hitchcock, 1865), pp. 43-44.

⁷⁶ “Links Between the Ejected Clergy of 1662, the Wesleys, and Methodism” in *The Ejection of 1662 and the Free Churches*, ed. by Alexander Maclaren (London : National Council of Free Evangelical Churches, 1912), p. 111.

⁷⁷ Rogers : p. 126.

that she displeased with me".⁷⁸ In addressing the Annesley children present at Elizabeth's funeral, the minister said, "God has scatter'd you that lived many years together with a loving Father and Mother . . . It must be surely a joy to you, to commit yourselves to your Father's and your Mother's God." He added that "few have had such parents as you have had."⁷⁹ The close ties among several of the Annesley children as adults is testimony to the strong family bonds that were nurtured in the Annesley household. Surely Susanna, as one of the Annesley children, must have brought the training of her mother, as well as that of "Dr. Annesley", to her influence on her sons. Like her mother she had to cope with the responsibility of rearing a large number of children with a husband who was sometimes absent and always busy. Perhaps Susanna's well-known methodical approach to the task was copied from her own childhood upbringing.

BETTY I. YOUNG

⁷⁸ Turner : *Compleat History*, part I, chapt. 51, p. 37.

⁷⁹ Rogers, pp. 165, 167.

[Mrs Betty Irene Young is librarian in charge of the East Campus Library at Duke University, North Carolina and author of *The Library of the Women's College, Duke University 1930-1972*.]

LOCAL HISTORIES

Two Centuries of Winchester Methodism by E.R. Pillow. Copies, price £1.70 post free, from Mr R.G. Browning, 6 Godwin Close, Winchester, Hants.

Oxford Place Methodist Centre, Leeds. *A History of one hundred and fifty years of Worship and Witness 1835-1985* (23pp) by D.C. Dews. Copies, price £1.00 each, from the Administrator, Oxford Place Methodist Centre, Leeds, LS1 3AX.

Methodism in Kilkhampton (36pp) by R.M. Sheard. Copies, price £1.75 post free, from Mr L.W. Soper, Bowvale, West Street, Kilkhampton, Bude, Cornwall.

A History of Methodism in Richmond 1750-1950 (80pp + 6 plates) by H.L. Beadle. Copies, price £2.40 post free from the author at 22, The Avenue, Richmond, North Yorkshire, DL10 7AZ.

Kingsley Park Methodist Church, Northampton 1885-1985 (36pp) by Rev F.S. Warwick. Copies, price £1.00 each, plus postage, from the author at 79 Park Avenue North, Northampton, NN3 2HX.

St Thomas Methodist Church, Exeter. *Celebrating 50 Years 1935-1985*. (16pp) Copies (no price stated) from Rev W.G. Butler.

Through all the Changing Scenes : A glimpse of the story of the Methodist Church in Wigston Magna, Leicestershire (64pp) by William A. Ward. Copies, price £1.75 post free from the author at 21 Kingsmead Road, Leicester, LE2 3YE.

THE ANNUAL MEETING AND LECTURE

IT was particularly appropriate that the 1985 Tea, Annual Meeting and Lecture should be held at Selly Oak Methodist Church, Birmingham in the year in which the church is celebrating 150 years of Methodism in Selly Oak.

While the gathering was the usual happy meeting of friends there there was a tinge of sadness as we were all conscious of missing the genial presence of our late Treasurer/Registrar, Mr. Rowland C. Swift. For a number of years members have been the guests of Mr. and Mrs. Swift to tea and this year Mr. and Mrs. J. A. Vickers provided the tea as their tribute to Mr. Swift—a gracious act of hospitality which was deeply appreciated by all who partook of the meal prepared by the ladies of the church.

It has been suggested that for the future a rota might be organised for the provision of tea. Should this idea meet with approval the General Secretary would be grateful to hear from friends who might be willing to join such a rota.

Annual Meeting

Forty-two members met in the New Lounge of Selly Oak Methodist Church for the Annual Meeting on Monday 1st July at 6.00 p.m. Following the opening devotions and apologies for absence, the President, the Rev. A. Raymond George read the list of obituaries. A special tribute was paid to Mr. R. C. Swift, who had given devoted service to the Society as Treasurer and Registrar for many years. The meeting sttod for a moment in silence, then Mr. George offered prayers of thanksgiving and remembrance for those named.

The officers of the Society, as nominated by the Executive Committee, were re-appointed with the following alterations—Treasurer: Mr. Ralph Wilkinson, B. Com., F.C.A.; Registrar: Mrs. V. E. Vickers. It was further agreed that the new Secretary of the WMHS, Dr. Joan Anderson, be invited to join the W.H.S. Executive. Thanks were expressed to Mr. A. C. Sargent B.A., F.C.A, who has acted as Hon. Auditor for a number of years and it was accepted that Mr. B. Taylor F.C.A. of York should become auditor for the Society.

The new Treasurer presented his report (see page **) and it was received with grateful thanks for the very hard work he had put into the job since taking over in difficult circumstances. Mr. Wilkinson pointed out that because Mr. A. A. Taberer had been forced through ill-health to relinquish the printing of the *Proceedings* and that commercial printing costs were considerably higher it was necessary to raise the subscription rates. He, therefore, proposed the following rates, as agreed by the Executive Committee, subject to review next year:

Ordinary: £4.00 (UK); £5.00 (Overseas)

4 year covenant linked £14.00

Supernumeraries: half the ordinary rate

Present Life membership to be honoured, but for the immediate future Life membership to be held in abeyance.

Institutional: £5.00 (UK); £6.00 (Overseas)

Associate: available to spouse of a member at £1.00 extra per year if no

extra copy of the *Proceedings* is required.
The Meeting endorsed these proposals.

Mr. Vickers, who had been Acting Registrar since November, presented that report. It was agreed to appeal to Life members of long-standing to consider making a donation to the Society. There were some discussion about Library affairs and a meeting with the new Principal of Southlands College is to be arranged at an early date. The Editor's report included an appeal for articles of around 2000 words and for articles on twentieth century Methodism. A brief report on the Conference Exhibition was given. The Local Branches Report was encouraging and Mr. Howard, as Conference Secretary, provided further details of the WHS/WMHS Conference, 1-4 April 1986, at Wesley College, Bristol.

Please book the date and send a stamped addressed envelope to the Rev. Peter Howard 38 Derby Street Ormskirk, Lancs, L39 2DE for further information.

The President expressed the Society's pleasure at the good recovery of Mr. Taberer and that he now felt able to continue as Publishing Manager. He thanked Mr. Taberer very much for all his dedicated work as Printer and in countless other ways for so many years. Mr. Taberer replied suitably and reported on the Society's publications.

The General Secretary announced that the 1986 Lecture, entitled 'Methodism's World Missions—the first half-century' to be given by the Rev. Dr. Norman Taggart, would be held in conjunction with Overseas Division bi-centenary celebrations.

E. DOROTHY GRAHAM.

Annual Lecture : 1985

The Rev. Dr. John A. Newton, M.A. gave a most impressive, carefully researched and expounded lecture on 'Samuel Annesley 1620-1696' to an attentive gathering of over a hundred members and friends. As the lecture is printed in the *Proceedings* I shall merely report that those who were present were thrilled to be there and are eagerly looking forward to being able to read and digest all the details of the life, character, ministry and influence of this remarkable man at their leisure.

E. DOROTHY GRAHAM.

Mad about Mission : the story of Thomas Coke, Founder of the Methodist Overseas Missions by Cyril Davey. (Marshalls in conjunction with the Methodist Overseas Division, 1985, pp 127, £1.95.)

This very readable life of Thomas Coke was commissioned by the Overseas Division in anticipation of the bicentenary of overseas mission in 1986. It has the virtue of accuracy not always manifested in such popular works and so can be warmly commended to the Methodist 'rank and file' as an introduction to this key figure in our early history.

J.A.V.

WESLEY HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Financial Statement, 1st January to 31st December 1984

INCOME.		£	EXPENDITURE.		£
Unexpired Subscriptions at 1st January 1984 (estimated)—			<i>Proceedings</i> and Printing ...	1,332	
Ordinary Members ...	1,374		Library—		
Life Members ...	659		New Acquisitions ...	140	
Received during year ...	968		Indexing and Cataloguing ...	100	
			Lecturer's Honorarium, etc.	30	
			World Methodist Historical Soc.	59	
		3,001	Administration Expenses ...	486	
<i>Less</i> Unexpired Subscriptions at 31st December 1984 (see Balance Sheet—estimated)	1,545		Insurances ...	10	
		1,456	Advertising ...	40	
Irish Branch ...	90		Donations ...	32	
Sale of Publications ...	100				
Conference Lecture Collection	32				
Library—Tickets, Donations and Sales ...	14				
W.M.H.S. Newsletter ...	55				
Advertisements ...	58				
Bank Interest ...	397				
War Stock Dividend ...	8				
Excess of Expenditure over Income ...	19				
		£2,229			£2,229
Balance Sheet as at 31st December 1984					
LIABILITIES.		£	ASSETS.		£
Unexpired Subscriptions—			3½% War Stock (at cost) ...	225	
Ordinary Members (estimated)	945		Sundry Debtors ...	138	
Life Members (estimated) ...	600		National Savings Bank ...	3,495	
		1,545	Trustee Savings Bank ...	857	
Sundry Creditors ...	550		Midland Bank (Current A/c)—		
Accumulated Funds b/fwd. ...	2,981		Treasurer ...	142	
		5,076	Registrar ...	167	
<i>Deduct</i> Excess of Expenditure over Income ...	19		Cash in hand—Registrar ...	13	
		£5,057			£5,057

4th June 1985.

(Signed) RALPH WILKINSON, *Acting Treasurer.*

AUDITOR'S REPORT

I have audited the financial statements in accordance with approved auditing standards. There was little documentary evidence to support the entries in the Society's books of account, and, in particular, it was not possible to establish with any degree of certainty the correct amount of subscription income properly attributable to the calendar year 1984. The amount of subscriptions paid in advance by members includes estimates based upon a reasonable interpretation of the available data. No account has been taken of possible arrears of subscriptions. Other assets and liabilities have been independently verified.

In the circumstances, I regret I am unable to express an opinion on the Income and Expenditure Account and the deficit which it shows for the year ended 31st December 1984. However, subject to the matters mentioned above, in my opinion the Balance Sheet gives a true and fair view on an historical cost basis of the state of affairs of the Society as at 31st December 1984.

Barron & Barron,
Bathurst House, 86, Micklegate, York.

(Signed) W. B. TAYLOR,
Chartered Accountant.

A METHODIST DIARY

The Diary of John Young. Sunderland Chemist and Methodist Preacher covering the years 1841-1843. Edited by G. E. Milburn. (The Publications of the Surtees Society Vol. CXCIV, Durham 1983, pp. xxx, 218. £13.10 plus postage, from the Secretary, Prior's Kitchen, The College, Durham.)

HERE is a tantalising fragment. It is a diary, kept between December 1841 and November 1843 by a young Sunderland Methodist in his earliest twenties who had just set up on his own as a chemist. Such fragments are two a penny. They form the family historian's stock-in-trade. This one, however, has been meticulously edited and set in context for the Surtees Society. Why?

The answer is partly luck. John Young, the diarist, died in 1904. His diary was then entombed in a solicitor's safe. It happened to be a Methodist solicitor's safe and so, when rediscovered a few years ago, it was naturally shown to Geoffrey Milburn who is not just a Methodist and a historian but is also the man best qualified to place an early Victorian Sunderland diary in its setting. Nobody else could persuade likely readers, let alone a learned society, to tramp to such preachments or to disentangle such cousinhoods. The exercise is amply justified.

There is value in the recreation of any personality and through the anguished, ardent, heavy-humoured pomposities (for a diary is no place for lightness of touch) of an intelligent young tradesman's language there emerges not just a strong personality but a whole complex of personalities. This man is opinionated, ambitious, introspective, able, questing. He reads theology, light novels and naval history. He is no respecter of persons. Adam Clarke is cut down to size for his "heaping together of words", and (his "greatest deficiency"), his "ignorance of mental philosophy". He likes to talk—about preaching, the soul, mind, phrenology, mesmerism, phrenomesmerism "and sundries", all in one go. He hankers after a wider world than Sunderland and sighs for London: "Oh! to be beside the great central fountain of movement, commercial and intellectual". Trade was in his family but was he really cut out for it? Might he not have made a better sailor? Or a minister? He stuck to his shop. He did well at it for years. In his thirties he sat on the town council. And then his prosperity, his hopes and all that made a citizen of him, disintegrated. He died old, forgotten and poor, buried in an unmarked common grave, unmarried, his potential unrealised, his contradictions unresolved. The spiritual fears so dutifully agonised over when he was in his twenties and on the make, proved at the last not to be groundless after all. If only Sunderland had its Arnold Bennett.

Was this all a matter of heredity, family traits which were equally marked in the characterful father who upped and outed to Australia when pushing sixty? His life should have been quite different, outwardly speaking. For although from the first he had to stand on his own two feet (literally so: in his teens a long illness reduced him to crutches), relying for his start in life on loans repayable with interest, rather than on gifts or inheritances, he nonetheless had, as his editor puts it, a ringside seat on all that made Sunderland tick. He was part of the regional Methodist mafia of drapers, druggists, shippers, pottery and glass manufacturers. An uncle, Andrew White (1792-1867), was thrice Sunderland's mayor and for four years its M.P. His was the not-entirely acceptable face of civic and Methodist capitalism. A cousin,

Ann Muschamp, had married into much wider Methodist and commercial circles. John Young should have been all set to be drawn into them. Or was it that heredity, early illness, and a twin martyrdom to toothache ("my mouth stuffed with cotton and creosote") and long hours (6.45 a.m. to 9 or 10 p.m. was a commonplace) knocked the flair from him? That bastard of the Protestant work ethic, the Englishman's business ethic, captured him.

This is speculation. The fragment's chief value lies in its uncovering of how a young man from a particular social class and a particular religious denomination worked at the triple tension between himself, this world and the next one (or at least the chapel one). Here we have a *transitional* document of the utmost interest. The diary begins as a repository for a young Christian's spiritual wrestlings. It turns increasingly into a diary of events rather than experiences, its change of tone marked by one of calligraphy. The common denominator, however, is Methodism, or, more precisely, the Wesleyan Methodist Association. It is this which sharpens the fragment's value as well as its transitional nature. It exposes a more radical dissenting nerve than might have been expected—the regret when a minister marries in church rather than chapel; the interest in politics (judiciously tempered it is true): "Passed a poor man holding forth on the great topics, the 'Suffrage', 'Equal rights', 'Justice', etc. etc. Poor philanthropist. Better return diligently to his last and his leather, than attempt to cobble the Constitution". It also exposes a connexional life heavily dependent on its laymen and a society life still expressed in spiritual enthusiasm. John Young shares in this and often revels in it. He also views it with a rare detachment.

Here, in a community which worried over its misuse of time and frowned on light or newspaper reading and mistrusted ministerial education, we see a man firmly but unrebellingly rationalising for his own purposes novels and newspapers and the liberating discipline of education (if only one had the time . . .). Above all here we have the local preacher's view, throbbing with the dangerous power of words and the Word, spoken and sung.

His own words are wordy, with the occasional gleam ("Eternal Prince of underived and independent life, in infinite care bestow one glance of merciful consideration . . .") Was that prayer his own, underived and independent? We walk with him to a preaching engagement, practising his sermon on the way "with all the ceremony of gesture". Then, "suddenly a chap popped his head over the wall. His operation cooled my ardour. I was glad to creep off". As for the mechanics of preaching, he prefers a desk and platform to a pulpit: "How much easier to develop energy—and what freedom of movement!" Indeed, freedom is the thing. One evening he takes off his stock for the sermon. "It had a happy effect. I never had my voice with such strength, power, and fluency of expression. I spoke for about 1 hour and 10 m., longer than at any previous period. I was enabled to bring forward many ideas and illustrations not previously prepared". There were other liberties. Thus, at class meeting: "I have often been surprised by the immense influence which the singing of a new and striking tune has produced for the first time. Mr. G. Longstaff began a new divine song, 'Worthy the Lamb'. I should think that we sung it with increasing interest for half an hour". The result? A young girl "rolling about in a chair in a most extraordinary state of agitation . . . a case of pure mental excitement". Young's views about such things were mixed. He was too good a Methodist not to share in their possibility—"I have luxuriated in their wildness when my soul has been deeply affected with divine and melting grace"—and too sharp a young man not to

be disturbed and irritated : as once, at prayer meeting, when his (widower) father and two other men "engaged in conversational exhortation and prayer with a number of young females professedly under religious impressions.

I detest the practice which is so common, viz., that kneeling down alongside of young females, placing the arm over their shoulders and then introducing the face in the closest possible approximation to that of the female, for the professed object of 'familiar exhortation'. Familiar truly!" Liberty? Or repression? Or did his toothache cause bad breath and so preclude such sweet familiarities? With this we turn to speculation. His diary ends abruptly, and Young's voice vanishes with it. It ends on a question mark. Business was always difficult, sometimes promising. There were cash flow problems. There was a graphically described encounter with the income tax commissioners. Young managed to convince them that he had yet to step over the new tax threshold of £150. He was less fortunate when he brushed with the excisemen on a charge of pepper adulteration. Here, summoned before a bench on which sat two uncles, he was fined £25, which Geoffrey Milburn with studied impartiality, regards as lenient. He is probably right. The diary leaves him there. The reader might prefer to leave him addressing himself: "Never mind, John Young, you are conscious of the stirrings of mind. Mind! Immortal mind".

J. C. G. BINFIELD.

WESLEY AND ROMANTICISM

A NUMBER of scholars in recent years have been concerned to argue that John Wesley was not simply a rousing revivalist and religious organiser but also a significant intellectual figure. The author of *Locke, Wesley and the Method of English Romanticism* (University of Florida Presses, Gainesville, 1984, \$30), Professor Richard E. Brantley, would like to see him both as a competent philosophical theologian and as an important cultural influence. His argument falls into two parts. First, Wesley is placed as a philosophical theologian who developed Locke's "rational empiricism" as expounded by Peter Browne in a way which allowed for direct "evangelical" experience of God. Far from being anti-Enlightenment, Wesley was an exponent of evangelicalism in terms of the moderate, empiricist English Enlightenment. The second part of the argument is that Wesley's blend of enlightenment and evangelicalism provides at least part of the background for English Romanticism. (Here he expands some of the findings in his earlier book on *Wordsworth's Natural Methodism*.) For good measure Brantley adds an appendix in which he draws parallels between Wesley's combination of enlightenment and evangelicalism and the more famous synthesis of Jonathan Edwards. (This is rather against recent trends in American writing on Edwards.)

As regards the first part of the argument, caution is necessary because Wesley was, in the last resort, a religious man who used the philosophy of his time for his own purposes and in a very selective manner. In particular, he was much more supernaturalist in outlook than his philosophical mentors. There is a healthy tendency in recent writing to emphasize positive relation-

ships between Enlightenment and Revival. Indeed, a recent article by Frederick Dreyer (in *American Historical Review*, February 1983) argues, like Brantley, that Wesley was a thorough empiricist influenced by Browne. But neither writer perhaps recognizes how awkwardly Wesley's supernaturalism co-exists with his empiricism. Brantley is particularly open to criticism here. He argues that Wesley extended openings to knowledge of the unseen world which had already been allowed for in some degree by Locke and Browne. However, the passages he cites do not seem capable of bearing this interpretation. He claims that Locke (in *Human Understanding* IV, ix, p. 5) allows that God can enlighten men directly at the present day, and is especially likely to do so for that "peculiar people", the English nation. But what Locke was doing here was to describe the exaggerated claims of "enthusiasts" (these are the "peculiar people") and then refute them. The main burden of Locke's argument is to uphold the view that the historic biblical revelation adds knowledge to that given in natural religion, though its claim to be revelation must be tested by reason. Thus he pursues a middle way between sceptics and enthusiasts.

The same basic position and the same rejection of post-biblical "revelations" is to be found in passages Brantley quotes from Browne's *Procedure* (II, pp. 7-9). Browne speaks of revelations from the Holy Spirit, but these are not special individual revelations since biblical times. For Browne, writing against the Deists, only wishes to claim that in the Bible the Spirit adds knowledge about the special Christian teachings on morality and inward religion. On another point, too, Brantley plays down the difference between Locke and Browne on the one hand and Wesley on the other. "Faith" for Locke and Browne is "a rational persuasion of the mind", whereas for Wesley it includes much more.

Contrary to what Brantley implies, Wesley's appeal to a special class of "spiritual senses" goes beyond the teaching of Locke and Browne, and is entirely different from their ideas of knowledge about the unseen world. Browne relies much on religious knowledge gained by "analogy", for even the biblical revelation only makes God known by this indirect means, apprehended by reason. But Wesley claims that the converted man has a new class of "spiritual senses", awakened in him by the Holy Spirit, through which he apprehends God. These senses are not natural to man, but given by grace.

It is not surprising that Wesley was accused of being an "enthusiast" (i.e. claiming to have special revelations). One suspects that if Locke and Browne had lived long enough they would have seen him in this light. Wesley's response to this charge was that he only claimed that the whole range of spiritual gifts found in this primitive church was still available in his day. But this was to contradict the stock eighteenth century position (also accepted by Locke and Browne) that many of these gifts (including miracles and sudden conversions) were confined to the apostolic age. Wesley's "empiricism" was used to defend positions which in some ways were more characteristic of the seventeenth than of the eighteenth century. Like Richard Baxter (in *The Certainty of the World of Spirits*, 1691), Wesley thought that apparitions (and in fact present-day miracles) could be established like any other event on the evidence of honest witnesses regardless of their inherent probability. Although as an eighteenth century-style empiricist he dismissed Joseph Glanvill's speculative *explanations* of apparitions (in *Sadducismus Triumphatus*, 1681), he did not reject the stories themselves. In other words, his

world-view was much more traditional than Brantley allows, and the Lockean forms were used to support an un-Lockean substance.

The second part of Brantley's argument contains some ambiguities. He claimed that Wesley conveyed his evangelical empiricism to at least some of his followers, and that this helped to expand a reading public capable of responding to Romanticism. Rather less plausibly, he would like to believe that there was some direct Methodist influence on the leading Romantic poets. But knowledge is not the same thing as influence. Southey's *Life of Wesley* is cited by Brantley, but he fails to mention that Southey described the supernaturalist phenomena in Methodism only to dismiss them as "enthusiasm" in a thoroughly "enlightened" manner. Coleridge allowed that there might be truth in claims to spiritual healing, but he explained them in terms of natural causes. Blake made favourable mention of Methodism, but Brantley does not mention the much more obvious influence of the theosophical tradition on him through Swedenborgianism. When it comes to Keats and Shelley, Brantley admits that Wesley influence is unlikely (for Keats the more obvious influences being Plato and Locke direct). So he falls back on an alternative form of relationship. Wesley's thought was "in the air": it shows an "experiential common ground" with the Romantics; it was "an especially timely, especially new and especially inclusive means of glossing the mix of tough and tender to be found in Keats's work".

Whatever may be thought of this, it seems to be the case that by isolating the Wesleyan brand of modified empiricism Brantley obscures the fact that there was a wide range of other anti-Enlightenment or modified Enlightenment ideas current in the eighteenth century. But although Wesley in his later years achieved a degree of public acceptance outside Methodism, it seems rather to strain credulity to see him as a major influence in literary circles.

Nevertheless, the attempt to place Wesley within his full intellectual context and to assess his wider influence with the kinds of precision which Brantley brings to the task is very welcome. Wesley was certainly more than a simple gospel preacher, and he was far from being a typical "evangelical". He was probably an important cultural mediator between the educated and "popular" levels of English society, though his strongest appeal was surely to those sections of society which still inhabited a strongly supernaturalist world—a world in which Wesley himself firmly believed. Yet the links with the educated world of the Enlightenment and Romanticism do merit investigation, and in this connexion (despite the reservations expressed here) Brantley's detailed expositions of Romantic poetry deserve careful consideration. He is certainly right to challenge any simplistic contrasts between "enlightenment", "evangelicalism" and "romanticism" which fail to do justice to the complexity and range of eighteenth century thinking.

HENRY D. RACK

BOOK NOTICES

The New Birth : being five sermons by John Wesley on the new birth, in a modern English version, by Thomas C. Oden. (Harper and Row, 113 pp. £5.00)

When I first picked up this selection of Wesley's sermons rendered into a modern style of English by Dr. Oden, of the United Methodist Archives Center, Drew University, U.S.A., my immediate impression was: "I wonder why I never thought of this before!" I have long lived with Wesley's sermons, and have tried to communicate them to modern students. Personally I have always found Wesley much easier to understand than much of modern theological literature, which perhaps does not qualify me to review this book! However, I have certainly observed that many of my students have found him difficult. Here is an attempt to make Wesley's sermons readable, and therefore interesting by rendering them as accurately as possible into a more modern style of expression.

Yet the question remains: "What is modern English?" The present writer has taught long enough in an American institution to realize that we may well be "separated by the barrier of a common speech." We are told by Dr. Oden in his introduction that his method is "dynamic equivalency rendition of the text."

The first thing to be noticed is that this rendition is much closer to the original than a paraphrase would be. Wesley scholars will be gratified to find that a large proportion of Wesley's actual wording is retained. This is a token that Wesley's words are in general quite simple, and that very few of them are found today to be archaic. Wesley's English composition is the style natural to a man to whom education was chiefly the study of Latin. He writes long sentences, with a succession of dependent clauses. This is too demanding of the attention to many modern readers, who expect to take something in easily, at a first reading. Dr. Oden has divided these sentences up into short ones. He has also divided Wesley's long paragraphs into short ones, and inserted many head-lines. This undoubtedly will make for easy reading, and yet accurately convey the general substance of Wesley. Unusual or semi-archaic words, the old second person singular, and the occasional Greek or Latin words, are replaced. In line with this, Wesley's numerous quotations of Scripture are now given in the text of the New English Bible.

Here and there a phrase not represented in the original is added, to make plain an allusion which will not be apparent to most modern readers. In this way explanatory footnotes are avoided. Thus in Sermon XXXIX.ii.4 Wesley writes: "He 'feels in his heart,' to use the language of our Church, 'the mighty working of the Spirit of God.'" This is rendered "to use the language of the Anglican 'Homily on Rogation.'" Here is Wesley adapted to non-Anglicans. So in XXXIX.iii.3 Wesley writes: "Even the poor, ungodly poet could tell us". Oden adds the name Juvenal after "poet", and gives the reference. However, the transposition into modern style does not always produce simpler wording. Wesley's "in order of time" (XXXIX.1), becomes "chronologically" and the difficult phrase "sins of infirmity" (VIII.ii.8) is explained by adding "resulting from involuntary defects of our human finitude."

Another feature is the attempt "to render Wesley available to modern readers in sexually inclusive language," i.e. to say "he or she", and to avoid using

“man” in the sense of “a human being”. This is in keeping with the wave of feminist feeling which is sweeping through American academic circles.

This raises many difficulties of style, for any reader of our new hymn book is aware that the attempt to adjust familiar phrases can easily land one in all manner of infelicities of expression. So, in the passage XXXIXi.2 discussing the Fall, (pp. 5-6), Eve has to be mentioned as well as Adam: “But this separation from God, Adam sustained in the day, the hour, he ate of the forbidden fruit,” becomes “This is what happened to Adam and Eve on the day, the hour, they ate of the forbidden fruit.” A point arises here which perhaps only appeals to a theological purist. This transposition has the effect, no doubt unintended, of emphasising the sense of Adam and Eve as individual human persons, rather than Adam as the “type” of the human race, upon which the argument both of St. Paul and Wesley depends.

It is a truism that he who translates, or paraphrases, also interprets. It is not surprising, therefore, that Dr. Oden, for all his commendable accuracy in general, has possibly allowed modern presuppositions to be read into Wesley at a few points. Thus in VIII.ii.3 “that witness in himself” becomes “that quiet witness within” (p.27). One wonders whether the addition of “quiet” is an attempt to discount charismatic “enthusiasm”. The mention of Dives in IX.i.5 has the curious addition “for whom only death could reveal his radical dependence upon the poor,” (p. 50). Do we discern the influence of “liberation theology” here? So also in XIV.1, Wesley affirms that the New Birth is “ordinarily annexed to baptism”. The sense is surely reduced somewhat, in the direction of softening Wesley’s acknowledgement of the doctrine of baptismal regeneration, by the rendering “often associated with baptism” (p. 75). In XXXIX.iii.1 Wesley writes “all heavenly affections”. The word “affections” is allowed to stand (p. 12), though one would suggest that the meaning of this word has changed since Wesley used it, and that a correct modern rendering would be “emotions”.

Such matters are, however, small points. They do not detract from the general position that here we are provided with an accurate representation of what Wesley writes, and very largely still in his own words. If therefore this ingenious new version does in fact make Wesley more readable to various classes of modern readers it may easily prove a very useful introduction to Wesley. One therefore commends Dr. Oden’s book to those interested in Wesley studies.

JOHN LAWSON.

The Elusive Mr. Wesley : Vol. 1, John Wesley his own biographer ; Vol. 2, John Wesley as seen by contemporaries and biographers by Richard P. Heitzenrater, pp. 220, 224 (Abingdon Press, 1984, \$9.75 ca.) (Available in Britain through SPCK bookshops, 2 vols £20).

Anyone who has sampled the quality of Heitzenrater’s work on Wesley’s diaries will reach eagerly for these two volumes and will not be disappointed. As the overall title indicates they form a single whole, in which an attempt is made to see Wesley first through his own eyes, then through those of his friends and enemies, and finally as depicted by a succession of biographers. In the first two sections, extracts from a wide range of sources are prefaced by

introductory notes. Wesley's own writings "often contain autobiographical recollections that reflect a somewhat magnified, or perhaps idealized, view of his character or personality" (Vol. 1 p. 22). There are inconsistencies in his own evidence, as well as in that of his critics.

Much of the material has already been well worked-over, but some is less familiar, and more information on sources would have helped and encouraged investigation by the student. The concluding review of Wesley's treatment at the hands of his biographers, beginning with the memorial sermons and obituaries, is a fascinating guide through two centuries of portraiture and interpretation. Among recent writers, Stanley Ayling's "very readable biography" is criticized for its limited understanding of "the working of Wesley's mind", but the illustrations in Pudney's book are praised despite the errors perpetrated by the posthumous editor who chose and annotated them.

The two volumes form a stimulating contribution to the task of stripping away varnish and correcting distortions which is a necessary preparation for the 'definitive biography' still to be written. The author's own conclusion is that "we do not need another attempt that exhibits the rhetorical or literary flair of the author better than the life and thought of John Wesley. We do not need another attempt to portray in Wesley the roots of some present-day sectarian peculiarities. We do need an attempt to see Wesley whole, considering his sources, his times, his controversies, his thought, his development, his private and public images, and his observers, friend and foe" (Vol. 2, p. 207).

JOHN A. VICKERS .

The Rediscovery of John Wesley : by George Croft Cell. (University Press of America. 1983 Reprint, originally published 1935 : pp. xviii, 420, \$14.50).

A more accurate title for this book would surely have been "An Interpretation of John Wesley" though the author clearly thought that he was saying the last word on the subject and hopefully dedicated his work "To the future leaders of the Christian Church throughout the world". Because Wesley was a many-sided man his biographers and interpreters are always in danger of one-sided presentation. Grant Cell's Wesley was, despite all appearance to the contrary, essentially a Calvinist theologian. He makes out a stronger case for the cruciality of "May 24th 1738" in Wesley's theology and points to more references to it in Wesley's writings than appear upon the surface. In the end one can only say, as Dr. W.E. Sangster was known to say to people whose views were entirely different from his own, "My dear friend—You may be right". Dr. Cell was not the first or the last to publish their "rediscovery" of John Wesley and this reprint should certainly have a place on the shelf among the others.

THOMAS SHAW .