PEDAGOGICAL AND ANDRAGOGICAL PRINCIPLES
OF JOHN WESLEY'S ANTHOLOGY

DISSERTATION

Presented to the Graduate Council of the
University of North Texas in Partial
Fulfillment of the Requirements

For the Degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

By

Elaine Friedrich Hall, B.S., M.A.

Denton, Texas

August, 1998

This study is a historical and philosophical analysis of significant educational concepts John Wesley espoused during his lifetime from 1703-1791. Specifically this document examines Wesley’s use of pedagogical and andragogical principles through the educational undertakings of the early Methodist movement.

Throughout John Wesley’s lifetime, significant people, institutions and books shaped his philosophy of education. This study identifies and examines these influences on Wesley’s approach to education.

Utilizing Malcolm Knowles’ work on pedagogy verses andragogy, comparisons in John Wesley’s approaches are made. An investigation of Wesley’s programs for children and adults provides examples of Wesley’s application of these educational principles.

Through the avenues of mentoring, leadership development and age-level programs, Wesley established patterns for educating
the people involved in the early Methodist movement. Especially through the bands and societies, ordinary individuals, primarily from modest means, became agents for social reform during England's eighteenth century history.
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# TABLE OF CONTENTS

| LIST OF TABLES | vii |

## Chapter

1. **INTRODUCTION** .........................................................1
   - Statement of the Problem
   - The Purpose of the Study
   - Research Questions
   - Significance of the Study
   - Design of the Study
   - Synthesis of Related Literature

2. **AN OVERVIEW OF EIGHTEENTH CENTURY ENGLAND** .......... 28
   - Political and Historical Background
   - Social Segment
   - Educational Events
   - Ecclesiastical Matters

3. **PEOPLE, INSTITUTIONS, AND BOOKS THAT SHAPED JOHN WESLEY'S PHILOSOPHY OF EDUCATION** .......................... 74
   - Early Beginnings: 1703-1720
   - The Oxford Years: 1721-1735
   - The Mission Field in Georgia: 1735-1738
   - The First Decade of the Methodist Movement: 1738-1748
   - The Middle Years: 1749-1769
   - The Later Years: 1770-1791

4. **JOHN WESLEY: CHRISTIAN PEDAGOGUE AND ANDRAGOGUE** .................................................................103
   - Influential Educators
Development of Schools
Societies, Bands, and Classes
Leadership Training
Courses of Study
Instruction With Hymns

5. DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS ........................................ 152
Introduction
The Influence of Wesley’s Personality and Abilities on the Methodist Movement
Wesley’s Major Concepts and Ideas
Wesley’s Models and Mentors
Educational Programs Among the Methodists
Design for Organization and Administration
Developing Educational Leaders
Pedagogical and Andragogical Principles

REFERENCES ............................................................................. 170
LIST OF TABLES

1. The Moravin Legacy to Wesley's Methodology ........................................... 111

2. A Summary of Instructional Elements in the Fetter Lane Society ......................................................... 124
CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

As the initiator of the Methodist movement, which later became the Methodist church, John Wesley stands as a major figure in the history of Protestantism. His fervency and passion for the Christian faith compelled him to attempt to prove people's lives through education and religious expression.

Born into a clerical family in Epworth, England, in 1703, Wesley was reared in the Anglican tradition. After obtaining his education at Oxford University, he entered the ministry and began as an instructor of Greek at his alma mater.¹

Prior to Methodism's inception as a revival movement, the impetus toward Christian nurture and spiritual growth filled the mind and heart of John Wesley. In 1729 he and a small group of men founded the Holy Club at Oxford in for the purpose of promoting lifelong discipleship.² Thus, the expansion of Christianity through
educational means became the hallmark of the early Methodist movement.

It was not long after Wesley and his brother Charles began the Holy Club that they were labeled Methodists. The methodological approach to Christianity involved rigorous discipline and study of the scriptures in light of their own individual lives.³

John Wesley's strict discipline in his daily life enabled him to write over seventeen volumes of journal entries and to correspond with hundreds of individuals. Through his more than two hundred books and pamphlets, the ministry and influence of Wesley continue to the present time.⁴

Although the Wesleyan revival spread rapidly throughout England and across the Atlantic, the emphasis on lifelong learning of the Christian faith gave the movement not only substance and sustenance, but also permanence. Wesley's insistence that knowledge and a vital piety belonged together in the Christian's life combined a deep understanding of Christianity with an application to ordinary living.
In recent years there has been a resurgence of research and investigation in Wesleyan studies. This researcher senses a need to rediscover and analyze the educational practices of John Wesley in order to gain a more comprehensive understanding of the past. Through such an investigation, one might hope to glean principles, trends, and discoveries for building the future.

Statement of the Problem

The problem of this study involved an examination and analysis of John Wesley's educational contributions to the Methodist movement that began in the eighteenth century.

The Purpose of the Study

The primary purpose of this study was to analyze John Wesley's concepts of education through a study of his writings throughout his lifetime. A secondary purpose of the study was to examine critically the educational philosophy, methodology, and theories that John Wesley used for lifelong learning in order to
determine the foundations of his impact on Methodism in its early
development.

Research Questions

In order to accomplish the intent of the study, the following
questions guided the research:

1. What aspects of John Wesley's personality and abilities
contributed to the increasing number of adherents to the early
Methodist movement?

2. What major educational concepts and ideas did John Wesley
Teach and use?

3. Who served as Wesley's models and mentors in his
development of a philosophical basis for his approach to teaching and
learning?

4. What programs did Wesley initiate in order to facilitate
learning among both children and adults?

5. How were Wesley's programs organized and administered?

6. How did Wesley establish patterns for developing
educational leadership, in both the clergy and the laity?
7. Although the economic, political, educational, and cultural setting of the eighteenth century can never be replicated, which of John Wesley’s educational principles might serve as a foundation for a contemporary philosophy of education?

Significance of the Study

Throughout the world over twenty-one denominations claim John Wesley as their founding father. Wesley’s principles would be of interest to these various denominations in relation to the educational programs of the church. Information derived from examining Wesley’s contribution to the field of education could benefit to not only denominational and lay leadership, but also academicians from various educational disciplines.

Design of the Study

This study primarily used the historical method of research. History by its very nature discovers that which has already taken place. Studying people, places, and events occurring in the past assists in exploring various avenues of relatedness and
interdependency. Historical research is "the systematic search for facts relating to questions about the past, and the interpretation of these facts." The researcher relies on those who have recorded the events, regardless of the medium.

Traditional historical research is primarily concerned with what has already transpired. In contrast, a philosophical study focuses on the basic goals and objectives of the topic of interest. Looking at what "should be" comprises a philosophical approach.

Although this is primarily an historical study, a combination of three research methods was used: philosophical, biographical, and historical. This educational historiography involved an examination of the eighteenth-century writings of John Wesley, the founder of the Methodist movement.

A scientific approach to the study of history includes the following components:

1. Definition of the problem and the limitations of the scope of the inquiry

2. Investigation of the sources and determination of their authenticity (external criticism)
3. Appraisal of the relevance, content, and trustworthiness of the sources (internal criticism)

4. Structure of the data using the appropriate sequence

5. Articulation and testing of hypotheses concluding in generalizations

In this study, in accord with the aims of historical research, the philosophical theories of education were considered, along with the social, cultural, economic, and ecclesiastical structures of the era. An attempt was made to discover underlying relationships and to determine changes within eighteenth-century society.

Historical research involves essentially three stages, the first of which includes the collection of data. Identifying and securing both primary and secondary documents and sources are integral parts of this step in the process.

The second stage of the historical method of research includes that of critical analysis of the available data. This includes a higher level of criticism (internal) and a lower level of criticism (external). Utilizing these means gives the study congruence with the other scientific disciplines.
External criticism examines the evidence to determine authenticity. Following the completion of this initial analysis, the investigator moves to the higher form of inquiry. At this point in probing the data, the researcher evaluates the worth of the information.\textsuperscript{11}

Exhibiting the factual data of history in an understandable form is the third stage of the historical research method. The format provides a means through which significant information relative to the subject matter is transmitted. Order and structure are essential in communicating content.\textsuperscript{12}

The historical researcher seeks to show what patterns and contributions may have been made in the past in the hope of developing a greater understanding of current events as well as the future. Through a systematic and objective retrieval of pertinent data, the researcher must remain unbiased throughout the process of collection, evaluating, and interpreting the information.\textsuperscript{13}

The researcher does not have control over the primary documents, records, relics, and artifacts that have remained through history for study. Historical study attempts to use primary sources
as much as possible, not excluding secondary sources that may contribute additional information for the study.¹⁴

The unobtrusive nature of the historical method has several advantages for the inquirer. The time period has already passed; therefore, the researcher is not physically involved in the situation. Personal interaction between the examiner and the subject do not influence the investigation. The facts are gathered and examined, and conclusions are drawn without interference from human subjects.¹⁵

This study is an attempt critically to analyze John Wesley's concepts of education through an exploration of his approach to lifelong learning. A heuristic approach was taken in order to discover Wesley's pedagogical and andragogical principles for a lifetime of learning. Inductive reasoning was employed to draw inferences and conclusions after the initial study.

Synthesis of Related Literature

Many individuals preceded John Wesley in promoting the Christian faith and influencing the church's educational ministry.
Actually, Judeo-Christian education has its roots in the Old Testament. Prior to the birth of Christ the Greeks, under the rationalistic influence of Socrates, the idealistic impact of Plato, and the realism of Aristotle, led in the search for knowledge and understanding of the world and of spiritual things.  

After the birth of Christ and the beginning of Christianity, Thomas Aquinas (ca. 1225-1274) contributed a method of study titled "How to Study," which became influential in the Roman Catholic church. He wrestled with questions such as "(1.) Whether man can teach and be called a teacher, or God alone? (2.) Whether anyone can be called a teacher of himself? (3.) Whether man can be taught by an angel? (4.) Whether to teach is a function of the active or of the contemplative life?"  

Ulrich Zwingli (1484-1531) combined the human capabilities of learning and reason with the divine in order to provide a spiritual understanding of the Christian faith. External guidelines, a curriculum, could be used to teach the knowledge of God.  

John Calvin (1509-1564) made significant contributions not only to theological discussion, but also in the area of religious
education. His development of the Genevan Catechism for teaching the doctrines of the church influenced didactic learning.¹⁹

John Milton (1608-1674) sought to blend the secular and the sacred through his educational influence. Milton's basic philosophy of education was to "repair the ruins of our first parents by regaining to know God aright, and out of that knowledge to love him, to imitate him, to be like him, as we may the nearest by possessing our souls of true virtue."²⁰

In the seventeenth century, John Locke (1632-1704) introduced the concept of theologically liberal religious education. His primary emphasis was on the mind as a tabula rasa, a blank slate, on which are encoded one's experiences.²¹

Others have taken various avenues of research in attempting to understand aspects of the life and intellect of John Wesley. Researchers have studied Wesley's literary contributions,²² his role as a social reformer,²³ his influence in leadership development,²⁴ his interest in science and medicine,²⁵ and his use of small groups in ministry.²⁶
As investigators have explored these diverse topics related to the father of Methodism in the past forty years, few have attempted to consider Wesley's contributions to education. This researcher studied the journals, letters, and writings of John Wesley, examining the educational nature of his thoughts and practices. Through understanding the principles, philosophies, methodologies, and theories that Wesley used, as they relate to both children and adults, a compilation of didactic approaches can be made to formulate an advocacy for lifelong learning.

Other researchers have analyzed education in relation to John Wesley, but most have focused on a particular aspect for study. In these limited studies, various components of educational theory, philosophy, and methods can be seen through sermons, letters, journals, and other writings; however, an examination of Wesley's concern and commitment to a lifelong educational process has yet to be accomplished.

Educators are indebted to John R. Prince for his contribution to the body of knowledge, because he was the first to explore Wesley's approach to education. In his classic book, Prince primarily
examined Wesleyan thought concerning the religious education of children.

Alfred Body’s 1936 work is a partial examination of Wesley’s educational theories and his attempt to educate children at the famous Kingswood school for boys. In 1951 another researcher, Frederick R. Edgar, attempted present a broader view of Wesley’s educational methodology and philosophy. In Edgar’s work, other components of Methodist education were explored, namely those of selecting and developing leaders, administrative organization of the classes and societies, and publications used as teaching tools.

Grounded in the classics through his liberal education at Oxford, Wesley was well acquainted with such early educational philosophers as Socrates, Plato, and Aristotle. He referred to them in his journals and letters, commenting on their philosophical contributions to the world of knowledge and understanding.

Wesley also commented on various educational theorists, such as Francke, Locke, and Rousseau, in his journals, sermons, and letters. Through Wesley’s exposition of these and other educators, one may gain a more comprehensive understanding of his
educational philosophy. It was upon this foundation that he built his contributions to a lifelong approach to learning.

One of the key components of Wesley’s methods and influence was an emphasis on teaching and learning throughout life. The term commonly referred to as pedagogy is derived from the Greek root word of paid, which means child, and agogos meaning leading. Therefore, pedagogy is defined as the art and science of teaching children.34

As a child progresses, not only in chronological years, but also in the ability intellectually to digest greater concepts, there is a need to adjust the process of teaching and learning to meet these changes. Thus has emerged the concept of andragogy. The term is derived from the Greek word aner, meaning man. Therefore, andragogy is the art and science of teaching adults.35

Four primary distinctions separate pedagogy from andragogy. These distinctions are based on the premise that an adult increases in maturity as well as years. Following an examination of these principle characteristics, a comparison is made in relation to Wesley’s approach to lifelong learning.
1. The first distinction that separates pedagogy from andragogy is that an individual’s self-concept moves from one of dependency to that of being a self-directing human being. In pedagogy, the learner is guided and directed by an adult. There the expectation that the child will be managed and led by a teacher. Children, from preschool throughout the teenage years, are viewed as full-time students. Learning is their occupation.\textsuperscript{36}

As an adult enters a new world filled with responsibilities and performance, he or she begins a new status. The adult becomes more self-directed, making decisions independently from others. In this regard, adults need to be treated with respect, not like children. The educational situation must also reflect this; without a high regard for the adult learner’s self-concept, a resistance to learning will occur.\textsuperscript{37}

Adult learners engage in mutual learning with the teacher. As adult students become co-learners with the teacher, the teaching-learning process becomes internally motivated and personal. If the experience of self-directed learning is new to the student, there is usually a period of time during which the learner must adjust and become oriented to a different way to study.\textsuperscript{38}
Several implications are worthy of consideration in relation to the self-concept of the adult learner. First is the learning climate. The facilities used for the education of adults should be situated so that they feel at ease. This includes furnishings and equipment, and, also, the environment of the room should be according to adult tastes. The adult learner should feel accepted, supported, and respected psychologically. This may include an informal seating and meeting arrangement, a relational classroom-management approach, and the behavior and attitude of the teacher towards the learner. The goal is to make the environment conducive to learning for the adult student.39

The second consideration in relation to the self-concept of the adult learner is the diagnosis of needs. Traditional pedagogy directly opposes an adult’s self-directivity by telling the student what he or she needs to learn. In andragogy the adult learner arrives at his or her own learning goals through a process of self-diagnosis.40

This self-diagnosis enables the learner, through constructing a model of the competencies or characteristics required, to achieve an ideal model of performance. The learner compares himself or herself
to the ideal and makes the necessary personal adjustments to achieve the ideal. The student can also see what progress is necessary in order to achieve a specific standard of accomplishment.\footnote{41}

The third consideration in relation to the self-concept of the adult learner is the planning process. Individuals seem to be more committed to a decision when they have participated in making that decision. When the teacher allows the adult learner to have input and decision-making capabilities in classroom decisions, the student will be more likely to be actively involved, have a better attitude, and have more enthusiasm.\footnote{42}

The fourth consideration in relation to the self-concept of the adult learner is the conducting of learning experiences. In pedagogy the teacher's primary responsibility is to teach. In andragogy, the teacher's role changes to that of a resource person, co-inquirer, or co-learner. The teacher functions as a catalyst rather than as an instructor. Teachers and adult students share in the responsibility for teaching and learning.\footnote{43}
The fifth consideration in relation to the self-concept of the adult learner is the evaluation of learning. In pedagogy the child receives grades from the teacher in direct proportion to the mastery of the subject. In andragogy the prescription for evaluation is self-imposed. The teacher works to design means for the student to measure personal progress toward educational goals. Evaluation is a mutual undertaking, just as in the other phases of andragogy.44

2. The second distinction between pedagogy and andragogy is that individuals accumulate a growing reservoir of experiences which becomes a larger resource for learning. Having lived longer, the adult learner has a larger range and volumes of experiences. The child sees experience as something that happens to him or her. As an adult the personal experience defines who he or she is. For an adult, is what he or she has done. Each individual is the result of accumulated experiences over a period of time.45

The differences in experience between pedagogy and andragogy have at least three consequences for teaching and learning:
1. Adults have more to contribute to learning because of their experiences.

2. Adults have a richer base of experience from which to relate new information.

3. Adults have more ingrained thought patterns; therefore, they have a tendency to be less open minded.

There are several implications for the application of experience into andragogy. The first consideration in relation to the experience of the adult learner is an emphasis on experimental techniques. In planning teaching techniques for the adult learner, the teacher should be more open to participatory experiential techniques. These include methods such as case studies, discussion, role playing, supervision, seminars, conferences, and group work. The assumption is that, the more actively involved the learner is in the learning process, the more he or she is actually learning.46

The second consideration in relation to the experience of the adult learner is an emphasis on practical application. Adult learners are eager to apply learned information directly to everyday life. They want to put knowledge to work immediately.47
The final consideration in relation to the experience of the adult learner is *unfreezing and learning to learn from experience*. Through the process of “unfreezing,” adults can look at themselves more objectively and free their minds from preconceived notions. As adults learn to take personal responsibility for learning, to work collaboratively with colleagues, and to incorporate self-analysis, they experience the essence of the human-relations laboratory.\(^{48}\)

3. The third distinction between pedagogy and andragogy is that an adult’s readiness to learn is highly interrelated to developmental tasks of social roles. Children learn content that is necessary for advancing to the next level of development. One knowledge base is built upon another. These developmental tasks produce a readiness to learn. Children must first learn to crawl before they are ready learn how to walk.

Although differing in kind from children, adults have phases of growth as well. While the teachable moments in children are usually the result of physical and mental maturation, adult readiness is based on the evolution of social roles.\(^{49}\)
Robert Havighurst is one of the leading pioneers in the research area of adult growth and development. He divides the adult lifespan into three phases: early adulthood, middle age, and later maturity. In each of these phases, the adult takes on social roles--for example, that of worker, mate, parent, homemaker, citizen, or friend. Each of these roles becomes a springboard for another area of learning. As these roles change, readiness for learning emerges. As a new role is begun, the impetus for learning also begins.\(^5\)

There are several implications for andragogy. The first consideration in relation to the adult learner's readiness to learn is the timing of learning. The sequence of the learning curriculum must be in concert with the individual's developmental tasks. Such chronology is significant for the programming of adult education.\(^6\)

The second consideration in relation to the adult learner's readiness to learn is the grouping of learners. Homogeneous groups for learning according to developmental tasks are conducive to learning. At other times heterogeneous groups are more effective. As decisions concerning grouping individuals are made in adult
learning, the developmental phases of the persons involved in the learning situation should be considered.\textsuperscript{52}

4. The fourth distinction between pedagogy and andragogy is that the adult's time perspective changes from one of postponed application of knowledge to immediacy of application, and the orientation toward learning shifts from subject-centeredness to one of problem-centeredness. As a child begins to build a base of knowledge, much that is learned is intended for future use. It is postponed to apply at a later time. This approach is one of being subject-centered.\textsuperscript{53}

In andragogy, adults have a need to apply the learning directly to the current situation. Much adult learning is directly related to the pressures and problems encountered at work, in the family, and in everyday life. The approach is commonly referred to as a problem-centered curriculum.\textsuperscript{54}

This important concept has several implications. The first consideration in relation to the adult learner's orientation to learning is the orientation of adult educators. Educators responsible for adult education must be concerned with an adult's orientation to learning.
The experiences of adults must be related to their concerns and needs. True andragogy does not merely teach content; it enables persons to learn.

The second consideration in relation to the adult learner's orientation to learning is the organization of the curriculum. In traditional pedagogy subject matter is structured around the trivium (grammar, rhetoric, and logic) and the quadrivium (arithmetic, music, geometry, and astronomy). In andragogy the curriculum, commonly called the program of adult learning, centers around problem areas, not subject area.55

The third consideration in relation to the adult learner's orientation to learning is the design of learning experiences. Because andragogy is problem-centered, learning experiences begin with the specific problems and concerns that adult learners face. The primary problems as well as secondary issues are addressed in the adult learner’s courses or classes.56

An analytical approach to exploring Wesley’s contribution to lifelong learning was made through this study. Ideally, such an investigation would produce a comprehensive synthesis of
educational didactics from a Wesleyan perspective. Because this researcher is convinced that the past influences the future, such an examination could prove to be beneficial for the present as well as in the next millennium. As the twenty-first century approaches, a critical examination is both relevant and necessary.

This study was not intended to serve as a critical, analytical examination of John Wesley's theology other than in relation to his educational contributions. However, some of his concepts, methods, and ideas are common in theological inquiry.

The present study, although thorough in its investigation, may not be exhaustive in its attempts to examine all of Wesley's statements or thoughts concerning education. In relation to Wesley and education, every area of literature from both original and secondary sources currently available was analyzed.
NOTES

3Cully and Cully, “John Wesley.”
7Ibid., 451.
8Ibid., 455.
13Ary, Jacobs, and Razavech, 283.
14Ibid., 284.
15Ibid., 285.
18Ibid., 152–4.
19Ibid., 165.
20Ibid., 195.
21Ibid., 205.

24 James L. Garlow, "John Wesley's Understanding of the Laity as Demonstrated by His Use of the Lay Preachers" (Ph.D. diss., Drew University, 1979); Stanley Key, "John Wesley and Leadership Training" (Ph.D. diss., Trinity Evangelical Seminary, 1986).


27 Alfred Harris Body, John Wesley and Education (London: The Epworth Press, 1936); James P. Bowers, "A Wesleyan-Pentecostal Vision of the Christian Life with Pedagogical Implications for Christian Education" (Ed.D. diss., Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, 1990); Frederick R. Edgar, "A Study of John Wesley with a View to Determining the Educational Philosophy and Methodology Used by Him in the Wesleyan Revival and in His Leadership in the Organization of the Wesleyan Movement in England" (Ph.D. diss., Columbia University, 1951); John O. Gross, John Wesley: Christian Educator (Nashville, TN: Board of Education, 1954); Young S. Han, "John Wesley Speaks Today on Christian Education" (D.Min. diss., Fuller Theological Seminary, 1964); Kun-Ki Hong, "Wesleyan Thought and Christian Education in the Methodist Church, with Special..." (Ph.D. diss., University of Michigan, 1988); Henry C. James, "Wesley's Conception of Religious Education and Conversion" (M.A. thesis, Asbury Theological Seminary, 1960); John W. Prince, Wesley on Religion


29 Ibid., 9:194.


31 Ibid., 13:25, 2:93, 1:154, 1:112.


CHAPTER 2

AN OVERVIEW OF EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY ENGLAND

Political and Historical Background

As the eighteenth century approached, the emphasis in primarily Protestant England shifted from the sacred to the rationalism of the Enlightenment. The spirit of the age was largely that of Tory influence, which exemplified a distrust of human nature and a devotion to public order.¹

With the Restoration of the Stuarts in 1660 came the reestablishment of the Church of England as the official state religion. This brought with it a battle between the Church of England, the Dissenters, and the Roman Catholics.²

In the social realm, Thomas Hobbes made advances in designing a mixed state in which kings, lords, and commoners were held together in a balance of power. The need for the monarchy to hold stable and undivided sovereignty was dramatically different from the Stuart philosophy, which gave the monarchy the divine right of kings.³
The eighteenth century in England can be divided into two time periods. The first begins with William III and continues through the reign of Queen Anne. The second begins with George I and proceeds through the reign of George III.4

As the new century was ushered in, King William III was on the English throne. He became king in the midst of unrest and turbulence. With a religious rebellion between Protestants and Catholics and political differences between the Tories and the Whigs, William III led England into the eighteenth century.5 When the Nine Years' War broke out in the fall of 1688, William III quickly involved the British regiments.6

Throughout the reign of King William III (1689-1702), the English faced international difficulties, primarily with Spain, Ireland, and Scotland. As a result, William suffered a series of setbacks and even considered abdicating the throne. In spite of his waning health, he remained strong and ambitious in his quest to serve England.7

William III did not receive the benefit of most of the policies that he set in motion. His successor, Queen Anne, whose loyalties were to the church as well as to England, also ascended to the throne
with a series of health problems. Her health made it necessary for her to depend on her closest trusted friends and advisors.\(^8\)

When Queen Anne became fatally ill in July 1714, the Tories were not prepared to step into power by proclaiming a successor. On the other hand, the Whigs were ready and immediately launched a plan that, without conflict, proclaimed George I as the new king. Queen Anne died on August 1, 1714.\(^9\)

The lifting of the censorship laws in 1695 brought with it a significant increase in the number of publications in England. The first daily newspaper, *The Daily Courant*, appeared in 1702. By 1714 the circulation of the daily newspaper reached between 50,000 and 60,000. It provided a vehicle for news and personal opinions to reach a wider, more diverse audience. Consequently, popular writers of the day rose either to defend or destroy traditional attitudes, including political convictions. Richard Steele, Daniel Defoe, Joseph Addison, and Jonathan Swift were among the best-known and most influential writers of the time.\(^10\)

Economic development and expansion during the reigns of William III and Anne brought immigrants from the Continent. The two primary groups of refugees who came to England during this
period were the Germans and the Huguenots. The Germans were driven from their homeland as a result of two wars involving the French. Many of them eventually left England with William Penn to found some of the initial settlements in America.\textsuperscript{11} The Huguenots came to England due to religious persecution in their native country. Because of England's hospitality toward Protestants, the Huguenots came seeking the right to worship freely. They were an educated and professional group, and they contributed greatly to England's resources, especially in the fields of journalism, politics, and banking.\textsuperscript{12}

England's most famous politician, Sir Robert Walpole, described the next fifty years of British history as rather uneventful. Although devoid of some of the highs and lows experienced during the reigns of William III and Anne, this period provided the foundation for the Industrial Revolution.\textsuperscript{13}

King George I, who occupied the throne of England from 1714 to 1727, was German. He simultaneously ruled Hanover and England. Of the Hanovers, George I was considered to be the most able and qualified.\textsuperscript{14} He had considerable interest in international affairs abroad and in Whiggism in England. From 1714 to 1721, a
successful campaign was made on behalf of Whiggish dominance, which almost completely isolated the Tories in their quest for political power.\textsuperscript{15}

The Tory party claimed two primary loyalties; one to the Church of England and the other to the king, in that order.\textsuperscript{16} The name \textit{Tory} is derived from \textit{Toiridhe}, a word used to describe supporters of the Stuarts. The Tories strongly favored insularity and preferred to stay out of other continental wars.\textsuperscript{17}

The Whig party, on the other hand, was a nickname given to Scottish Presbyterians in the seventeenth century. Their roots, which were those of the Puritans, upheld strong beliefs in regard to the Parliament and the free church. The Whigs wanted to expand England's trade ventures and the empire, even at the risk of war.\textsuperscript{18}

George I, who took the throne at the age of fifty-four, neither spoke nor understood English. His failure to speak the language obviously did not endear himself to the British people. He knew little and cared even less about the English system of government.\textsuperscript{19}

When King George II came to the throne in 1727, the Whigs held a firm position of leadership in the country. They remained in power for nearly half a century, from 1714 to 1760.\textsuperscript{20}
In 1756 the Seven Years War broke out between the British and the French. An able leader for the British, William Pitt rose to become one of England's heroes. His rise to prestige and fame was due to several factors: his winsome personality made the English people ready followers, his oratory skills were exceptional in an age when such talents were highly esteemed, and his ability to speak directly to the needs of the people and beyond legislature was valued among British citizens.21

At the forefront of England's efforts to surpass the French was the push west, which concentrated on Canada. Secretary of State William Pitt led the English warships to victory in the battle with the French while simultaneously supervising an expedition to Canada. The primary goal on the American and the Indian front was to prevent the French from using these same routes for trade, thus giving England an economic advantage over the French.22

When George II died in 1760, his grandson, George III, took the throne. George III ruled England to the end of the eighteenth century and into the nineteenth, from 1760 to 1820. As George III ascended the throne at the age of twenty-two, England began an era of political turmoil and instability that lasted until 1784. George III
was the first native Englishman on the throne since Queen Anne, and of this he was very proud. He attempted to save England from Whig corruption.²³

Although the parties of the Tories and the Whigs did not exist as they had previously, the names remained, as did the underlying principles. The old Tory party stood for the Church, the Crown, and an established social order; the Whigs held onto land campaigns in Europe, sympathy for the Dissenters, and mercantile interests.²⁴

The situation became increasingly more difficult in the New World as citizens began to protest against the taxes levied on them. Their protests, which resounded across the Atlantic, were that their voices were not being heard prior to the establishment of taxes. Pressures mounted as punishments and harsher laws were imposed to maintain order.²⁵

Lord North served as England’s treasurer from 1770 to 1782. North, who had been a powerful financial manager, had good communication skills, and George III benefited greatly during North’s tenure. Because of North’s ability to remain calm and indifferent to public opinion, the king ruled England as he saw fit. Although this
right was given to the king by the constitution, the Whigs had
forgotten who was to be in control.26

The monarchy was contingent upon several factors. The
system was maintained if citizens were content and were not too
interested in how they were being governed and if the king
formulated successful policies. George III failed in fulfilling these
conditions during his reign. A champion of the people, John Wilkes,
came to the king's rescue. By 1788, George III was suffering from
long periods of insanity.27

John Wilkes, who rapidly became a well-known orator and was
a prolific writer, was popular among the people. His credibility with
the government, however, was less impressive. Through a series of
legal battles, newspaper indictments, public elections, and finally
prison, Wilkes's contest against the government grew increasingly
vigorous. Several elections for various posts in Middlesex, in which
Wilkes was the winner, were declared null and void by the Commons
and were therefore not official.28

As Wilkes continued to gain support from the common people
on issues of freedom of speech, he formed a society known as the
Supporters of the Bill of Rights. This emphasis led newspapers to
publish both sides of an argument, rather than a single view. Even King George III grew weary of his fight with Wilkes. Wilkes finally gained a seat in Parliament, and although he was not successful, he was less of a problem to the government than anticipated.  

John Wilkes's greatest efforts in Parliament were in his zeal to end the war with the American colonies. In 1780 he was reconciled with George III. Later that year, during the twelve terrifying days of the Gordon riots, led by George, Lord Gordon, the efforts of Wilkes and George III held the country together.  

Wilkes held firm in his opposition to the French Revolution, which began in 1789, and he grew politically more conservative in his later years. Toward the end of his life he bowed out of politics and died in 1797. Although John Wilkes's political career was not the most brilliant, he made great strides in providing the British people with the right to choose their own leaders in the House of Commons. Because of Wilkes, the opinions of the public could no longer be kept from the monarchy.

Social Life
During the eighteenth century, England's social strata were primarily segmented into various ranks and orders rather than into classes. The wealthier aristocrats at the top of the ranking system numbered approximately 200 out of a national population of 5.5 million. Dukes, earls, marquises, viscounts, and barons sat in the House of Lords and earned about £2,800. Their families and servants totaled almost 7,000 persons. Under this rank were 16,000 gentlemen, who earned between £280 and £1,000 annually. The 2.3 million persons who comprised the middle rank and produced an annual income of £400, included merchants, farmers, professional men, tradesmen, and shopkeepers. The remaining 3 million people were poor laborers and included the artisans, soldiers, paupers, cottagers, and seamen, who earned £15 per annum.\(^{32}\)

England's primarily rural countryside was governed by squires who appointed justices of the peace to judge and administer the divisions of land called parishes. These parishes were originally designed to serve the ecclesiastical needs of the church. Through a body called the vestry, inhabitants of the parishes elected their own unpaid officials. The vestry collected taxes and brought charges against individuals and parishes for obstructing justice. The justices
also served as the legislators who made laws on such matters as Sunday drinking, wages and poor relief, and the licensing of fairs.  

Fashion of all types was increasingly influenced by various international trends. As the British began to enhance their trade routes with China, their interior decor began to reflect that style, with Chinese wallpaper, drapes, and furniture. Italian velvet, Brussels lace, and French silk were highly sought after in the culture of the eighteenth century. By the middle of the century, the wealthy men of England wore white wigs. The rich ate elaborate meat dishes, and the poor ate gruel. The lower classes often had only one garment at a time, which they wore until it disintegrated.

In 1702 the town of Bath was transformed into a resort because of its many spas. It became a fashionable destination for members of the elite in British society. Visitors could take part in many pleasurable events there, such as dancing, playing cards, and attending the theater, when they were not enjoying the baths.

The upper and middle classes of the eighteenth century were greatly concerned with propriety and decency. They demanded proper etiquette in all areas of social grace, from clothes to manners to dancing. Cleanliness was also emphasized. As a result, the lower
classes often complained about the excessive water usage of the elite. Rich and plentiful foods were available to members of the middle class, and the heavy drinking of alcoholic beverages also accompanied their luxurious living.¹³

Because the consumption of alcohol extended to such a large portion of the population, the early part of the eighteenth century is referred to as the "Gin Age." Cheap, usually homemade, alcohol flowed freely. This propensity to national drunkenness added to the social ills of the day, with continuos brawls and cruel and inhumane acts of violence.³⁷

Because England was primarily a rural country-- London was the largest city-- agricultural interests were combined with sports, including horse racing, cock fighting, and boxing. Accompanying such games, of course, was gambling, for those who hoped that the luck of the sport would bring them financial gain. British football and cricket were born during this era, and uniform playing rules were officially drawn up.³⁸

Frequent perversions of sport with animals were not uncommon. Firecrackers were tied to the tails of bull; dogs were sent into bullrings until they were gored to death by the wild beasts; and
tigers were sent into combat with six bears and bulldogs. Another game included "blunts", whereby as many as six young men were sent into the ring with fighting sticks; the one who broke the most heads of whatever animal was sent in to be tortured won the prize.\textsuperscript{39}

Gambling became a public sport, even as the government became involved in establishing national lotteries. Such landmarks of England as the Westminster Bridge and the British Museum were primarily financed through proceeds from the popular lotteries.\textsuperscript{40}

Through the generosity of some of the great philanthropists of the day, the quest was begun to combat many of the country's social ills. Captain Thomas Coram, assisted by individuals such as Hogarth and Handel, built a hospital for children. James Oglethorpe brought attention to England's treatment of the poor by securing a grant to found a colony in Georgia to meet their need for a new beginning. Jonas Hanway became an ardent fighter for the welfare of children in an age when their nurture and care were too often neglected. John Howard, after a personal experience in the prisons, resolved to devote his humanitarian efforts to the improvement of the conditions of inmates. Although these men initiated institutions and attempted to pass legislation to reform England, their efforts had little positive
effect. They did, however, increase public awareness of the needs. Later, their work was complemented by other religious organizations such as the Methodists and the Evangelical Church of England.

Health and infant mortality were important issues during the 1700s. The tragedy of infant deaths knew no social class or status. Indeed, such medical crises touched the monarchy as well. Queen Anne gave birth to at least seventeen children, yet only one lived to the age of eleven years. Row upon row of small graves lined English cemeteries bearing the phrase "died in infancy."

The number of children born out of wedlock during this period was greater than the number born within marriage. As a result, many illegitimate children were placed in the care of the parishes. At one time the parish officers were responsible for the care of more than 70,000 children. By 1767 the number of children in the workhouses had increased so dramatically that children had to be boarded out for their care. This move increased the death rate to 70 percent. Philanthropists worked through Parliament to enact a program to compensate foster parents for their services.

For a price, illegitimate children were sent to homes to be raised by individual families. Those who were willing to board such
children, for the most part, did not have pure intentions. Usually their intentions were to take the money and not to help the child. In one parish, money was given for rearing over 500 children, and yet only one was actually reared. A new philanthropic emphasis and an awakening to the sanctity of all human life were needed on behalf of exploited children.\textsuperscript{44}

Transportation was difficult and presented problems in traveling from town to town. The construction of roads was not a high priority; no significant roads to connect cities had been constructed in the past five centuries. England, however, faced the threat of a possible Stuart rebellion in 1730, and military road construction was begun. More than 250 miles of roadways were quickly built. During the second half of the century, turnpikes run by private enterprises were opened. However, because of the unpopularity of having to pay to travel on the turnpikes, many brawls and riots occurred. Between 1760 and 1800, Parliament passed more than 2,000 acts enabling the construction of new roads.\textsuperscript{45}

The turnpikes made travel easier. By 1741, stage coaches made guarantees to travel from Norwich to London in two days in
the summer and three days in the winter. In 1754 an advertisement was made for the Flying Coach, with the promise to provide travel from Manchester to London in four and a half days. In this era, coaches approached their maximum speed and boasted that ninety miles could be covered in seventeen hours. 

In addition to the roads built in the eighteenth century, vessels were prepared for use at sea. Competition on the international seas caused England to work harder in preparing her ships for sailing. Because of increasing trade demands, many ships were built to supply business needs. The size and number of such vessels were enlarged to cope with this international expansion. Although most of the ships were built from wood, it was not rare toward the end of the century for ships to be iron plated.

Ships were often overcrowded in order to accommodate increasing merchandising needs and international travelers. The mortality rate was high because of the crowded, unsanitary conditions on the vessels. Scurvy posed a health hazard for passengers and crew members on the great ships that sailed for days and even months on a single journey.
Educational Events

As the battle between the Church of England and the Dissenters intensified, many opponents of the governmental church began to develop their own academies for teaching and learning. As many as 150 ejected clergy started private schools, although the magistrates prohibited them from teaching in any school. Those who were not Dissenters viewed these institutions with suspicion.49

One of the paradigm shifts that took place during the eighteenth century was the goal of education. A new desire for greater productivity in the coming Industrial Revolution increased the emphasis on efficiency. The application of the traditional ideas and methods of within society lent itself to proficiency in labor and economy.50

As the seventeenth century drew to a close, writers such as Sir Isaac Newton and John Locke rose to influence the scientific and philosophic tones of the age. New explanations for old problems of human behavior were voiced in ways that were not readily accepted.51 Empiricism led the way to a more rational approach to teaching and learning. According to this philosophy, knowledge is acquired through experience. This experience is conditioned and
changed through the process known as education. A child enters the world with a blank slate and is changed through education.\textsuperscript{52}

Although the problems associated with education in the eighteenth century were many and varied, progress continued, especially in relation to the poor and to women. John Locke (1632-1704) rang the cry for education in his \textit{Thoughts on Education}, which was published in 1697. Locke advocated that a school be built in each parish and that children between the ages of three and fourteen be enrolled for learning.\textsuperscript{53}

England produced two significant world philosophers--Hume and Locke. These men explicated concepts of human existence and societal understandings through their works. The second half of the century was dominated by the philosophy of Edmund Burke who was greatly admired among the British people.\textsuperscript{54}

George Berkely (1685-1753) espoused Locke's ideas and empiricistic philosophy. His primary work, \textit{A Treatise on the Principles of Human Knowledge}, focused on the principles first explained by Locke; however, Berkely's theory was based on a belief in God. Because of this firm spiritual conviction, Berkely's influence through his writing and lecturing affected the religious community.
Berkley's philosophy would later affect John Wesley while he was at Oxford.55

Other writers followed in the pursuit to further develop educational theory. Isaac Watts, who wrote Improvement of the Mind in 1741, recommended the disciplines of astronomy and logic. The list continues, with Priestly's Course of Liberal Education (1765); Chapone's Letters on Mind Improvement (1774); and V. Knox's Liberal Education (1781). Generally, those interested in education stressed the need for moral applications of the lesson as well as memorization.56

Most of these educators, with the exception of Locke, made only a slight impression on academic life in England before the middle of the eighteenth century, when Rousseau wrote Emile (1762). Rousseau's new approach was firmly grounded in the personal development of each child. Rousseau emphasized the individuality of each child, but he stressed the uniformity as well: children were different from adults.57

In the years prior to the French Revolution, the primary institution involved in the education of the people was the Church. A system for state-funded education did not exist. Whether Protestant
or Catholic, the Church was available for all instruction. In areas in which the parish was large and spread out, the quality of education suffered, especially for the poor. Pastors had too many responsibilities adequately to meet the demands of supervising all of the school staff in addition to their parish duties.\(^{58}\)

Literacy was accomplished in much the same way as more traditional occupational skills were transmitted. The children learned to read and write on an informal basis through the tutelage of their parents or neighbors.\(^{59}\) There emerged a great emphasis on the education of the poor. Reading and writing were taught as a long-term process that would continue from early childhood through adulthood. The motivation to learn stemmed from its practical applications in everyday life. There were ample occasions to practice the newly acquired skills, whether they related to religion, work, or recreation.\(^{60}\)

The theories associated with children determined the ways that children were treated and handled. Childhood was not seen as a distinct stage in the human lifespan. Rather, children were merely seen as miniature adults.\(^{61}\)
England had nine famous national schools: Winchester, Eton, St. Paul's, Shrewsbury, Westminster, Merchant Taylors', Rugby, Harrow, and Charterhouse. These became the primary feeder schools for Oxford and Cambridge. The types of schools during this century included the old English grammar; dissenting academies; and Catholic, Welsh, Scottish, Irish, and private schools. Through all of these various forms of institutional education, none was more important than that of home schooling and private tutors.62

The Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge is well known for its work with children, yet this organization had an impact on the education of adults as well. Adults formed evening classes so that they could learn to read after leaving their work for the day. Samuel Wesley, John Wesley's father, began such a class with young farmers in Epworth.63

Internal motivation for self-learning became more popular as circulating libraries were formed. John Wesley advocated to all of his preachers that they read at least five hours a day "of the more useful books." He converted an old gun foundry in London into a Methodist book room. Wesley reminded his followers that reading
Christians would be knowing Christians, and he stressed the synthesizing of all academic disciplines.\textsuperscript{64}

The formal education of children primarily stemmed from two sources: private and charity. The private schools, of course, were too expensive for the poor and thus were used largely by the wealthy. What came to be known as the Charity Schools Movement was started by an organization called the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge. Hermann Francke, a German Pietist, greatly influenced this institution.\textsuperscript{65}

By 1743, the charity schools, 132 in the London area and 1,329 in the English provinces, had enrolled 25,000 children. Initially they were useful in combating illiteracy because they taught the basic disciplines of reading, writing, and arithmetic to many who otherwise would not have been privy to such an education. All of the charity schools were under a uniform governance that provided the means for the leadership of the schools to include religious and moral teaching. As financial support for these philanthropic institutions lessened, so did their quality and influence. By the beginning of the nineteenth century, few charity schools remained.\textsuperscript{66}
One of the primary purposes of the charity schools for elementary children was to provide an exemplary moral environment in which they could be raised. Both males and females attended charity schools, where they were fed, clothed, housed, and taught the three "r's": reading, writing, and religion.\(^67\)

Vehicles for general education in the eighteenth century were institutions such as the charity schools, which served only the poorest of the poor; privately owned, endowed and dames' schools, which catered to the rich and elite; and some struggling Nonconformist schools, which were formed in order to save their faith from extinction.\(^68\) During the sixteenth century, the primary aim of the grammar schools was to open new opportunities for a higher social status in life. The primary aim of the charity schools in the seventeenth century was to rescue the masses of children and teach them the basics of culture, discipline, and religion while meeting their physical needs such as food and clothing.\(^69\)

The concept of developing a Sunday school has always been associated with Robert Raikes, who began one in 1780. Eleven years prior to that, Hannah Ball, with John Wesley's support, initiated a flourishing Sunday school in coordination with her own day school.
She had begun to teach poor children at Wesley's Foundry in London in 1769.\textsuperscript{70}

Throughout the century there was a dichotomy between the wealthy and the poor, especially regarding education. The prosperous held firm only to teach the poor to read and no more. By keeping the destitute ignorant, the affluent would be able to maintain control. One of the thrusts of the educational reformers was to elevate the poor.\textsuperscript{71}

The impact of literacy upon religion was great, and learning to read the Bible became a part of the popular culture. It became common for people to travel to where the scriptures were being read, and this motivated the hearers to learn to read for themselves. During this period, catechisms, tracts, sermons, and devotional works were widely circulated. The book with the greatest influence was \textit{Pilgrim's Progress}. Some 160 editions were published.\textsuperscript{72}

Another tool used in the education of children in eighteenth-century England was known as the Schools of Industry. These institutions, which were begun by Thomas Fermin in 1675, included a combination of work and learning. Fermin taught five-year-olds to read and recite the catechism and to perform jobs in the spinning
factory. As they grew older, their hours of instruction were reduced, and their expected hours of work grew longer.\textsuperscript{73}

The demand on children to work fourteen hours a day, six days a week, left little or no time for education. In 1780, Robert Raikes began to teach children to read on Sunday, when they were not allowed to work. This idea spread rapidly throughout the country and resulted in the Sunday school movement. By 1787, Sunday school enrollment had reached 250,000, and 1,516 Sunday schools taught 156,500 impoverished children by 1801.\textsuperscript{74}

One of the goals behind the formation of such schools for poor children was to strengthen their morals and thus to transform society. This outreach to the young members of society was a product of the wider revival that was sweeping England. The philanthropists developed Sunday schools to be a tool to rescue the morals of poor children. Another motive was to spread the teachings of the scriptures to a broader audience. Still another incentive was the new view toward children, which was to see the young in a kinder, more optimistic and loving manner.\textsuperscript{75}

The leaders of the Sunday school movement were the common lay members of the parish. This concept did not receive support or
encouragement from the country's religious leaders. Such profound changes were at great variance with the hierarchy of the church. Great offense was taken at lay preachers and class leaders of the movement.\textsuperscript{76}

Another form of teaching and learning was exercised through peripatetic scholars who migrated from town to town. These roving teachers had their areas of expertise, and they would utilize practical application of their skills and knowledge to meet the needs of the students. Some of these scholars worked out of their homes, having students come to them for tutoring and academic exercises. Others traveled from student to student, so that they could use their farmland for practicing disciplines such as surveying.\textsuperscript{77}

As Britain's involvement in international affairs grew, so did the European influence of the Enlightenment. The works of eighteenth-century writers such as David Hume, Samuel Johnson, Jonathan Swift, Daniel Defoe, and Alexander Pope influenced the country regarding everything from politics to philosophy to fiction. Because of this impetus for understanding and knowledge, the publishing industry flourished. As more time became available for leisure activities, people had more opportunities to read.\textsuperscript{78}
Education in the small villages of England usually consisted of some type of apprenticeship for the poor. Children who were given such an opportunity were considered fortunate. Apprentices learned a trade, usually that of husbandry or housewifery.\(^7^9\)

The education of the wealthy was determined by a different set of standards. The young were usually introduced to academia in grammar school by a tutor. Oxford and Cambridge were among the schools chosen most often for the study of law. Squires wanted their sons to be able to hold onto and manage the land they would inherit.\(^8^0\)

A large amount of time in the classroom was spent studying the classics: 20.5 hours a week at Eaton. After the study of the classics came the disciplines of religious studies and extra subjects such as writing and arithmetic.\(^8^1\) A great emphasis was placed on the study of the language and literature of Greece and Rome. This was stressed in order to give the students an understanding of human behavior and to develop an oratorical form for each student. Oration and debate were favored methodologies of teaching. Many of the graduating elite would hold public office and be in positions of
leadership; therefore, public speaking and communication were valued and necessary.\textsuperscript{82}

The Schism Act, which was passed in 1714, began as a serious threat to the educational system because it attacked the Dissenter's right to teach. Through this act, no one could be a tutor or serve in a school unless first being willing to agree with the liturgy of the Church of England. As with almost any law, however, there were loopholes that allowed the Dissenters to teach reading, mechanics, navigation, arithmetic, or writing, basically anything that was taught in English. The underlying assumption of the politicians was that the most significant learning was in Latin. The elite of England wanted to protect their educational system from the Dissenters. The act appeared to do more good than harm because it proved to be a positive move toward the teaching and learning of practical disciplines.\textsuperscript{83}

By 1719 the Schism Act had been repealed by George I, a Protestant. He had compassion for the Dissenters because he was first a Protestant and then a member of the Anglican church. In the king's later years, dissenting Presbyterians, Baptists, and Congregationalists formed a new association. This organization was
initiated for political action. In 1732 a committee, the Dissenting Deputies, was formed to protect the interests and rights of the Dissenters. This group gained influence over legal decisions when prosecution or victimization threatened a Dissenter.\textsuperscript{84}

In order to provide educational opportunities for the Dissenters, about seventy academic institutions were opened between 1688 and 1815. The dissenting clergy were trained at these academies, and about half of the institutions were opened to ordinary students in the community. The schools taught practical subjects as well as the classics. In the traditional education setting, such as Oxford and Cambridge, students were taught to think about the past and to look at the present; however, in the dissenting institutions, focus was on equipping men for building the future.\textsuperscript{85}

In the latter half of the eighteenth century, education of the poor was attributable to the work of the evangelical movement throughout England. Almost one million poor children had the advantage of some type of education because of the charity and enthusiasm provided by the church. The Health and Morals Act of 1802 provided that children who worked in the factories be taught
writing, reading, and arithmetic and that their work time be limited to twelve hours per day.\textsuperscript{86}

One might expect that during this period the education of females was significantly different from that of males. Not only was the difference quantitative, but also, the course content focused on domestic rather than academic topics. Even the most prestigious schools for girls had instruction in neither mathematics nor the sciences. The fact that some women made substantial contributions to the education of females was more accidental than intentional.\textsuperscript{87}

The literature prevalent during any period expresses the ideas, thoughts, and spirit of the age. This, in turn, greatly influences the lives of those within the culture.\textsuperscript{88} Poets, especially, reveal strong emotions in depicting the ecclesiastical and political climate of a period.\textsuperscript{89} A correlation exists between the condition of a society and the literature of the day, because literature reflects societal passions and struggles.\textsuperscript{90}

During the eighteenth century the humanistic spirit reduced education to a purely formal, academic, and narrow focus. Many and varied attacks on such modes of traditional education criticized both the methods and the institutions. John Milton's 1644 \textit{Tractacte of
Education, criticized the educational system primarily on three issues: concentration solely on the formal and grammatical exercises in composition, inattention to literary approaches to language, and confinement to the exclusive use of Greek and Roman texts.  

John Locke also criticized the educational institutions of the eighteenth century. His disapproval of the methodology and content of study stirred many to abandon such approaches to learning and, instead, to provide private tutors. The upper class and wealthy citizens eventually sent their children to continue their study on the Continent rather than in England.  

Secondary education reached its lowest ebb during this period. One cause was the decline of social and moral standards. The other cause was England's inability to accommodate its new leadership position in the industrial world.  

The literary world yielded a line of scholars and writers who greatly influenced the intellectual life of Britain. John Dryden, at his height of literary fame from 1670 to 1700, established his reputation in the areas of drama, lyrical verse, and prose.  

Joseph Addison (1672-1719) began his literary career by serving as a fellow for the state. While studying on the Continent,
and because of several unfortunate events, he lost his fellowship pension and began to tutor a young English traveler. With this employment, he had the opportunity to visit France and Switzerland. After he returned to England in 1703, he began to associate with politicians and other influential leaders of the time. When his ability was recognized, he was hired by the state and commissioned for his literary works. His services greatly enhanced the platform of the Whig party, and his literary contributions were viewed as potent instruments in such politics.  

Alexander Pope (1688-1744) also dominated the literary world of England. Pope gained notoriety in the coffee houses of London but, because of poor health, he had to move to Twickenham. Many notable persons came to visit him in Twickenham, including Jonathan Swift, Horace Walpole, and Viscount Bolingboke. Pope became famous for his satires on dullness; his most popular was The Works of Dr. Scriberus.  

Samuel Johnson's writing of the Dictionary made him one of the most influential literary leaders of the eighteenth century. Johnson, along with Edmund Burke and others, formed the Literary Club. These writers, who lived in close proximity, gathered together for the
art of conversation and for discussion of relevant ideas of the time.

Johnson's death in 1784 marked the end of a literary era in England's history.  

Other famous writers, such as Scott, Wordsworth, Coleridge, Keats, Shelley, Byron, Hazlitt, and Lamb, rose to leadership in the twenty or thirty years after Johnson's death. However, most of these promising writers neither lived close to one another nor were close friends, as were the literary giants of the previous times.

The early eighteenth century is commonly known as the Augustan Age, a term referring to the period from 1689 to 1715. The city of London, once called Troynovant or New Troy, became known as Augusta, the successor to imperial Rome. The term Augustan indicated a new type of English verse and won respect for some of its greatest writers.

Another literary genre that became popular during the eighteenth century was satire. Prior to this period, satire had never been used in a powerful way. Satires were written to writers of the day, such as Pope, Defoe, Fielding, and Richardson, mocked everything from social ills to "dullness," which was the "chronic
tendency of the mind to relapse into lazy fantasy and to give up its critical powers."  

Such satire was not targeted toward specific individuals simply as a personal attack. Although it usually was directed toward a specific person, its chief goal was to make a public statement. Satire was used not only as comedy, but also to make a moral judgment.  

Throughout England there arose a desire for knowledge of every kind. As the eighteenth century dawned, there were circulating libraries and bookclubs of every sort. As time went on a close connection developed between Dissenters and liberals and libraries.  

Throughout the eighteenth century, the approach to popular education had a missionary mindset. Idealists worked toward uplifting the underprivileged classes, especially at the grass roots level of the church. The desire for every child to be able to read the Bible became the initial impetus toward religious revival. As these children grew into adults, Sunday school for adults was initiated with a system of night classes during the week. Thus the interest in religious education led to the Wesleyan revival in eighteenth century England.
Toward the end of the eighteenth century, the religious and intellectual efforts to educate the masses waned, and a utilitarian approach replaced it as the primary motivation for learning. An economic emphasis guided the common laborer in the direction of the classroom. Intertwined throughout this era were the three primary motivations for education: religious, intellectual and utilitarian. Out of these incentives sprang various types of educational institutions.

Ecclesiastical Matters

In 1662, the Church of England faced the Restoration Settlement of the Church, when 2,000 Puritan clergy withdrew in protest. In 1690, four hundred of the high church Nonjurors also left the leadership of the church. With these abdications, many sincere, capable leaders were lost. Because the bishops appointed replacements for these vacancies, there was little concern for the quality of leadership necessary for the clergy.
In revolt against the strong Puritan influence of the previous century, which emphasized heartfelt emotions, the church of the eighteenth century focused on intellect. Most of England, whether lay or clergy, were skeptical of religious enthusiasm.\textsuperscript{107}

The atmosphere in the new century represented an assault on Puritan religion, ideals, education, and culture.\textsuperscript{108} At this time, one-fifth of the entire English clergy were deposed. They were forced to seek other means for their livelihood, but continued to serve as pastors for the people. The renegade clergy who were caught performing clerical duties were fined and sent to prison if they were ministering to more than five individuals. More than 4,000 Quakers, Baptists, Presbyterians, and Independents were imprisoned in this anti-Puritan purge.\textsuperscript{109}

A new group of outcasts was identified in 1689; they were named Nonjurors. The national clergy were required to take the Oath of Allegiance, committing themselves to the Church of England and to the authority of the king. Those who refused were the Nonjurors. This expulsion became a significant issue in the Wesley household when Susanna, John Wesley's mother, who was not fond of the present monarch, refused to "Amen" Samuel Wesley's prayers for
King William III. This caused a great rift in the family, and Samuel left the house and lived apart from Susanna for several months. Soon the king died and was replaced by Queen Anne, and the Wesley household was reunited.\textsuperscript{110}

The doctrine of the divine right of kings was religiously upheld by the church, and to disagree with this opinion was seen as a sin. In the middle of the seventeenth century, some of the literature indicates that clergymen compared the sufferings of Christ to those of King Charles. At times it was difficult to estimate whether Jesus or King Charles was more often quoted during a sermon. At no other time in the history of England and the church was this doctrine professed more than during the reign of Queen Anne. The monarch was revered as a god once removed.\textsuperscript{111}

Queen Anne reigned from 1702 to 1714, and during this time her devotion to the church was evident. She had a strong faith rooted in the historical creeds, articles, formularies, sacraments, and government of the Church of England. So it is no surprise that during her reign, sharp disagreements broke out between the Church of England and the Dissenters.\textsuperscript{112}
By the end of the first quarter of the eighteenth century, unrest once again burdened the church. Daniel Defoe noted that not since the formation of the Christian church had there been such atheism, blasphemies, and heresies. The church theologically was in dire straits. Christianity became defined as each individual had preference. Soon a Christian was merely someone who lived a good life.

Overall, the Age of Reason strongly influenced the Church of England. The leaders in the ecclesiastical institution were proponents of the Whigs. Throughout the church there was complacency and an ever-widening chasm between orthodox Christian beliefs and liberal theology, usually referred to as Latitudinarianism. Cambridge Platonists such as Benjamin Whichcote Cuworth, Master of Clare college at Cambridge, led in the discussion that there was no conflict between reason and religion. These men were not denying the concept of divine revelation; they were, rather proponents of a reasonable religion.

The Latitudinarians became a movement in England in the seventeenth century; they wanted to define theology in broad terms in order to unite the faith community and thus put an end to the
controversies of the day. The breadth of their influence ranged from high church to atheism. Although the Latitudinarians wanted to unify people across theological perspectives, there was a missing element in this philosophy. The concept of God's redeeming grace was absent.\textsuperscript{117} This became a significant component in Wesley's role as a spiritual leader.

The basic tenets of Christianity became subject to great skepticism. Individuals sought to denounce the Christian faith and expose its fictitious presuppositions. Especially during the first half of the eighteenth century, natural philosophy tended to overshadow theology. Yet the notion of God was very much alive and was revealed in other schools of thought, such as deism, Unitarianism, and Latitudinarianism.\textsuperscript{118}

The Church as a whole placed a growing emphasis on natural religion, which strongly advocated works rather than faith as necessary for salvation. Great weight was placed on contributions to charities as an expression of Christian behavior. Little spiritual guidance or direction was given to the poor or to those who were uneducated.\textsuperscript{119}
The clergy within the Church of England were faced with the same social and moral ills that faced the entire country in the eighteenth century. This is not surprising because of the close connection between the church and the state. The state's appointment of bishops often involved the same political tactics as for the appointment of any other elected officer. The morals of the age were probably similar to those of any age. Across the church and nation there was a calm, yet confident, concept of deism. Employment was contingent upon receiving ecclesiastical sacraments, according to an Act of Parliament.

Throughout the Church of England, political ties were necessary in order to rise ecclesiastically. Appointments to certain churches had ecclesiastical clout, which could only be attained through connections within the system of Church and State. If specific political alliances were upheld, the clergy could expect a favorable position within the church, such as being made a bishop or acquiring a position at the pillar church.

One of the greatest fears among the clergy was its dread of religious "enthusiasm." Those who were afflicted with such emotional tendencies were seen as fanatics and were readily
dismissed by the Anglican church in general. Enthusiasm was held as suspect and was discredited by the clergy themselves.\textsuperscript{123}

John Wesley was regarded as a foolish enthusiast. He finally provided a definition for such religious enthusiasm: "those who think to attain the end without the means, which is enthusiasm, properly so called; again, they think themselves inspired by God, and are not." Wesley’s definition focused on grace rather than works in order to earn salvation. Salvation was a gift from God. Whatever works an individual performed was an outpouring of gratitude. Salvation could not be earned. Rather, a person could receive salvation only as a gift.\textsuperscript{124}

John Wesley was ordained a priest in the Church of England. The early part of his adult life focused on his own personal spiritual development. The climate of the church during the eighteenth century gave way to his individual quest for reformation of his soul. He searched for his own salvation and personal sanctification. It was the spiritual vacuum prevalent in England that caused Wesley to examine his primary beliefs and faith.\textsuperscript{125}

By the mid-1730s, a new openness to spirituality was present. One of the most widely read devotional booklets was titled, "The
Whole Duty of Man," which dealt with the concept of free grace. As leaders in the religious enthusiasm movement began to circulate these types of pamphlets, there arose a passionate spiritual zeal combined with a growing hostility toward the established church.
NOTES

3 *Ibid*.
18 *Ibid*.
23 Youngs, Snyder, and Reitan, 240.
26 Lindsay and Washington, 126.
30 *Ibid*.
31 *Ibid*.
34 Youngs, Snyder, and Reitan, 236-37.
35 Lindsay and Washington, 175-76.

38 Lindsay, 182-83.
39 Bready, 150-52.
40 Ibid., 155.
41 Ibid., 184-86.

43 Ibid., 62.
44 Bready, 144-5.
46 Ibid., 65.
47 Ibid., 80.
48 Ibid.


51 Bready, 16-17.

53 Whitely, 308-9.

55 Conmy, 9-10.
56 Whitely 309-10.
57 Ibid., 312.


60 Ibid., 259.


63 Armytage, 46.
64 Ibid., 51-15.
65 Pollard, 137.
66 Ibid., 137-38.


68 Bready, 352.
69 Cobbs, 90-91.
70 Bready, 353.
73. Pollard, 138.
74. Ibid., 139.
77. Armytage, 31-32.
78. Youngs, Snyder, and Reitan, 218.
80. Ibid., 61.
82. Ibid., 11-12.
83. Jarrett, 70.
84. Ibid.
85. Ibid., 71-72.
86. Ibid., 452.
87. Hans, 199-208.
89. Ibid., 12-13.
90. Ibid., 21-22.
92. Ibid., 114-17.
93. Ibid., 120-22.
95. Ibid., 62-65.
96. Ibid., 65.
97. Ibid., 68.
98. Ibid., 69.
100. Ibid., 10-12.
102. Plumb and Dearing, 15.
103. Cobbs, 140-41.
105. Ibid., 209-12.
106. Plumb and Dearing, 76.
107. Ibid., 76.
109. Ibid., 22-23.
110. Ibid., 24-26.
111 Lecky, 1: 79-83.
114 Ibid., 97.
115 Blum, 19.
119 Morgan, 385.
120 Lindsay and Washington, 75.
122 Harris, 217.
123 Fitchett, 147.
John Benjamin Wesley was born on June 17, 1703, at Epworth in Lincolnshire, the son of Samuel and Susanna Wesley. He was born into a family of clergymen, and his father was the rector at Epworth during most of John's life.¹

Both of his grandfathers had been Puritan clergymen who were ejected from their appointments in 1662 under the Act of Uniformity. The clergy who lost their positions made the decision not to conform with the English law that required ordained ministers to preach solely from the Church of England's document, The Thirty-nine Articles. Samuel Wesley became a high-churchman who was educated at two London dissenting academies. His theological emphasis was based on those of the early church. His political stance was that of a Tory.²

Susanna Wesley's political affiliation was with the Jacobites. She set up a religious society in her kitchen, with the class initially begun children and servants; however, it grew in attendance to two hundred people.³
John Wesley was one of nineteen children born to Samuel and Susanna Wesley, only nine of whom survived infancy. These nineteen children were born over a span of twenty-one years. The Wesley household continued to be a center of activity for many years.4

Susanna Wesley ruled her household with a firm hand. Her primary task was to restrain the will of each child, and she attempted to develop their habits under strict and orderly discipline. Her premise was that, by controlling her children's sleeping, eating, and prayers and by inflicting corporal punishment as necessary, she was grooming their souls for heaven.5

Before the children left the Wesley nursery by their first birthday, they were taught to cry quietly. As they developed, the children were instructed in proper manners and correct language when speaking.6

Susanna began each child's education when he or she was five years old. The little scholars received personal instruction from their mother. She repeated each concept twenty times if need be. Along with her individual time with each child was Bible and Prayer Book instruction, which the older siblings carried out. Each child had one evening of the week to be reviewed by Susanna on the progress of his or her religious training.7

Concerning the education of her children, Susanna observed several guidelines. First she observed that fear of punishment led children to lying and that once it became a habit, it was difficult to
retrain them. Second, she felt that punishment should follow any sinful action such as lying, pilfering, or disobedience. Third, she believed that a child should not be punished twice for the same offense. Fourth, Susanna felt that an act of obedience should be commended and rewarded. Fifth, a child's performance out of an act of obedience should be commended, even though it was imperfect. The child should be encouraged to improve in the future. Sixth, the propriety of others should be preserved, and no one was to invade another's property. Seventh, Susanna believed that to adhere to one's promises was important; if a gift was given, it became the property of the recipient. Finally, no female was to be taught common labor until she had been taught to read well.8

Susanna Wesley did not conform to the customs of the day, especially regarding the teaching of women. She saw that her daughters were as well educated as her sons. At that time, even females in the higher social classes were taught only elementary reading, writing, and arithmetic. Mrs. Wesley firmly believed in the necessity of education, even when it broke cultural boundaries.9

On February 9, 1709, the Wesley family had a traumatic experience. A fire mysteriously began on the roof and quickly engulfed the manse. When Samuel Wesley brought the children to safety, he heard cries coming from the nursery. Flames surrounded the entire rectory as Samuel knelt in the hallway to plead for John Wesley’s life.
Young John crawled on top of a chest of drawers as the men outside stood on each other’s shoulders to reach the second-story window. Just as Wesley’s life was miraculously spared, the roof of the house fell inward. Throughout his life, John Wesley referred to himself as a “brand plucked from the burning.” He felt that because his life was spared, God had a particular mission for him to complete before his earthly life would be concluded.\(^\text{10}\)

Because of the fire, Samuel and Susanna Wesley were forced to separate the members of their family to be cared for by other friends, parishioners, and neighbors. This interfered greatly with Mrs. Wesley’s approach to homeschooling, but after the new rectory was completed, the children were able to resume their education.\(^\text{11}\)

In 1714 Wesley received an invitation from the Duke of Buckingham to attend Charterhouse, a school for primary-age children located in London. So at age ten young Wesley left the northern Lincolnshire for study in London.\(^\text{12}\)

Often the students at Charterhouse were called “gownboys,” because of their attire, which consisted of black breeches and a short coat under a long black coat with a white collar. Charterhouse was not as popular a school as Westminster, and there were not as many members of the aristocracy as at Westminster. The student body numbered one hundred, many of whom, like Wesley, were boarders.\(^\text{13}\)

John Wesley’s demeanor was quiet and his work ethic industrious. Thus he soon became a favorite among the Charterhouse
faculty and developed learning habits that would quickly elevate his scholastic abilities above those of his peers.\textsuperscript{14}

The Wesley household was not without its oddities. From 1715 to 1716, the manse held other beings besides the members of the Wesley family. Allegedly present in the residence was the family ghost, who was named Old Jeffrey by John's sister Emily. All members of the family, as well as outside guests heard unaccountable noises which they attributed to Old Jeffrey. For a couple of years the poltergeist became an accepted addition to the Wesley family.\textsuperscript{15}

The Oxford Years: 1721-1735

Wesley began his studies at Oxford University in June 1720, shortly after his seventeenth birthday. During his first years at Oxford, he experienced poor health. He also suffered greatly from financial miseries, constantly struggling to make ends meet.\textsuperscript{16}

Wesley earned his bachelor of arts degree in 1724. Prior to commencement, a series of annual examinations called collections was given. The faculty would dictate the required texts for the classes, and the students would be tested over these ideas in January. As they meticulously read each book, they were to "collect" written notes about the content of the texts. These were given to the examiners for cross-examination.\textsuperscript{17}

Included in the curriculum at Oxford were classics such as the New Testament in Greek; \textit{Exposition of the Creed}; and works by
Cicero, Homer, Lucretius, and Virgil. Each year of study included various writings from these and other writers. The study progressed with each year's including a different listing of works to be examined. A great emphasis was placed on The Thirty-nine Articles of Religion during the fourth year of study.\textsuperscript{18}

When Wesley entered Lincoln College at Oxford, he began a rigorous study schedule. At that time Lincoln College was designed particularly as a college for theologians. One of its primary goals was to "overturn heresies, and defend the catholic faith."\textsuperscript{19}

The weekly agenda included wide and varied subject matter: Mondays and Tuesdays were given to the study of Latin and Greek; Wednesday's primary topics were logic and ethics; Thursday focused on Hebrew and Arabic; Friday centered on metaphysics and natural philosophy; Saturday concentrated on oratory and poetry; and on Sunday, complete attention was centered on divinity. It was during this time that Wesley became an expert in the science of debate and argument.\textsuperscript{20} These skills were useful to him throughout his life.

Wesley was ordained a deacon in the Church of England in 1725. The following year he received a fellowship to Lincoln College. During Wesley's time at Lincoln College, he served as the Greek Lecturer and the moderator of classes. As moderator he was responsible for overseeing the students' debates.\textsuperscript{21}

During this time at Oxford Wesley met an individual who would also prove to be influential in England's evangelistic renewal, George Whitefield. Whitefield was born on December 14, 1714, in
Gloucester, the youngest of seven children. His childhood was filled with poverty and grief after losing his biological father at the age of two.\textsuperscript{22}

Wesley returned to become a tutor at Oxford in November 1729. He took on eleven pupils, who studied with him until he left as a missionary for Georgia. Later, when Wesley gathered his lay ministers together, he would lecture them, as he did during his tenure as a tutor at Oxford, training them in theology, logic, and rhetoric.\textsuperscript{23}

John Wesley was greatly influenced by the writings of William Law. Another well-known individual, Samuel Johnson, also had a high regard for Law's work. Both Wesley and Johnson incorporated Law's \textit{A Serious Call to a Devout and Holy Life} into their lives. Wesley developed a relationship with Law, writing to him and meeting him to discuss the theological relevancy of his book. Johnson spent most of his life contemplating and wrestling with the doctrinal concepts found in Law's essays. It was not until 1776 that Johnson yielded himself to God through faith.\textsuperscript{24}

Wesley's life was constantly filled with books. His obsession with filling every moment of the day included getting the most out of his reading time. His advice was to decide exactly what the goal of study was and then to read toward that end. He felt that one should finish one book before beginning another and read the targeted books in sequential order in order to build upon the information gleaned from the reading.\textsuperscript{25}
After Wesley studied William Law's book, he and a small group of men took Law's advice and carried the study to the next level. Law advised individuals to gather together in small societies to focus on devotion and charity; he felt that exercising this discipline would benefit others through their example. Law believed that if enough people would commit to returning to such pietistic means, the church could be restored and renewed.26

In November 1729, four young Oxford men gathered together to engage in acts of devotion and study. They began their group with the reading of the Greek New Testament. As acts of charity they visited the slums and jails of Oxford and taught the Bible to neglected children. Across campus echoed many nicknames for this Holy Club, some of which were Bible Bigots, Bible Moths, Sacramentarians, and the one that by which they finally became known--Methodists.27

Wesley stayed at Lincoln College for the next six years, where he was charged primarily with the tutelage of eleven pupils. He lectured to them each day except Sundays, with the objective of making them scholars and Christians. He primarily lectured in Greek from 1729 to 1734 and in philosophy from 1734 to 1735.28

The Mission Field in Georgia: 1735-1738

John Wesley's travels took him to Georgia, in the United States; Germany; Ireland; and throughout Great Britain. As a traveling scholar and teacher, Wesley either walked, rode a horse, or was a passenger in a carriage. In 1737, in one year he 1,050 miles
preaching in and around Oxford. He also realized that he could read while riding his horse for ten to twelve hours without any additional fatigue. Usually, in the beginning of his ministry Wesley rode a horse. It was not until 1773 that he began regularly to use a carriage. Normally his annual travels were between four and five thousand miles a year.29

In the early 1730s Wesley learned that he could travel between twenty and twenty-five miles a day on horseback, regardless of the weather. In 1750, he rode ninety miles in a day's journey. He began the day at four in the morning and traveled until midnight. He went through two horses that day as he rode his twenty-hour journey.30

In 1732 a Royal Charter was granted to begin a colony in Georgia. As a part of this newly established area, criminals from England would be deported there in order to protect the area from Indians. Obviously, trouble soon began with this plan. Thus, the newly formed community and the Indians in the area soon became the object of England's mission field.31

John Wesley became one of the clergy to leave for Georgia as a missionary, sent by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel. Wesley saw his primary role as that of converting the Indians to Christianity. The voyage to America would be a turning point in his spiritual life. The passage by sea soon became highly structured. Focusing on the spiritual disciplines of prayer, reading of Scripture, fasting, and study of devotional literature, especially that of the
primitive church, an organized method was designed to use the travel time wisely.32

While still at sea on November 23, those on board the ship were awakened by a raging storm. Among the passengers was a group of twenty-six German Moravians who were also going to serve the colony in Georgia. As the storm raged, the voyagers were frightened for their lives--everyone except the Moravians. The undaunted courage of the Moravians intrigued Wesley, because he saw that these people were not afraid to die. As the storm ceased, Wesley’s curiosity grew. He thought the Moravians to be a saintly sect, replicas of the early Christians in their devotion. Thus began Wesley’s quest for a more thorough understanding of Christian piety. He would become a student of the Moravians in the years to come.33

Although Wesley accomplished his missionary tasks with a certain degree of success, his journey to Georgia was not without its disappointments. There was criticism of his ministerial leadership amid the difficult circumstances. The culmination of his stint in the Georgian mission field involved problems in his relationship with a Miss Sophy Hopkey. Soon after Sophy Hopkey married someone else, Wesley had had enough of the American frontier and headed back to England. Thus ended his year and nine months of ministry in Georgia.34
When Wesley returned to England from Georgia, he could not forget the deep faith shown by the Moravians. In London he met Peter Böhler, one of the Moravian brethren from Germany. Soon their discussion turned to spiritual matters, and Böhler convinced Wesley that he should continue on his spiritual pilgrimage. Although Wesley confessed that he often did not have faith, the Moravian encouraged him to preach faith until he had it personally. Then, because he had faith, he would preach faith. The goal of the godly Moravian was to exhort Wesley to appropriate faith for himself. Böhler pressed Wesley to take the intellectual concept of faith and make it personal.\textsuperscript{35}

John Wesley then began a period in his life when he was restless in his spirit, grappling with his own salvation and belief system. For some time he had struggled with this spiritual search. By May 1738, he entered what Christians through the ages have called the “dark night of the soul.” His heart was extremely heavy, and his soul could not find satisfaction.\textsuperscript{36}

The great turning point in John Wesley’s life came on Sunday, May 24, 1738. For many years, Wesley had struggled in his inner spirit. He spent hours, days, weeks, and years in anguish over his own soul, finding no peace. Wesley had gone to services earlier that day and in the evening found himself at a prayer meeting in London on Aldersgate Street. It was here that he had his famous heart-warming experience.\textsuperscript{37}

In the evening I went very unwillingly to a society in Aldersgate Street, where one was reading Luther’s preface to the Epistle to the Romans. About a quarter before nine, while
he was describing the change which God works in the heart through faith in Christ, I felt my heart strangely warmed. I felt I did trust in Christ, Christ alone for my salvation; And an assurance was given me, that he had taken away my sins, even mine, and saved me from the law of sin and death.38

During the previous thirteen years of Wesley’s ministry, there had been few results. But following the Aldersgate experience, dramatic events began to take place as an outgrowth of his preaching. An undeniable change came about because of this eventful evening.39

Wesley had prepared throughout his life. Now, with his newfound purpose and passion, he sprang into action as he waited on God to show him how his mission was to be accomplished. Wesley had known since he was a young boy that God had saved him from the burning house for a purpose. Now was the time when he himself would begin to realize that purpose.40

Soon after this spiritual experience, Wesley left London to spend nearly three months with the Moravians at their center, Hernhuth, in Saxony, Germany. Wesley’s intention was to bring renewal and revival to the Church of England, not to create a new denomination. He did not adapt every principle emphasized by the Moravians to his theology and ministry. Rather, he cautiously preserved his own loyalty to England’s church by modifying the principles and practices held by the Moravians.41

Soon after Wesley returned from his visit with the Moravians, he formed the Fetter Lane Society. This organization was a religious society associated with the Church of England. A part of the vision of
bringing renewal to the mother church was to develop many of these types of societies. The Fetter Lane Society had rules and guidelines, including weekly meetings for confession and prayer. The larger group divided into smaller bands which gave each member of the society the freedom to speak and find better ways to bring new members into the society, as well as to secure financial contributions. The group also held a monthly love feast to celebrate what God had done among the people.\textsuperscript{42}

As a result of the Moravian influence on Wesley, he began to model the formation of small groups of individuals. These religious societies organized for the purpose of meditation, prayer, and exhilaration. They spent New Year's Eve together, initiating these spiritual disciplines. As 1739 began, so did the movement now known as the Methodist Revival.\textsuperscript{43}

The primary aim of the Wesleyan initiative was to revive the Church of England. To accomplish this, Wesley borrowed many of his formative practices from the early church, including such exercises as the Love Feasts (similar to communion, but replacing the wine with water), Watch Nights, and tickets for membership in the societies.\textsuperscript{44}

The Methodist movement was not free from skepticism and satire. Both Wesley and Whitefield were the targets of ridicule. Whitefield received the harsher, more pointed remarks. Their critics focused on Wesley's political views more than his religious convictions, although his beliefs were challenged as well.
Whitefield’s critics, however, singled out his personal mannerisms, since he was less tactful in his presentations.45

In 1739 two changes greatly affected the Methodist movement. One was the creation and building of Methodist chapels. The intention of the leadership was not to replace but to supplement the Church of England's parish churches. The other significant change was the initiation of field preaching. Necessity is the mother of invention, and field preaching was no exception. Although Whitefield began this practice prior to Wesley, they both were banned from preaching in Anglican churches.46

As one church door after another closed in their faces, Wesley and Whitefield were unable to continue their preaching in the conventional way. The primary reason they were banned by Anglican churches was their preaching of evangelical doctrines. It was not so much a rejection of their methods of preaching, but rather the doctrines they taught.47

John Wesley arrived at the church in Epworth where his father had been the rector and offered his services to the Anglican clergy, but the curate did not accept his offer of assistance. A great crowd of people had gathered to hear Wesley preach. The service continued. Following the service, John Taylor made an announcement to the congregation. Since Wesley would not be allowed to preach in the church, he would be preaching in the churchyard at 6 o’clock.

Accordingly at six, I came, and found such a congregation as I believe Epworth never saw before. I stood near the east end of the church, upon my father’s tombstone, and cried, “The
kingdom of heaven is not meat and drink; but righteousness, and peace, and joy in the Holy Ghost.\textsuperscript{48}

Wesley’s commitment to his calling was unstoppable. Neither fellow clergy nor bishops could dampen his enthusiasm. Regardless of geographical location, Wesley’s mission went on. As he was banned from Anglican churches, he wrote in his journal:

\begin{quote}
Suffer me now to tell you my principles in this matter. I look upon the whole world as my parish; thus far I mean, that, in whatever part of it I am, I judge it meet, right, and my bounden duty, to declare unto all that are willing to hear, the glad tidings of salvation. This is the work which I know God has called me to; and sure I am, that his blessing attends it. Great encouragement have I, therefore, to be faithful in fulfilling the work He hath given me to do.\textsuperscript{49}
\end{quote}

Thus, John Wesley, his brother Charles, and their friend Charles Whitefield began field preaching. Some of their most targeted audiences consisted of coal miners in Kingswood, workers seen by most as subhuman. With the three preachers’ proclamations of a God who loved them personally and individually, the hearts of the laborers moved into a new realm. These individuals never would have attended services in a church to hear this good news, but now, they and others were able to hear and respond.\textsuperscript{50}

Wesley and the early followers had many encounters with individuals who created trouble for the infant Methodist movement. Constant attacks were initiated by those set on creating a disturbance for Wesley and his religious societies. These mob encounters continued from 1740 to the early 1750s.\textsuperscript{51}
John Wesley would not allow even physical hardships to hinder his divine mission. One day in June of 1739, his horse stopped suddenly, throwing Wesley on his head. Although he rolled over several times, Wesley escaped with only minor bruises on his side. Without pain, he continued his day and preached to six or seven thousand people.\(^5^2\)

By 1744, Wesley's groups comprised several levels of commitment. The largest and least regimented was the United Society. All that was needed for membership in this organization was to be "awakened" in the faith. Then came the class meeting. A leader was appointed to oversee the group of ten to twelve members. The bands were a more select group, which had more stringent requirements. The more exclusive memberships went to the Select Societies, and the Penitents were those who had gone astray in their faith.\(^5^3\)

John Wesley was a fairly small man in size. He stood only five feet six inches tall. When he was younger, he had black hair; as he aged, his hair turned snow white. He dressed conservatively without lavish accessories.\(^5^4\)

Wesley had great interest, not only in saving souls, but also in the healing of bodies. His deep convictions regarding theology intertwined with his concepts of social justice. He understood that it was his Christian duty to meet the needs of society, whether that be poverty, ignorance or illness. He encouraged the members of his religious societies to visit the sick.\(^5^5\)
Wesley soon earned the reputation of being a medical consultant. In 1747 he published *Primitive Physick; or An Easy and Natural Method of Curing Most Diseases*. This resource was a collection of reliable remedies for common ailments. The book would be revised, updated, and enlarged many times. Eventually, twenty-two editions were printed during Wesley’s lifetime.\(^{56}\)

Although he had several serious romantic interests earlier in his life, John Wesley did not marry until he was forty-seven. His initial experience of love was with Sophy Hopkey in Georgia. He drew lots to decide on whether or not to marry her. The slip of paper that he drew read, "Think of it no more."\(^{57}\)

Later he met Grace Murray, a widow. During a time of illness, Grace nursed Wesley back to health. She was of a different social class from the Wesley family which, at that time, would have been a difficult obstacle to overcome. Wesley kept a tally on everything, including the prerequisite for marriage: "housekeeper, nurse, companion, friend, fellow laborer in the gospel of Christ, spiritual gifts, and spiritual fruit from her labors."\(^{58}\)

Wesley’s brother Charles convinced him that for him to marry Grace Murray would cause a split in the Methodist movement, so, after a time of deciding whether or not he should marry her, Wesley released her from such a commitment. Meanwhile, Charles convinced Grace to marry another suitor, John Bennett.\(^{59}\)
After the fiasco with Grace Murray, some of the Reverend Wesley's followers were concerned about his not being married. Eventually one of the Methodist brethren convinced Wesley of the need to marry. Then he met Molly Vazeille, the widow of a merchant from London, who had a considerable inheritance and four children.

Wesley and Molly married February 1751. In spite of the wedding, Wesley went on preaching his usual schedule. The details of the ceremony and celebration are unknown. Wesley, who was meticulous about recording details of his vocational undertakings, left the details of this personal event unwritten.

The marriage of John and Molly Wesley was difficult from its inception. For more than twenty years the Wesleys endured the rocky relationship until they parted in 1766. Molly left to go to Newcastle, never to return. Wesley did not leave her; he did not send her away, but he did not ask her to return. In 1781 Molly Vazeille Wesley died, leaving the clergyman to continue in his work in the Methodist movement.

As Wesley's ministry began to ignite, he took responsibility for the doctrinal teachings and pastoral guidance of his recruited itinerant preachers. He preached an average of eight hundred
sermons annually. Because Wesley would preach the same sermon many times, his preparation time for each engagement became less and less. This enabled him to use his time in other constructive ways, such as designing seminars to instruct his preachers. Wesley was a voracious reader and a prolific writer, filling twenty-five massive volumes with his distinctive work. He knew ten foreign languages. He either wrote, edited, or translated close to four hundred publications.\textsuperscript{62} Although Wesley preached in more than fifty towns, he primarily preached in the following cities: London, Bristol, Kingswood, Leeds, Manchester, Birmingham, Newcastle-on-Tyne, Canterbury, Bolton, Chester, and Sheffield.\textsuperscript{63}

Wesley's primary role became that of defender of the faith. As his religious societies began to expand, so did the impetus to spread scriptural holiness. Along with such a rigorous agenda came conflict and controversy. Wesley was well aware of the price one paid as a servant leader. He spent much of his time not only fighting off external conflict, but dealing with internal problems as well. The issues went from theological to personal and from confronting Calvinism to arguing against antinomianism.\textsuperscript{64}
Throughout this part of Wesley's life many questions arose. Who were these Methodists? What were they all about? What was their agenda? Wesley's mindset focused on who the Methodists were, not what they were not. Wesley told how to recognize a Methodist:

What then is the mark? Who is a Methodist, according to your own account? I answer: A Methodist is one who has "the love of God shed abroad in his heart by the Holy Ghost given unto him"; one who "loves the Lord his God with all his heart, and with all his soul, and with all his mind, and with all his strength." God is the joy of his heart, and the desire of his soul; which is constantly crying out, "whom have I in heaven but thee? And there is none upon earth that I desire besides thee! My God and my all! Thou art the strength of my heart, and my portion forever."65

The Methodists also developed a wide reputation for their ardent singing. Through the use of bar tunes juxtaposed with the richness of orthodox theology, the Wesley brothers composed many hymns to carry the message of the gospel through song. Perhaps more than any other expression, these sacred songs collectively encompassed the Methodist life lived out.66

Wesley felt strongly the need for individuals to develop the holy habits of spiritual disciplines shortly after conversion. He was convinced that initiation into the kingdom was only the first step in
the Christian life. Being grounded in the basic beliefs was vital to the coverts' becoming established in the faith. Wesley imitated this practice from the early or primitive Christian church.67

Wesley began in 1744 with six other clergy from the Church of England and four lay preachers. By 1765 Wesley felt that the revival had come of age. Now the Methodist movement involved twenty-five preaching circuits with seventy-one Methodist evangelists in England; Scotland had four circuits with four preachers; Wales had two preachers with two circuits; and Ireland had eight circuits with fifteen ministers. The total came to thirty-nine preaching circuits being led by ninety-two itinerate ministers of the gospel.68 By 1767 the records indicate that there were 22,410 members of the Methodist societies in England, 2,801 in Ireland, 468 in Scotland, and 232 in Wales.69

The Later Years: 1769-1791

John Wesley's boundless energy allowed him to preach forty-two thousand sermons in fifty years, averaging fifteen sermons each week. He was more than seventy when he spoke to thirty thousand
people who had gathered to hear him preach in the amphitheater at Gwennap Pit, Cornwall.70

As the years passed, Wesley remained in excellent health in both mind and body. He remarked on several occasions that he never tired easily from writing, traveling, or preaching. Only as he approached his eighty-fifth birthday did he feel that he was growing old.71

John Wesley attributed his great stamina to several factors: rising at four o'clock each morning for fifty years, generally preaching at five o'clock each morning, and never traveling less than 4,500 miles each year, either by land or sea.72

The Methodist movement prepared for Wesley's death as the inevitable approached. All through his ministry, Wesley served as a benevolent dictator. All major decisions were made by Wesley himself, and they stood as absolute. With reservation, he could accept reality only as his time dwindled.73

During the annual meeting of the Methodist ministers in 1769, Wesley once again began to prepare his leaders for his passing. He challenged them to devote themselves entirely to God, to preach the Methodist doctrines, and to maintain the entire Methodist discipline
that he had compiled throughout the various stages of the
movement.\textsuperscript{74}

By the time of Wesley's death, there were 541 itinerate
Methodist ministers. But the burden of these individuals was heavy
because the Methodist societies numbered 150,000. There was great
pressure to separate from the Church of England. But, in reality,
most of the converts to Methodist Christianity had never even been
inside an Anglican church. Many in the Methodist movement had
been totally unchurched prior to their induction into the societies.\textsuperscript{75}

By 1783 there was peace in the New World of the United
States. At that time, the Church of England had no hold on the
country's religious institutions. Wesley inducted three men, Coke,
Vasey, and Whatcoat, as clergy for a new denomination, the
Methodist Episcopal Church.\textsuperscript{76}

Throughout John Wesley's ministry, he used a well-known
Christian devotional by Jeremy Taylor, \textit{Rules and Exercises for Holy
Living and Dying}. The text refers to living a holy life that is pleasing
and serving God, but it also focuses on the art of dying well. The
aging patriarch awaited his eternal reward which he had served his
whole life to encounter.\textsuperscript{77}
John Wesley is buried behind the City Road Chapel, now called Wesley's Chapel, in London. The marble tablet inside the chapel reads as follows:

Sacred to the Memory

of the Rev. John Wesley, M.A.
Sometime Fellow of Lincoln College, Oxford;
A Man in Learning and sincere Piety
Scarcely inferior to any;
In Zeal, Ministerial Labours, and extensive Usefulness,
Superior, perhaps, to all Men, Since the days of St. Paul.

Regardless of Fatigue, personal Danger, and Disgrace,
He went out into the highways and hedges
Calling Sinners to Repentance,
And publishing the Gospel of Peace.
He was the Founder of the Methodist Societies,
And the chief Promoter and Patron
Of the Plan of Itinerant preaching,
Which He extended through Great Britain and Ireland,
The West Indies and America,
With unexampled Success.
He was born the 17th of June, 1703;
And died the 2d of March, 1791.
In sure and certain hope of Eternal Life.
Through the Atonement and Mediation of a Crucified Savior.

He was sixty-five Years in the Ministry,
And fifty-two an Itinerant Preacher;
He lived to see, in these Kingdoms only,
About three hundred Itinerant,
And one thousand Local Preachers.
Raised up from the midst of his own People;
And eighty thousand Persons in the Societies under his care.

His Name will be ever had in grateful Remembrance
From the inception of the Methodist movement, Wesley had emphatically held to the promise that he was not beginning a separate denomination, but rather attempting to bring revival to the Church of England. He constantly stood firm that nothing was to interfere with the priests or priestly functions of the Anglican clergy. Wesley would not even hold any type of service or meeting that would interfere with those scheduled by the church.  

Shortly before Wesley’s death, there was a meeting of the Methodists. At this time there were 71,463 members enrolled in the societies in the Old World, and 48,610 in the New World. There were 108 circuits in America and about the same number in England, Ireland, and Scotland.  

Many historians have hailed Wesley’s numerous contributions to the world. Some church historians consider the Methodist movement as a culmination of a Protestant Counter-Reformation, confronting the views of Luther and Calvin. Others see it as a part of the “Age of Democratic Revolution,” as America was being formed and the constant cry for liberty was heard. And still others are
convinced that one of the most significant gifts to England was helping to block a violent English attack similar to the French Revolution, because the Wesleyan form bore the revolutionary message of equality and liberty, of universal salvation and free will.\textsuperscript{81}
NOTES

2Ibid., 55-56.
3Ibid., 56.
6Ibid., 35.
9Luccock, 39.
14Overton, 8.
16Ibid., 35.
18Ibid., 33-35.
19Overton, 16.
20Ibid., 20-21.
23Telford, The Life of John Wesley, 55.
26Ibid., 199-200.
27Ibid., 201-3.
29 Telford, The Life of John Wesley, 194-95.
30 Ibid., 195.
31 Overton, 43-45.
32 Ibid., 47-48.
33 Ibid., 48-49.
34 Heitzenrater, The Elusive Mr. Wesley: John Wesley His Own Biographer, 76-91.
36 Pollock, 87-97.
39 Schofield, 8-9.
41 Pollock, 102-3.
47 Wood, 84.
49 Ibid., 201-2.
50 Luccock, 18-20.
51 Telford, The Life of John Wesley, 174-93.
52 Ibid., 196.
53 Lunn, 173.
54 Telford, The Life of John Wesley, 354.
55 Heitzenrater, The Elusive Mr. Wesley: John Wesley His Own Biographer, 134-35.
56 Ibid., 137.
58 Ibid., 259.
59 Ibid., 260.
60Ibid., 261.
61Ibid., 265-67.
63Luccock, 89.
66Ibid., 434.
67T. J. Snell, Wesley and Methodism (New York: Scribner's, 1900), 207.
68Luccock, 102-3.
69Ibid., 103.
70Ibid., 88.
71Overton, 193.
72Ibid., 194.
73Ibid., 194-95.
75Luccock, 174.
76Ibid., 176.
77Heitzenrater, The Elusive Mr. Wesley: John Wesley as Seen by Contemporaries and Biographers (Nashville, TN: Abingdon, 1984), 143.
78Wesley, 549.
79Ibid., 196.
80Telford, The Life of John Wesley, 362.
CHAPTER 4

JOHN WESLEY: CHRISTIAN PEDAGOGUE AND ANDRAGOGUE

Influential Educators

John Wesley was greatly influenced by the German Moravians whom he met as he sailed to and from America. Wesley writes, "August Herman Francke whose name is indeed as precious ointment. O may I follow him, as he did Christ! ... [And] by manifestation of the truth, commend myself to every man's conscience in the sight of God!"

Obviously the Moravian's deep love for Christ was emphasized repeatedly in Francke's writings and sermons. Not only did the Pietists place a high regard on love of God, but they had also a love of learning. Francke saw Wissenschaft (scholarship) as a gift from God. To him problems arose when reason overreached itself. Wesley writes, "From him I learned that the earnest religion which I found in so many parts of Germany is but of late date, having taken its rise from one man, August Herman Francke! So can God, if it pleaseth him, enable one man to revive his work throughout a whole nation." Wesley was indeed encouraged at what God could do through the efforts of one man such as Francke.
In 1761 and 1762, Jean-Jacques Rousseau published three books that would have a significant impact on the philosophy of education. The first work was Julie or the New Heloise. This novel established an awakening of literature and was looked upon throughout Western Europe as a herald of the romantic movement. Rousseau's second work was The Social Contract, which greatly influenced the discipline of social history that spread across Europe and the New World. This book provided the philosophical underpinnings for the American and French Revolutions. Rousseau's third great work was Emile, which stressed the need to understand the accumulation of knowledge from a child's perspective.4

One of the most profound concepts behind Rousseau's Emile was that society is in and of itself corrupt, and that the only hope for freedom is a sound education. Rousseau's underlying premise included the need for children to have freedom so that they could learn through experience. The teacher's role in education is to wait for internal developmental cues rather than forcing knowledge externally.5

Although Rousseau exercised great influence, he did not win favor with the Reverend John Wesley. Following Wesley's reading of Emile, he had harsh words for Rousseau: "Sure a more consummate coxcomb never saw the sun! How amazingly full of himself."6 About Rousseau he also writes, "[He is] a shallow, yet supercilious infidel. Is it possible, that a man who admires him can admire the Bible?"7 He later says of Emile, "[It is the] most empty, silly, injudicious thing
ever a self-conceited infidel wrote. But I knew it was quite contrary to the judgment of the wisest and best men I have known.”

Wesley studied not only Rousseau, but also Hume and Voltaire. Wesley comments that these “sparing no pains to establish a religion which should stand on its own foundation, independent on any revelation whatever; yea, not supposing even the being of a God. So leaving Him, if he has any being, to himself, they have found out both a religion and a happiness which have no relation at all to God, nor any dependence upon him.” Wesley felt strongly against philosophers who refused to acknowledge the existence or revelation of God.

Of the educational philosophers cited in Wesley’s works, none stands out more than John Locke. Locke’s views stand alongside the formation of Wesley’s epistemological thoughts concerning the mind, reason and nurture.

John Locke (1632-1704) was an Oxford graduate and soon after his formal education he was recognized for his contributions to academia. Locke was intrigued by medicine—then known as “the study of physic”—and enrolled in the bachelor’s program. Locke was convicted of high treason in 1682 and fled as a political exile to Holland to avoid being put to death. Later he was pardoned by King James II, but he refused to return to England and remained in Holland. It was there that he completed his most famous essay, An Essay Concerning Human Understanding (1687). In 1693 he finished his second great work, Thoughts Concerning Education.
During the Renaissance, most adults treated children as though they were toys, animals, or even small adults. The educational systems of the day did not know about "age-appropriate" learning. Nothing was known about the gradual learning development of the child through an orderly approach to subject matter. Children were merely sources of cheap labor, and since the death rate was high, parents did not want to invest too much time, emotion, or money in their offspring.\textsuperscript{12}

Locke, on the other hand, who was ahead of his time, regarded children as different from adults and in need of new kinds of schools. In the new era of pedagogy, children were divided into grades and guided through a course of study that had been carefully and logically planned. In Locke's view, childhood was a significant phase in the life of a person. Not only was Locke interested in the intellectual life of the child but also, because he was a doctor, he was interested in the physical concerns of childhood, placing a high value on diet, rest, and exercise.\textsuperscript{13}

According to Lockean ideas, all five of the physical senses of the child must be engaged in the process of education. The correct type of stimulation at the right time and to the proper degree obtains the best learning response from the child.\textsuperscript{14}

Wesley applauded Locke's approach to faith and reason. As Wesley wrestled with the concept of the value of human reasoning, he sought a "medium," a balance between valuing reason too little
and valuing it too much. Wesley considered Locke to be a balance and yet “a great master of reason.”

John Locke's views on Christianity were congruent with Wesley's. This gave Wesley more in common with Locke their common educational philosophy. Many scholars believe that, from the beginning to the end of Wesley's life, he spoke Lockean language with great ease. One of Wesley's most famous works, "An Earnest Appeal to Men of Reason and Religion" suggests that Wesley had Locke's Essay Concerning Human Understanding in front of him as he composed.

Richard Baxter's (1615-1691) educational influence on John Wesley came more from the spiritual realm rather than the academic. Baxter believed that the Christian community was significant in the spiritual development of children. In Baxter's view of childhood, there were three distinct phases of faith: baptism, nurture, and confirmation. Wesley held true to Baxter's goal, which was to bring baptized infants into the faith community and to nurture them into a mature and meaningful faith as persons who had, since birth, not been without a relationship with God.

One of the key ingredients in the formation of a child's faith is the significance of the family. Each family, according to Baxter, is to be a "seminary of Christ's church on earth." Families are together to be workers with God in the spiritual training of children, who finally reach their own personal consent and ownership of their faith. This concept permeates Baxter's philosophy of religious education.
Wesley used a great number of tracts and booklets written by Baxter. One of the most influential was *The Catechizing of Families*. A significant work, *Gildas Salvianus*, challenged and equipped all ministers everywhere to catechize families in their parishes. Wesley already greatly admired for the Puritan heritage and would incorporate many of its ideals into his life and ministry.

Philip Doddridge (1702-1751) is mentioned several times in Wesley's anthology. Doddridge was educated at the theological academy at Kibworth in Leicestershire. In 1729 he assumed the role of president of the theological school and served also as a minister. Deeply rooted in the theory and theology of Richard Baxter, Doddridge's home soon became a haven for morning and evening prayers for the seminary students.

Following in the footsteps of his Puritan predecessor, Doddridge emphasized the significance of the family as the primary Christian educators, especially the father. He had several explanations for this reason:

because God has ordained the father to be the head and priest of the covenantal family; ... because fathers are to blame for the transmission of original sin to their children and are therefore responsible for the undoing of such evil; and ... because God has made each father a steward of his children, holding him responsible for fitting them for heaven.

Holding to Doddridge's belief, Wesley advocated that the father-teacher should conduct family worship twice a day. During this time of instruction, the curriculum should be from the Bible,
catechism, prayers, hymns, and psalms. He believed that this devotional time would produce the following results:

- Godly instruction by the covenant father creates a sense of piety in each child of the family.
- Godly instruction by the father-teacher leads the child to the covenant family to a personal faith in Christ.
- Godly instruction by the father-teacher inculcates a habit in children of obeying their parents in all things.
- Godly instruction by the father-teacher instills a love of benevolence and kindness in each child.
- Godly instruction by the father-teacher involves making children realize their stewardship obligation to God in reference to time.
- Godly instruction by the father-teacher evokes voluntary obedience from the child in the face of self-will.
- Godly instruction by the father-teacher creates the wondrous habit of self-denial in the child.23

Wesley advocated strongly the role of the home in the spiritual development of the child. He felt that the responsibility for training children in godliness is great.

Next to your wife are your children; immortal spirits whom God hath, for a time, entrusted to your care, that you may train them up in all holiness, and fit them for the enjoyment of God in eternity. This is a glorious and important trust; seeing one soul is of more value than all the world beside. Every child, therefore, you are to watch over with the utmost care, that, when you are called to give an account of each to the Father of Spirits, you may give your accounts with joy and not with grief.24

Wesley’s encounter with Nicolaus Ludwig von Zinzendorf (1700-1760) gave him an even greater appreciation for the
Moravians. This leader of the Moravians founded a community called Herrnhut, which became the center for the movement in Europe. In the Moravian faith, there was an emphasis on the heart more than on the mind or rational theology.\textsuperscript{25}

Zinzendorf and Wesley had been good friends and colleagues until the rise of antinomianism spread in England and came between the Methodists and the Moravians. The friendship dissolved, but Wesley wrote in his journal about Zinzendorf's method of nurture: "I greatly approve of your conferences and bands; of your instructing children and in general, of your great care of souls committed to your charge."\textsuperscript{26}

John Wesley was a man with definite opinions and gladly shared them with others. As Wesley became familiar with the Moravian ways, there were certain methodologies and philosophies he immediately began to implement into his own ministry, and others he chose to dismiss.

The following gives an abbreviated version of the Moravian practices that Wesley liked and incorporated into his movement and those he disliked and tried to avoid.
Table 1
THE MORAVIAN LEGACY
TO WESLEY'S METHODOLOGY

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Elements Wesley Liked</th>
<th>Elements Wesley Disliked</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Hymn singing as a form of instruction.</td>
<td>1. Lack of openness, frankness, and simplicity in speech.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Women's place of service</td>
<td>2. Exclusiveness</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Special services: &quot;Agape feast,&quot; Watchnights, etc.</td>
<td>3. Domination by Zinzendorf</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. &quot;ecclesiæ in ecclesia&quot;</td>
<td>4. Antinomianism</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Intense fellowship: unity before information</td>
<td>5. The Moravian doctrine of &quot;stillness&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Emphasis on conduct, no speculation</td>
<td>6. Downgrading the &quot;means of grace&quot; like communion and baptism</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Emphasis on instantaneous conversion, assurance of salvation</td>
<td>7. Making decisions by casting lots</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Simplicity of lifestyle</td>
<td>8. A tendency toward mysticism</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The "heart" from the Moravians and Puritans and the "mind" from Locke gave Wesley a combination of two strong motivations for teaching and learning. By taking the best from the two, Wesley was
armed with the intellect to respond to the brightest and best of England. He also had the passion to fulfill God’s purpose. This was not hope without a foundation. Wesley’s goal was to provide an initial response to a timeless message and also to ground individuals in that hope through education.

As Wesley visited the Moravian schools in Jena and Herrnhut earlier in his journeys, he discovered that they were applying the principles of Comenius’s philosophy of education. John Amos Comenius’s primary objective of education was not only for it to eradicate the sin of human nature, but also for it to build a moral foundation.28

Throughout Wesley’s life he had an influence not only on the individuals he led, but also on Christian education.

Several Wesleyan influences include:

the Wesleyan view of the Bible; the Wesleyan emphasis upon categlysmic Christian experience with the assurance by the Holy Spirit of salvation; the Arminian view of the doctrines of election and free grace; the doctrine of the moral law as not abrogated by passing over into the covenant of grace; the doctrine of man and his moral responsibility; the child and evangelism and nurture; Wesley’s own application of doctrine to practice in education.29
Wesley's desire to reach the masses educationally and spiritually had to do with his concept of the atonement. James Arminius (1560-1609) influenced Wesley's theology of education. In this philosophy there is human freedom, but not free rein. Arminianism teaches predestination, but not the unconditional type. It emphasizes God's grace, but it does not hold to the idea that God's grace is irresistible. It stresses being spiritually secure in faith, but not eternal security. The view is that individuals lose their regeneration if they cease to be believers and willfully choose to disobey God.\(^3\)

As George Whitefield and John Wesley traveled and preached across England, the theological distinctions between Calvinism and Arminianism were evident in their emphasis on education. In the Calvinistic view, predestination is absolute; in the Arminian view, it is conditional. As the seeds of revival were sown, Wesley's theology was the guide in continuing spiritual growth and development. The need for constant spiritual accountability was inherent in an individual's continuing to be a believer.\(^3\)

The Development of Schools
Few individual leaders of great revivals have been noted not only for their evangelistic zeal, but also for their contribution to education. John Wesley is one of those rare persons who combines both qualities.

Wesley made several pointed indictments of the educational system as he saw it:

Schools were badly situated. Most of them were in great towns of England. The children had too many other children around them who would drive them away from school. Wesley strongly objected to the promiscuous admission of all sorts of children into the schools. This tended to corrupt the other children. Instruction in religion was extremely defective in charity schools. Wesley criticized the basic choice of education. The basic subjects of learning, writing, and arithmetic were neglected utterly to allow greater time for the classics, even languages. There was a total lack of a method of attack. The classics were read without any attempt to grade them according to the difficulty of their subject matter or syntax.32

Wesley found that most of the schools of his day had obvious faults and that many children desperately needed education. Wesley’s leadership in education did not end with the impetus toward religious revival; it also became the underpinning for a larger move toward universal education for all children.33

The first school that Wesley established was The Foundry in 1740; it became the educational site for sixty children from London’s poorest sections. Six rules guided the course:

Minimum age for admission was six years. Chapel attendance was mandatory- it was called “the morning sermon.” The
school day was to be from 6 a.m. to 5 p.m. with an hour for lunch. There was to be no "play" times. No talking to classmates. No child was to speak in school except to the master. Two unexcused absences in one week meant automatic expulsion.\textsuperscript{34}

Wesley began to put into practice the educational principles, theories, and suggestions that he had learned from his studies and visits to Europe. His desire was to create a school in which children would be brought up in the fear of God and free from vice.

His boarding school for children in Kingswood opened in 1748 and was intended for the sons of itinerant ministers as well as the children of the Methodists. Collections were taken from surrounding Methodist societies to financially support the school.\textsuperscript{35}

The goals for the Kingswood School were that it would focus on "sound religious training and perfect control of the children." The gathering on opening day in 1748 began with Wesley’s preaching of his sermon "On the Education of Children," taken from the scriptural text “Train up a child in the way that he should go; and when he is old he will not depart from it” (Proverbs 22:6).\textsuperscript{36}

The primary concepts of the Kingswood School were stated in a musical composition written by Charles Wesley for the occasion:

\begin{verbatim}
Come Father, Son, and Holy Ghost,
To whom we for our children cry,
The good desired and wanted most
Out of thy richest grace supply,
The sacred discipline be given
To train and bring them up for heaven.

Answer on them that end of all
\end{verbatim}
Our cares and pains, and studies here,
On them, recovered from their fall,
Stampt with the heavenly character,
Raised by the nurture of the Lord,
To all their paradise restored.

Error and ignorance remove,
Their blindness both of heart and mind,
Give them the wisdom from above,
Spotless, and peaceable, and kind.
In knowledge pure their mind renew,
And store with thoughts divinely true.

Learning's redundant part and vain
Be here cut off, and cast aside:
But let them, Lord, the substance gain,
In every solid truth abide,
Swiftly acquire, and ne'er forego
The knowledge fit for man to know.

Unite the pair so long disjoined
Knowledge and vital piety,
Learning and holiness combined,
And truth and love let all men see.
In these whom up to thee we give,
Thine, wholly thine to die and live.

Father, accept them in they Son,
And ever by thy Spirit guide,
Thy wisdom in their lives be shewn,
Thy name confessed and glorified,
Thy power and love diffused abroad,
’Till all our earth is filled with God. 37

John Wesley’s key principles of child rearing and the religious
education of children were expounded in this sermon, “On the
Education of Children.” He began by using the analogy that, just as
the concept of physic was to restore physical health, so Kingswood
School was to restore spiritual health. According to Wesley, this basic need to be given spiritual health is because each person is born with a sinful nature and is infected with seven spiritual diseases:

I. **The Disease of Atheism** is the first treated. Natural theology is not nearly enough. Children learn theism as parents and teachers model it by deed and word.

II. **The Disease of Self-will** is the second demon Kingswood will seek to exorcise. Wise parents and teachers are to conquer this will as soon as it appears, for “in the whole art of Christian education there is nothing more important than this.

III. **The Disease of Pride** is the next obvious malady for which a cure must be sought. Pride has turned angels to devils.

IV. **The Disease of the love of the World** is the next addressed. Simplicity is to be prized, riches, pomp, and all finery are to be despised.

V. **The Disease of Anger** must also be cured. Anger in the form of revenge is the primary problem, and teaching children the spirit of the Sermon on the Mount is the primary cure.

VI. **The Disease of Falsehood**, that is, lying, is universal. Parents and teachers must teach children “a love of truth- of veracity, sincerity, and simplicity, and of openness both of spirit and behavior.

VII. **The Disease of Injustice** must also be cured. Children will “connive at wronging each other,” but they must be taught the concepts of justice and mercy.

Wesley learned the lesson of submission at a very young age. Susanna Wesley taught her children from birth that the will of the individual must be broken. “Break their wills that you may save their soul,” she would say often. Through implementation of this concept not only at Kingswood, but beyond as well, Wesley built up
the practice of combining control of the child with strong religious training.  

The entire Sunday school movement was like many others; its inception was more of an accident than a well-thought out, developed plan. Robert Raikes usually receives the credit for initiating this means of religious education. On Sunday, all of the children who usually working in the factories during the week ran the streets and got into all types of mischief. The chief point of concern was the "multitude of wretches" who were in need of guidance and direction.  

Another reason for the development of the Sunday schools was the problem of control. The disturbances caused by the children reached their peak on Sundays. Basically, the children were abandoned and lacked parental support.  

Children were engaged in the work of the early Industrial Revolution. Child labor had been an established practice for some time, and many sought change for the children to allow them to study until they were old enough for apprenticeship.  

Raikes was able to afford to pay four teachers, and so in Gloucester he founded Sunday schools for the poor children the
community. The class lasted the entire day, with the children learning reading and the church catechism.\textsuperscript{43}

The idea of training children in religious education actually began prior to 1780. When John and Charles Wesley served as missionaries in America in 1735, they would gather the children together and provide instruction to them prior to the Sunday evening worship services. Wesley taught by including not only the Bible, but also recitation of the catechism.\textsuperscript{44}

Although Wesley is not considered the founder of the Sunday school movement, he came to approve of the work. Because of Wesley's contributions in establishing the Sunday school in Savannah, Georgia, a plaque at Christ Church commemorates its inception in 1736-1737.\textsuperscript{45}

Hannah Ball was not only a Methodist, but she also took on the challenge of educating unruly and neglected children. In writing to Wesley, the twenty-two-year-old Miss Ball stated, "The children meet twice a week-- every Sunday and Monday. They are a wild little company, but seem willing to be instructed. I labour among them, earnestly desiring to promote the interest of the Church of Christ."\textsuperscript{46}
Sunday school lasted most of the morning as well as the afternoon. The Wesleyan Sunday schools convened from 8:30 a.m. to noon and from 1:30 p.m. until 4:00 p.m., without breaks. The classroom management was strict. The class of twenty to twenty-five students sat on two benches facing one another. At one of the openings between the benches was the scholar. At the other end was the teacher.47

Wesley mentions the work of the Sunday school briefly in his journal, July 18, 1784:

I preached, morning and afternoon, in Bingley church, but it would not near contain the congregation. Before service I stepped into the Sunday school, which contains two hundred and forty children, taught every Sunday by several masters, and superintended by the curate. So, many children in one parish are restrained from open sin, and taught a little good manners, at least as well as to read the Bible. I find these schools springing up wherever I go. Perhaps God may have a deeper end therein than men are aware of. Who knows but some of these schools may become nurseries for Christians.48

He later writes,

About three I met between nine hundred and a thousand of the children belonging to our Sunday schools. I never saw such a sight before. They were all exactly clean, as well as plain, in their apparel.49

The Sunday school movement increased so rapidly in Methodism that within three years the number of children who
benefited from the weekly instruction in all of the centers of education exceeded 200,000. Wesley was indeed proud and delighted to see so many children singing and learning to read the Bible. He boasted that, at Bolton, there were “a hundred such trebles as are not to be found together in any chapel, cathedral, or music room within the four seas,” and as the rest of the chorus joined in, “the melody was beyond that of any theater.”

One of the ministers’ top priorities was to teach both children and adults. One of the key questions Wesley asked them as a prerequisite for their appointments as Methodist ministers was “Will you diligently and earnestly instruct the children and visit from house to house?”

In 1766 Wesley outlined the minister’s responsibility for the religious training of the children:

1. Where there are ten children in a society, meet them at least an hour every week.
2. Talk with them every time you see any at home.
3. Pray in earnest for them.
4. Diligently instruct and vehemently exhort all parents at their houses.
5. Preach expressly on education.
One of Wesley’s ministers objected to these guidelines by saying that he did not have the gifts to accomplish such tasks. John Wesley replied to the minister’s dislike of the responsibility by saying, “Gift or no gift, you are to do it; else you are not called to be a Methodist preacher.”

The challenge of religious teaching was carried into the homes. The ministers admonished the parents to carry on the work of teaching their children in the home. Wesley encouraged the Methodist ministers to give the children the “Instructions for Children” and to have them memorize it.

Societies, Bands, and Classes

One of the gifts of a strong leader is the ability to organize people as well as institutions. It is difficult for leaders to gain followers in the midst of chaos and confusion. John Wesley exemplified organizational zeal. Throughout his ministry he sent out many leaders, ministers, and teachers, but he realized quickly that, in the work of leadership, a strong hand was needed. He began to rein in the rapidly growing movement by drawing up rules for the societies, bands, and classes.

At the heart of the structured, hierarchical system of societies, bands, and classes were the goals of spiritual growth, behavioral change, personal interaction, and community transformation.
Although each group was an independent unit, they also formed a network. Each type of group had its own function while enabling each individual to have a program for his or her specific needs.\textsuperscript{56}

Obviously, one of the primary reasons for Wesley's focus on small groups to accomplish his goal to "spread scriptural holiness" was the growth in faith he experienced as a part of the Holy Club at Oxford.

Wesley inherited the first small group that he used for spiritual formation. The Fetter Lane Society was comprised of forty to fifty individuals, mostly Germans, who met for prayer and spiritual encouragement on Wednesday nights in London beginning May 1, 1738. Soon after Wesley began to co-lead the group with Peter Bohler, they developed a list of thirty-nine articles, which included rules for group admission, cohesion, function, order, and expulsion.\textsuperscript{57}

The Fetter Lane Society encompassed two levels of participation, the band and the society. The system allowed for two different educational strategies to be used within the group, each with its own structure and content. Table 2 illustrates the differences and the intentions of the bands and the societies.
Table 2.

A Summary of Instructional Elements in the Fetter Lane Society

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Purpose:</th>
<th>Band</th>
<th>Society</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>overt behavioral change</td>
<td>cognitive acquisition</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leaders:</td>
<td>lay leadership</td>
<td>professional leadership</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leadership Function:</td>
<td>leader as enabler</td>
<td>leader as instructor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Methods &amp; Techniques:</td>
<td>personal interaction</td>
<td>lecture/sermon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>5-10 members</td>
<td>50-100 members</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>one sex</td>
<td>both sexes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Methods &amp; Techniques Continued:</td>
<td>active participation</td>
<td>passive response</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>confession of struggle</td>
<td>biblical presentation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>every person spoke</td>
<td>only the leader spoke</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>subjective emphasis</td>
<td>objective emphasis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>appointed membership</td>
<td>membership by choice</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Philosophical/ Theological Assumptions:</td>
<td>Moravian precedents</td>
<td>Anglican precedents</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>priesthood of all</td>
<td>priesthood of elite</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>God as immanent</td>
<td>God as transcendent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>faith as experiential</td>
<td>faith as inferential</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Foundry Society was established in December 1739. During the first three years, the foundations were laid. Once a routine was constructed, the society system was largely in place throughout the remaining fifty years of Wesley's life. One might consider the initial years from 1703 to 1743 as the developmental stage of the groups and the later years from 1743 to 1793 as the implementation stage.
In order to maintain quality as well as organizational control,

Wesley drafted rules for the band-societies:

The design of our meeting is, to obey that command of God
“Confess your faults one to another, and pray one for another,
that ye may be healed.” To this end, we intend,—
1. To meet once a week, at least.
2. To come punctually at the hour appointed, without some
   extraordinary reason.
3. To begin (those of us who are present) exactly at the hour,
   with singing or prayer.
4. To speak each of us in order, freely and plainly, the true
   state of our souls, with the faults we have committed in
   thought, word, or deed, and the temptations we have felt, since
   our last meeting.
5. To end every meeting with prayer, suited to the state of
   each person present.
6. To desire some person among us to speak his own state first,
   and then to ask the rest, in order, as many and as searching
   questions as may be, concerning their state, sins, and
   temptations.
Some of the questions proposed to every one before he is
admitted among us may be to this effect:
1. Have you the forgiveness of your sins?
2. Have you peace with God, through our Lord Jesus Christ?
3. Have you the witness of God’s Spirit with your spirit, that
   you are a child of God?
4. Is the love of God shed abroad in your heart?
5. Has no sin, inward or outward, dominion over you?
6. Do you desire to be told of your faults?
7. Do you desire to be told of all your faults, and that plain and
   at home?
8. Do you desire that every one of us should tell you, from
   time to time, whatsoever is in his heart concerning you?
9. Consider! Do you desire we should tell you whatsoever we
   think, whatsoever we fear, whatsoever we hear, concerning
   you?
10. Do you desire that, in doing this, we should come as close
    as possible, that we should cut to the quick, and search your
    heart to the bottom?
11. Is it your desire and design to be on this, and all other occasions, entirely open, so as to speak everything that is in your heart without exception, without disguise, and without reserve?
Any of the preceding questions may be asked as often as occasion offers; the four following at every meeting:
1. What known sins have you committed since our last meeting?
2. What temptations have you met with?
3. How were you delivered?
4. What have you thought, said, or done, of which you doubt whether it be sin or not?"}

In addition to the societies and bands, Wesley initiated another means for spiritual education and growth: the class-meeting. The class-meetings began as a means to collect funds to facilitate the financing of the Wesleyan movement. In Wesley's essay, "A Plain Account of the People Called Methodists," he provided additional reasoning for beginning the class-meetings:

But as much as we endeavored to watch over each other, we soon found some who did not live the gospel. I do not know that any hypocrites were crept in; for indeed there was no temptation: But several grew cold, and gave way to the sins which had long easily beset them. We quickly perceived there were many ill consequences of suffering those to remain among us. It was dangerous to others; inasmuch as all sin is of an infectious nature. . . . At length, while we were thinking of quite another thing, we struck upon a method for which we have cause to bless God ever since. I was talking with several of the society in Bristol concerning the means of paying the debts there, when one stood up and said, "Let every member of the society give a penny a week till all are paid." . . . It struck me immediately. This is the thing, the very thing we
have wanted so long. I called together all the leaders of the classes—so we used the term them and their companies—and desired that each would make a particular inquiry into the behavior of those he saw weekly. They did so. Many disorderly walkers were detected. Some turned from the evil of their ways. Some were put away from us. Many saw it with fear, and rejoiced unto God with reverence.

Soon the purpose of the class-meetings grew beyond that of securing financial contributions. They provided an opportunity for all of the members to be under the supervision of a spiritual leader, who in turn would be able to discern the religious character of each member. Two outcomes resulted from the spiritual accountability: that the individual who had turned away from God would be recovered and returned to the path of righteousness or that the person who could not be restored would be separated from the church.

There were several unique differences between the societies and the class-meetings. The only condition for membership in the class-meeting was “a desire to flee from the wrath to come, to be saved from sin.” Since the Methodist movement never intended to become a separate denomination, but rather a revival within the Church of England, the members of the class-meetings were expected to attend “all the ordinances of God” in the national church.
The class-meetings and the societies were linked together in several unique ways. The class-meeting was a subgroup of the society, and the leaders were selected by the societies and were accountable to them. The class-meeting and the society were tied together by impressing upon the minds of the individuals the content from the lesson taught earlier in the week at the society. Also, one had to participate in a class-meeting in order to be a part of a society. One could not attend the closed session of the society without first being actively involved in a class-meeting.\textsuperscript{64}

Wesley designed a way to regulate the individuals who wanted to attend the society meetings. He issued tickets validating a member's good standing. If after being interviewed the member was faithful and did not miss more than three meetings a quarter, he or she was issued a ticket.\textsuperscript{65}

The class-meeting became the center of the transformation of individuals and of the movement called Methodism. The class-meeting became the means through which success came. The following elements were significant in this endeavor. Class meetings

1. furnished the environment in which cognitive concepts could be experimentally or experientially tested.
2. served as a purging or pruning instrument to keep "dead wood" out of the society.
3. were a training ground for leaders.
4. were a point of entry capable of incorporating large numbers of new people quickly.
5. financed the movement through penny collections.
6. provided a constant and immediate record of the strength and size of the movement.
7. forced 100% mobilization and participation of the membership.
8. gave every member a voice in the affairs of Methodism.
9. allowed people to practice speaking their inner feelings.
10. provided the milieu for resolving conflicts within the society by immediate face-to-face confrontation.

While the societies focused primarily on the cognitive mode of learning, the class meetings encompassed the behavioral mode, and the bands, the affective mode. The societies provided the content or the instruction for educating the Methodists. The class-meetings served as an environment in which changes could be made in the everyday life of each believer. The band presented a place where the affective domain could be touched, internally motivated, and redirected toward God. Even prior to a determined educational taxonomy, Wesley’s ingenuity was ahead of its time.

Wesley knew that it was humanly impossible to be in more than one place at a time, so he spent a great amount of his time in leadership training. He hand-picked the most faithful Methodist individuals for the purpose of making them leaders of the leaders. These select individuals were pulled together to form the Select Society, which was an elite corps.

In 1742 Wesley formed the first of the Select Societies in London. These persons were to be models of Methodism: committed to one another, honest, open, caring, and concerned for each other's
welfare. The group was dissimilar to the others in that there were no rules, no leader, no prescribed format. This type of training involved more than rote program agendas. The members learned to lead by developing policies and sharpening their decision-making skills.69

Wesley bared his soul to his close confidants among the leaders. He enjoyed an intimate fellowship as he shared his failures, victories, and hopes with his friends. Because of the confidentiality within this tight-knit group, few references in print exist concerning their specific deliberations. Because the Select Society did not continue after Wesley’s death, little attention has been given to its representation.70

Another group that became important in the Wesleyan revival was the Penitent Band. This group was designed specifically for those who had a desire to overcome their personal problems, but were unable to meet the demands of the strict class-meeting setting. Since the primary focus of the entire Methodist movement centered on the poor and disenfranchised, the members of the Penitent Bands were those with more serious dysfunctions.71

In his essay “A Plain Account for the People Called Methodists,” Wesley describes the goal for the group as follows:

At this hour, all the hymns, exhortations, and prayers are adapted to their circumstances; being wholly suited to those who did see God, but have now lost sight of the light of his countenance; and who mourn after him, and refuse to be comforted till they know he has healed their backsliding.72
The goal of Penitent Band was to restore the members to society as functional individuals and to become a channel of change for wayward souls. At the heart of the gatherings was the means for personal reform similar to current twelve-step rehabilitative groups. The groups even met on Saturday nights in order to keep the members out of moral mischief.\textsuperscript{73}

Leadership Training

Wesley had no choice but to develop a plan to fill the huge gap of leadership in the church and then to implement that plan. The clergy within the Church of England were not willing to be a part of the revival. Only a handful would help Wesley. Out of necessity Wesley actively empowered and employed the laity of the church as leaders in the Methodist movement.\textsuperscript{74}

If the Methodist movement was to be widespread, it could not be solely through the efforts of one man. Throughout the church’s history, developing vital leaders has been one of the most crucial aspects of lasting change. Wesley had a system to find, train, nurture, equip, and send out groups of individuals who would contribute to the overall organization.

Ministers made up the first group of leaders that Wesley focused on. He was looking for natural traits and gifts that would be conducive to success in the clergy, and thus he examined an
individual's judgment, understanding, and reasoning. Along with these traits, a minister should possess "some liveliness and readiness of thought." Also, Wesley would find those with a "good memory."\textsuperscript{75}

In addition to the natural abilities, the minister must also possess a competent knowledge of "his own office, the Scriptures, the original tongues, profane history, the sciences, namely, logic, metaphysics, natural philosophy and geometry, the church Fathers, the world, common sense, and good breeding."\textsuperscript{76}

These qualifications would not compare to the final prerequisite for being a Methodist minister, which is God's grace. The individual had to possess this, or all of the others would not matter. The individual had to have the grace of God working in his or her intentions, affections, and practice.\textsuperscript{77}

In Wesley's eyes a true spiritual leader, especially those who were pastor-preachers, were the following:

1. To be a recipient as well as a channel of the grace of God.
2. To be holy and exemplary in all his conduct.
3. To be always growing, learning, going on to perfection.
4. To be obedient and submissive to Methodist authority structures.
5. To be entirely devoted to the work.
6. To be effective in saving souls and then nurturing them in the faith.
7. To carry on his heart always the burden for his flock.
8. To be one who daily reads and studies the Bible and other good Christian literature.
9. To preach sanctification as well as justification.
10. To be the servant of all.
11. To one day stand before God and give account of his stewardship.\textsuperscript{78}
Others who have studied Wesley’s search for lay ministers, they have suggested that there were two great waves of leadership recruitment. The first wave of leaders began their ministry between 1739 and 1765; the second began their ministry between 1766 and 1790. During the first wave, Wesley enlisted 221 lay preachers, 13 “local” preachers, and 93 “traveling preachers” or commonly called circuit riders.79

During the second wave, Wesley enlisted 472 ministers, 3 local ministers, and 460 traveling preachers. Wesley’s recruiting efforts yielded 653 traveling ministers during his lifetime.80 Of these, 57 percent, or 372 of them, remained with Wesley throughout their lives.

Wesley used at least five methods to train leaders as lay ministers. One was the annual conference. Not only was the gathering of all of the leadership used for theological and administrative debate, but Wesley also incorporated into the agenda time for training in the practical concerns of the ministry. This annual meeting became a training center for those who were then serving in the Methodist movement.81
The second tool John Wesley used in training the lay ministers was the rules themselves. The written policies were designed not only to assist in the making of difficult decisions, but to prevent problems from beginning. These lists of rules were disseminated in order to assist the laity in their leadership functions and in their personal lives.\(^{82}\)

The third avenue Wesley used for training was a combination of demonstration, delegation, and supervision. John Wesley modeled the way in which ministry was accomplished. "I will show them the way" was a phrase that embodied this mentoring model of leadership development.\(^{83}\)

Another form of leadership training took place because of the momentum that the movement itself created. In other words, the larger the growth, the more leaders were required to meet the needs of all the learning groups. As these leaders emerged from the laity, they were put in place and, through doing, were trained to serve and lead.\(^{84}\)

The fifth means of training the laity for leadership was the small instructional groups. The face-to-face sharing enabled individuals to grow in all facets of life spiritual, intellectual, social,
and even physical. Through dividing into smaller groups, more people could rise to become leaders, because in each class-meeting there were several leadership positions: visitor of the sick, steward, exhorter, and trustee.\textsuperscript{85}

Wesley intentionally designed the itinerant system to best use the skills of the Methodist ministers. He developed leaders as they preached, taught, and worked. The itinerant system helped to develop leaders in four distinct ways:

(1.) Because of the limited knowledge and ability of the preachers, this system makes it possible for their effectiveness to be increased.
(2.) Constant moving made possible a uniformity in teaching and administration.
(3.) Preachers did not remain in any place long enough to impress people with their own peculiar views.
(4.) It helped to produce a sense of unity in widely diversified people and groups.\textsuperscript{86}

When Wesley developed the itineracy system, he not only to met the preaching and worship needs of the Methodist movement, but he also “made the itineracy a peripatetic school of learning.” Wesley constantly supervised his young protégé and developed them into leaders who would carry out the ministries of the Methodist revival.\textsuperscript{87}
Many Methodists who aspired to become ministers began as class leaders. In a natural progression individuals would discover and use their gifts, and then there would be either a confirmation of their qualities or a rejection of their leadership skills. Therefore, the class-meeting was the initial training ground for the Methodist movement. It was the first step in a progression of long-term leadership development.88

Because one of the primary components of the Methodist movement was the class-meeting, the position of class leader was significant. The class leaders were considered to be in charge of the flock when the circuit riders were not present. The lay ministers chose the class leaders. They represented Methodism in the community because they did not itinerate.89

Wesley wrote job descriptions for each of the leadership positions. The function of the class leader was defined:

1. To see each person in his class once a week; to inquire how their souls prosper; to advise, reprove, comfort, or exhort them.
2. To receive what they are willing to give toward the expenses of the Society.
3. To meet the assistant and stewards once a week.90

Each week the class leaders would meet for training and supervision. During the leaders' meetings, the assistant or lay
minister would examine the leaders in order to ascertain their spiritual health.\(^91\)

Wesley’s concern for the spiritual life of the Methodists was exemplified not only through his formal teaching, but also through his leadership as a spiritual director. As Wesley gave form to the Methodist movement, he employed historic principles of spiritual formation. He constantly emphasized devotional practices and classical writings. He used the Bible as the cornerstone of devotional life, but he also gave great significance to historical Christian writings.\(^92\)

Wesley found himself in the role of a spiritual guide early in the movement. “In every place people flock to me for direction in secular as well as spiritual affairs,” Wesley writes in a letter to a friend.\(^93\) Several characteristics throughout Wesley’s writings point to this role of a spiritual mentor, namely affection, reciprocal openness, accountability, and encouragement.\(^94\)

Wesley was not only available to his leaders, but he was also available for personal consultation. This provided an important aspect of leadership development; that is, modeling. Throughout his journals and letters, Wesley writes about the individuals whom he
personally counseled. Wesley's personal contact with his leaders was in itself, a significant benefit to the early Methodists.

Courses of Study

John Wesley wanted his passion for reading and learning to be passed on to the leaders in the Methodist movement. To this end, he designed several means to facilitate intellectual growth. He developed a system of continuing education for his ministers, implementing the concept of "theological education by extension" two centuries before the name was used.

Wesley's program for continuing education was one of the primary means for the theological education of the clergy. When one of Wesley's ministers spoke against taking the time to learn, his rebuttal was to the point:

I answer,
(1.) Gaining knowledge is a good thing; but saving souls is a better.
(2.) By this very thing you will gain the most excellent knowledge, that of God and eternity.
(3.) You will have time for gaining other knowledge, too, if you spend all your mornings therin. Only sleep not more than you need; and never be idle, or trifling employed. But,
(4.) If you can do but one thing, let your studies alone. I would throw by all the libraries in the world, rather then be guilty of the loss of one soul.
Wesley encouraged lay ministers to read significant books. He would exhort them to the task of spending no less than five hours a day reading, preferably in the morning. If someone complained of not having a taste for reading, Wesley would reply, "Contract a taste for it, or return to your trade." The Methodist ministers were expected to have their saddle-bags full of books, and in the major preaching centers, they had opportunities to purchase books that Wesley had published.

Wesley's idea for The Christian Library began in a letter to a friend: "I have often thought of mentioning to you and a few others, a design I have had for some years, of printing a little library, perhaps of fourscore or one hundred volumes, for the use of those that fear God. My purpose was to select whatever I had seen most valuable in the English language and either abridge or take the whole tracts, only a little corrected or explained, as occasion should require." What began as an idea to educate his leaders, turned into a mammoth undertaking that would be his most massive project as an editor.

The fifty-volume set, The Christian Library: Consisting of Extracts from, and Abridgments of, the Choicest Pieces of Practical
Divinity Which Have Been Published in the English Tongue, was made up of literature from devotional classics to theological treatises to biographies. Included in the series were works from individuals such as John Calvin, John Wycliff, Richard Hooker, Philip Melanchthon, John Donne, Thomas a' Kempis, Richard Baxter, Brother Lawrence, John Bunyan, the Apostolic Fathers, and Blaise Pascal.  

The Christian Library began with high hopes and ended in financial debt. In spite of the intricate organizational system of the Methodists and despite Wesley's highest recommendations, the performance of the anthology was not what Wesley had hoped it would be. He wanted Methodists to be known as a reading people. He would say, "Reading Christians will be knowing Christians."  

Wesley was among the first in eighteenth-century England to open religious education to a large popular market. One contributing factor was his target of the ordinary, common laborer in his evangelistic outreach. No other person besides Wesley created a taste for reading and made books available at reasonable prices. He stands out in this era as one who was a "pioneer publisher of cheap literature."
Some thought that Wesley was using his publishing efforts to create vast wealth. He responded to such critics of a sermon titled “The Danger of Riches.”

Two and forty years ago, having a desire to furnish poor people with cheaper, shorter and plainer books than I had seen, I wrote many small tracts, generally a penny apiece, and afterwards several larger. Some of these had such a sale as I never thought of; and by this means, I endeavored after it. And now that it is come upon me unawares, I lay up no treasures upon earth; I lay up nothing at all. My desire and endeavor, in this respect, is to “wind my bottom round the year.” I cannot help leaving my books behind me whenever God calls me hence; but, in every respect, my own hands will be my executors.104

In the Book Room, the publishing central office, Wesley’s intention was to cultivate a taste for reading. Throughout his six decades of ministry, his printing efforts were well received. James Lackington, a successful bookseller of the day, remarked, “There are thousands in this society who will never read anything besides the Bible and books published by Mr. Wesley.” Such remarks indicated to Wesley that he had accomplished his purpose of providing Christian literature for those who had little leisure or ability for extended periods of reading.105

Although Wesley was criticized for some of the methodological ideas he implemented in teaching, he made significant contributions
to an uneducated society. The first was to teach from the known to
the unknown. He took everyday people where they were
intellectually and challenged them to go beyond that point. Another
was to allow everyone, regardless of social status, the advantage of
an education- male or female.\textsuperscript{106}

For Methodists, another way to continue their education was
through reading \textit{The Arminian Magazine}. The publication grew
steadily, and fostered intellectual growth. In an age when the
printed word was a precious thing, the circulation of the periodical
reached 7,000 by the time of Wesley’s death.\textsuperscript{107}

The early Methodist circuit riders not only were admonished
by Wesley to gain an education through their daily reading, but also
the ministers made literature available to the individuals in their
care. Before the oversight was delegated to the conference for
administration, some ministers took complete responsibility for
printing and circulating materials helpful for spiritual growth and
learning.\textsuperscript{108}

Wesley’s well-disciplined life bore much fruit. He exerted a
great amount of time and energy for this educational project. During
his years at Kingswood, between 1749 and 1755, Wesley not only
prepared 1,729 printed pages for the school's use, but he also edited the fifty volumes of *The Christian Library*, as well as the *Compendium of Logic*, five grammar books (teaching of the English language was not done in those days), and his four-volume set of *The Concise History of England*.\footnote{109}

John Wesley was a devoted Christian minister who wanted to do all that was humanly possible to inculcate religious principles in the lives of children. One of the primary tools he used to accomplish this goal was the catechism. The rote approach to learning the basics of the faith was strengthened with the addition of supplementary questions to review the spiritual concepts that were taught.\footnote{110}

Wesley redesigned the work of Abbe Fluery and M. Pierre Poiret into a catechism, a curriculum that he believed to be superior to the traditional Assembly Catechism. In this work, *Instructions for Children*, the sentences are short and concise. The didactical tone throughout the publication is divided into six sections, with fifty-eight lessons.\footnote{111}

In the preface to the *Instructions for Children*, Wesley admonishes parents and schoolmasters.
I have laid before you in the following tract the true principles of the Christian education of children. These should, in all reason, be instilled into them as soon as ever they can distinguish good from evil. If the fear of the Lord is the beginning of wisdom, then it is certainly the very first thing they should learn. And why may they not be taught the knowledge of God, and the knowledge of letters at the same time... Let them be engraven in your own hearts, and you will spare no pains in teaching them to others. Above all, let them not read or say one line without understanding and minding what they say. ... By this means they will learn to think as they learn to read; they will grow wiser and better every day. And you will have the comfort of observing that by the same steps they advance in the knowledge of these poor elements they will also grow in grace, in the knowledge of God, and of our Lord Jesus Christ.\footnote{112}

All these methods of using a type of catechism to instruct the children in the schools, in the societies, and at home were to develop piety and a personal faith and to assure salvation. The purpose of Wesley’s education was to teach others not only to do no harm, but to abstain from sin, develop right opinions, and exercise the spiritual disciplines. His purpose for the children, as it was for adults, was to instill a true religion and to train them in the ways of God.\footnote{113}

**Instruction with Hymns**

The Methodists were a singing people, and through the words of hymns, a theological foundation was laid. The Wesleyan hymns were primarily written by John Wesley’s brother Charles, and they were used extensively in gatherings wherever there were
Methodists. There is a presupposition of biblical literacy of these hymns. Not only were they a guide theologically, but they also were an effective means of teaching the foundations of the faith.¹¹⁴

The poetical works of both John Wesley and his brother Charles comprise a thirteen-volume set, appearing initially in booklets and fifty-four volumes from 1737 to 1790. The essence of Methodism comes to life as the teachings of John Wesley are combined with the musical talents of Charles Wesley. The hymns had to meet the test of being "poetical, rational, and scriptural."¹¹⁵

Through the teaching of hymns, deep spiritual and theological concepts were put into the plain language of the people. Many of the words were set to popular bar tunes of the day, with which the people were familiar. The hymns provide an insight into the minds of the two Wesleys as they approached the scriptures. The hymns as a collection encompassed selections from the entire Bible, which made the songs themselves good teaching tools.¹¹⁶

Wesley was well aware of the psychological effectiveness of the hymns. In the preface to A Collection of Hymns for the Use of the People Called Methodists, Wesley writes:

Here are all the important truths of our most holy religion, whether speculative or practical; yea, to illustrate them all, and to prove them both by Scripture and reason. And this is done in a regular order. The hymns are not carelessly jumbled together, but carefully ranged under proper heads, according to the experience of real Christians. So that this book is, in effect, a little body of experimental and practical theology.¹¹⁷
In the content of the hymns were the basics of the catechism of Methodism. Through the mystery of melody and rhyme, intellect and emotion merged into powerful forces. With this combination Wesley knew that the hearts of the Methodist people would be touched. His hope for the hymnbook was that it would be “a means of raising or quickening the spirit of devotion, of confirming his faith, or enlivening his hope, and of kindling or increasing his love to God and man.”

The hymns were selected with care and intention. They were deliberately designed to fit the message of the sermon, thus reteaching the content of the lesson through use of another medium. Not only were the hymns sung during worship services, but as Methodists went out into communities and towns, the message of the hymns went with them. They went to places where Methodist ministers could not go with sermons. The singing gospel was brought into the common life, whether at home, at work, or wherever there was a Methodist with a song on his or her lips.

The Wesleys used the hymns to teach children as well. In 1790 *Hymns for Children* was released for use in the Methodist movement for children. Although this separate hymnal was
published by Charles Wesley, John Wesley had included the information previously in the 1741 *Collection of Psalms and Hymns*. Included were nine hymns as well as prayers and other spiritual lessons.¹²⁰

The Reverend John Wesley sought to educate the masses, both rich and poor. In his mind the need for education was universal. But rather than merely focusing on the ignorance of this world, he was concerned with what only God, as the great physician of souls, could do. The primary thrust of his philosophy of education was that religion and education are inseparable. As a Christian pedagogue and andragogue who developed many avenues and recruited countless individuals, Wesley attempted to reach and to teach all who would hear the message he had to proclaim.
NOTES

5 Ibid.
7 Ibid., 4:16.
8 Ibid., 13:474.
9 Ibid., 7:271.
11 Ibid., 154-55.
13 Ibid., 3-5.
14 Naglee, 155.
18 Naglee, 162-63.
19 Ibid., 163.
20 Ibid., 174.
21 Ibid., 180.
22 Ibid., 183.
23 Ibid., 185-86.
25 Naglee, 193-94.
27 David Michael Henderson, “John Wesley’s Instructional Groups” (Ph.D. diss., Indiana University, 1980), 66.
38 Tracy, "Christian Education in the Wesleyan Mode," 37-38.
41 Ibid., 70.
43 Booth, 70-71.
44 Ibid., 75.
46 Booth, 76.
49 Ibid., 4:414.
50 Joseph William Seaborn, "John Wesley's Use of History as a Ministerial and Educational Tool," (Th.D. diss., Boston University School of Theology, 1984), 80-81.
51 Tracy, "Christian Education," 32.
52 Ibid.
53 Ibid., 33.
54 Willhauck, 198.
56 Henderson, 2-3.
57 Ibid., 69.
58 Ibid., 74-75.
59 Ibid., 91.
61 Ibid., 252.


64 Henderson, 154.

65 Ibid., 154-55.

66 Ibid., 161.

67 Ibid., 163.

68 Ibid., 178-79.

69 Ibid., 182.

70 Ibid., 181-82.


73 Henderson, 185.

74 James L. Garlow, “John Wesley’s Understanding of the Laity as Demonstrated by His Use of the Lay Preachers” (Ph.D. diss., Drew University, 1979), 19.


76 Ibid., 53-54.

77 Ibid., 54-55.

78 Ibid., 73-74.


80 Ibid.

81 Garlow, 266-67.

82 Ibid.

83 Ibid.

84 Ibid., 269-70.

85 Ibid., 272-73.

86 Frederick Russell Edgar, “A Study of John Wesley with a View to Determining the Educational Philosophy and Methodology Used by Him in the Wesleyan Revival and in His Leadership in the Organization of the Wesleyan Movement in England” (Ph.D. diss., Columbia University, 1951), 113-14.

87 Ibid., 114.

88 Key, 168.

89 Garlow, 197.

90 Gloster Stuart Udy, “The Class Meeting and Culture Change in Eighteenth Century England” (Th.D. diss., Boston University School of Theology, 1951), 65.

91 Garlow, 201.


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CHAPTER 5

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

Introduction

John Wesley's convictions concerning education had at their core a spiritual passion. His primary goals in shaping the Methodists were spiritual rather than secular. Wesley held to the religious principles of orthodox Christianity, which he believed to be unwavering throughout history.

Wesley was firm in his belief in a revealed religion that had existed from the time of the primitive Christian church. His system of education for both children and adults revolved around the presupposition that the most important aspect of education is to inculcate in individuals the values, ethics, and morals of orthodox Christianity.

The educational ideals and perennialist philosophy of John Wesley can be summarized in eight basic concepts:

1. Human nature is essentially sinful and can be rectified only through God's unconditional grace.
2. Lifelong Christian learning comes through doing the will of God.

3. Learning is both an individual and a community exercise.

4. Content for teaching and learning comes from the historical elements of the early church.

5. Progress and maturity occur when individuals participated in all of the "means of grace."

6. Teaching and learning opportunities should be extended to all social classes of people.

7. Social ills and evil are not to be forgotten; solutions should be sought through involvement and social justice.

8. Leadership development equips individuals for educational contributions.

1. Human nature is essentially sinful and can be rectified only through God's unconditional grace. Wesley's primary theme throughout his life as an educator and minister was what he called "holiness," "perfect love," or "Christian perfection." With these terms, he referred to the process of learning, accepting, and implementing the gospel of Jesus Christ in everyday life. His basic premise for education was to inculcate spiritual values, lessons, and principles into each individual.

    Wesley passionately believed that people could be saved from their sinful nature and guided toward attaining a Christlike
character. Although he believed that God’s grace could not be bought or earned, Wesley believed that through a partnership with God, faithful disciples played an intricate role in developing the spiritual life.

2. **Lifelong Christian learning comes through doing the will of God.** Wesley believed in experiential learning. Rather than basing the educational process on a lecture approach to learning, he designed various methods of accomplishing different aspects of instruction. One of the most important components was the small group, in which individuals students learned from each other and held each other accountable for their progress and growth.

Wesley anchored his approach to experience in the Bible, but his approach to education did not stop there. It was not enough to believe the right things; one had to do the best things. To Wesley, the foundation of the Christian message was more than a word to be heard; it was a lifestyle to be embraced.

3. **Learning is both an individual and a community exercise.** Although Wesley valued the private devotional life, the essence of small groups was to use the power of group interaction. In small groups individuals were transformed, redirected, and challenged.
Learning was a social event, and it was to be used as the cornerstone of the Methodist movement.

4. **Content for teaching and learning comes from the historical elements of the early church.** Throughout Wesley’s anthology, he studied and implemented learning strategies from the primitive church. His desire was to imitate the early church in content as well as in practice. Wesley consistently upheld the lifestyle approach to Christianity rather than the institutional. He not only advocated a return to the content, methods, and strategies of the early church, but felt it was absolutely necessary for revival.

5. **Progress and maturity occurs when individuals participate in all of the “means of grace.”** The means of grace included baptism, communion, Bible reading, prayer, confession, and preaching. Wesley increased the list to include those of “prudential means,” which primarily included the small-group experience, specifically the class-meetings and the bands. Wesley advocated that the incorporation of such experiences was necessary for spiritual growth.

6. **Teaching and learning opportunities should be extended to all social classes of people.** Most of the world paid attention to the elite and the sophisticated, but Wesley had compassion for the poor.
He grounded his approach to reaching the lower classes in the Bible. Even as he provided the poor with the words for spiritual growth, he enabled them to learn to read, write, and function in society.

The message of reaching the poor was prevalent throughout the Methodist movement. Each area of education, including leadership patterns, vocabulary, instructional settings, and group learning, was centered on the poorly educated in society.

7. Social ills and evil are not to be forgotten; solutions should be sought through involvement and social justice. Although Wesley did not attempt to change societal systems in eighteenth-century England, he wanted to rescue individuals from a host of social ills. He worked to overcome the evils of alcohol, violence, and theft. Wesley constantly fought to overcome evil with good.

8. Leadership development equips individuals for educational contributions. Wesley empowered those who showed potential as leaders to function in various roles in the development of the Methodist movement. This practice alone would have set Methodism apart from the Whitefield revival. Wesley enabled thousands to play a part in the great English revival of the eighteenth century.
Wesley’s convictions were strong and unwavering, despite threats, criticism, and unpopularity. These eight concepts formed the premise of Wesley’s educational philosophy and strengthened the foundation upon which he built his system for teaching both adults and children.

The Influence of Wesley’s Personality and Abilities on the Methodist Movement

What aspects of John Wesley’s personality and abilities contributed to the increasing number of adherents to the early Methodist movement?

John Wesley was a leader in every sense of the word. His strong disposition held up against insurmountable odds, and his ego was not affected by personal vendettas. He understood the times and the troubles of eighteenth-century England, had a compassionate heart, and sought methods that would provide remedies.

Wesley’s genius usually was the result of necessity. One example of his ingenuity was the decision to organize small groups of individuals to care for each other to nurture each other, and to watch over each others’ souls. Each type of group, both large and small, had
its purpose. Methodically, persons were assigned according to their need and desire to learn and grow in Christian discipleship.

Wesley expected much from those who chose to be followers of the Methodist movement. People lived up to the challenge that Wesley posed for the serious Christian. Through Wesley’s methods for developing learned leaders and followers, the Methodist movement gained momentum and the number of participants increased dramatically.

Wesley’s Major Concepts and Ideas

What major educational concepts and ideas did Wesley teach and use?

John Wesley lived during an era when obtaining an education was not considered important. Wesley, however, had a passion for learning. He attempted to transfer that desire for knowledge to everyone he met. He held firm to developing a lifelong approach to learning. One was neither too old nor too young to be a serious student.
His emphasis on instruction regardless of social status, gender, previous spiritual experience, or economic rank included anyone who wished to be a part of the Methodist movement.

Although Wesley's pedagogical and andragogical methodologies may seem harsh and crude to the enlightened educator, there can be no argument that an important aspect of learning is discipline. Wesley used the stringent approach to instruction so that individuals might be pushed beyond what they were to what they could become. Little is accomplished in a life that lacks discipline, and Wesley's prolific achievements illustrate for the ordinary person what can happen when self-control is combined with desire and passion.

Wesley's Models and Mentors

Who served as Wesley's models and mentors in his development of a philosophical basis for his approach to teaching and learning?

Throughout his life, Wesley was greatly influenced by his mother, Susanna Wesley. The foundation she laid in his early years stayed with him always. He often spoke of his mother, and she was one of the few persons to whom he would listen.
Other individuals and groups were also important models for Wesley. The Moravians gave him the heart and passion to seek the things of God. Their influence will always be at the soul of Methodism as the “heart that was strangely warmed.”

The great educational philosopher, John Locke, became Wesley’s primary mentor in learning. Using the tools of debate, logic, and meticulous study, Wesley’s intellect was one of the finest of his century. He was a product of the great minds in both the classics and Christianity.

Educational Programs Among the Methodists

What programs did Wesley initiate in order to facilitate learning among both children and adults?

Throughout his life, Wesley had a high regard for the spiritual life. To him, no one was too young or too old to learn the things of God, and he attempted to create systems of learning to facilitate such instruction.

Wesley used both formal and informal educational means to teach children the “three R’s”: reading, writing, and religion. Through his development of schools, Wesley’s goal was to implement
the finest in educational methodology, philosophy, and content. With the concept of "volunteer learning" via the Sunday schools, Wesley would allow those who would otherwise not have the opportunity to receive the gift of knowledge.

Wesley felt, however, that learning was not just for children. The highly structured Methodist class-meetings, bands, and societies were instigated for the participants to exhort one another to new levels of learning. Through these systems of instruction, Wesley was able to meet the cognitive, affective, and behavioral needs of individuals.

Design for Organization and Administration

How were Wesley's programs organized and administered?

John Wesley at times seemed more like a benevolent dictator than a minister, but it is this trait that kept the various organizations and groups of early Methodism running efficiently and effectively. Because of his gift for administration, Wesley was able to carry on many activities simultaneously. This is another characteristic of a great leader.
Through the use of different types of groups to meet various needs, Wesley placed people in the learning system that would most benefit them. Because each group was centered in the community in which the individual lived, he was able to supervise each area. Wesley trained the leaders he needed to set up the various systems and administer them, and he was then able to supervise only as necessary.

One method that Wesley was that of developing leaders to assist him in the organization and administration of the Methodist movement. This not only implemented biblical concepts (Exodus 18), but it also assured Wesley that his was God's work and that it could and would go on after his death.

Developing Educational Leaders

How did Wesley establish patterns for developing educational leadership, in both the clergy and the laity?

John Wesley used almost any means he could to create leaders for the Methodist movement. But even he had to make a paradigm shift in his Anglican way of thinking. As with any large bureaucracy, the Church of England had rules and regulations. One that Wesley
overcame was that concerning the role and place of laity in the church.

Because of the people's lack of biblical knowledge, dead spirituality, and untapped leadership skills, Wesley knew that he had to design the means for developing those lay people who were needed to carry on the work of God. Through on-the-job training, personal growth and development, and mentoring, Wesley implemented a multifaceted approach to the development of educational leaders.

Pedagogical and Andragogical Principles

Which of John Wesley's educational principles might serve as a foundation for a contemporary philosophy of education?

This study has addressed the pedagogical and andragogical principles found in John Wesley's writings. Through the research of both primary and secondary sources, the following pedagogical and andragogical principles were discovered.

1. John Wesley used a teacher-centered approach in the development of his schools for children and a self-directed approach for teaching and learning with adults. In both the private schools
and the Sunday schools for children, Wesley and the classroom
teachers were in charge of the content of the curriculum. In
Wesley's practice of pedagogy there was a dependency on the adult
teacher. The students followed the directives of the adults who were
in charge of the methodologies and the base of knowledge for
education.

On the other hand, Wesley allowed the leaders and participants
of the class-meetings and bands to be more self-directed. The adults
were allowed to follow the established guidelines, but they were
expected to be responsible for their own learning and growth as a
Christian. In this way Wesley empowered the adults to be
accountable to each other for their learning.

In children's education Wesley had strict standards for
classroom management. The learning climate was rigid, with
stringent schedules and little flexibility. With adult programming, the
class-meetings were more informal and allowed more leeway in the
format.

In Wesley's approach to pedagogy, the teacher and
administrators developed a set curriculum for each grade. The
leaders of the schools planned all of the daily, weekly, and annual
activities. In his approach to andragogy, Wesley allowed adult learners to decide on a personal plan of learning and actions to be followed. The sets of questions that guided the class-meetings and bands allowed adults to decide for themselves the plan of learning. Then each individual was responsible for the implementation of the concepts as personal goals for the week.

Wesley believed that, in pedagogy, the teacher's primary responsibility was to teach, usually in the lecture method. When Wesley designed adult learning opportunities, the teacher or leader served more as a coach. The leader was another member of the group, but had the responsibility of keeping the flow of the learning time going.

2. John Wesley implemented a concept-based curriculum for teaching and instructing children and an experiential-based program for adult learners. Wesley knew that children did not have a broad base of experience, so he emphasized teaching concepts. Adults, on the other hand, had varying degrees and types of experiences, depending on the accomplishments of the learner.
As a child learned, he or she was the recipient of a specific knowledge base. But as adults gathered together to learn, Wesley approached them as full participants in the learning process.

Most of the content that Wesley directed toward the education of children was intended for future use. He knew that adult learners needed help to overcome their current spiritual problems, and he implemented the principles of andragogy for solutions to everyday living. As individuals were converted and moved toward growth and maturity, the class-meetings and bands provided opportunities for them to work through personal applications of spiritual concepts.

Wesley provided children with educational opportunities when they were quite young because he knew that it would be easier to build a strong Christian foundation from the beginning. Children were moldable and open to learning new ideas. Adults, on the other hand, had to “unlearn” harmful habits and replace them with habits that would encourage healthy and holy living.

3. John Wesley developed a sequential learning system for children and a developmental task system for adult students. In children’s education, Wesley implemented a learning approach that built upon the physical and mental stages of a child’s life. In his
approach to andragogy, Wesley knew the interrelatedness of the developmental tasks of adults and to their social roles.

Children had a sequential curriculum content that was followed step by step. Groupings were made by age and developmental stage. But with adults, Wesley focused learning around their specific developmental roles. The roles may have been that of husband or wife, parent, or single adult. The class-meeting grouping focused on these specific needs rather than on chronological age groupings.

4. John Wesley designed a subject-centered approach to teaching children and a problem-based approach for adult learners. In Wesley’s approach to children’s education, knowledge was usually postponed for future use. Subjects were covered, not for immediate use, but as the basis for an educational foundation. The content-based approach to learning served as a means to a formal education.

In Wesley’s formation of adult education, problems were addressed and an immediate application to the learner’s life was made. This method started the learner toward change. As the adult’s needs were met, the learner became not only personally responsible for growth, but also motivated toward more intentional education.
Although many aspects of Wesley's century cannot and should not be replicated, several major components are useful to consider in a contemporary approach to teaching and learning. One that is relevant to today's Methodist church is the emphasis on passing on a particular body of knowledge to the next generation.

Unfortunately, most of the current educational settings within Methodism have become deserts of biblical ignorance. Throughout history, wherever great spiritual awakenings have occurred in Christendom, there has been a resurgence in biblical and theological learning. The time has come once again to implement the content of our faith.

Another significant contribution Wesley has made toward a contemporary solution to education is that of not allowing human-made boundaries to impede the work to be accomplished. Although Wesley was criticized, ridiculed, and even thrown out of the churches of England, it did not hinder his call.

Too often in leadership, obstacles seem insurmountable, and leaders usually give up. Wesley teaches a great lesson of perseverance and persistence in spite of obstacles. He provides a
model of one who turned such obstacles into opportunities that would change history for here and eternity.

Although John Wesley has been known as the great evangelistic preacher of the eighteenth century, he also has a place alongside significant educational innovators for his contributions to pedagogy and andragogy. Through the intentional designs of his institutions and schools for children, as well as the societies, bands, and class-meetings for adults, Wesley created instructional systems to meet varying educational needs. Although John Wesley's primary purpose was to save souls, his educational agenda focused on the spiritual development and maturity of each individual. Through the guiding principles Wesley established regarding pedagogy and andragogy, the past and the future of the Methodist church can be better understood.
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