

**“Rooted and built up”:
Women, Faith Development
and the Wesleyan Perspective**

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*So then, just as you received Christ Jesus as Lord, continue
to live in him, rooted and built up in him, strengthened in the
faith as you were taught, and overflowing with thankfulness.*

Colossians 2:6,7 (NIV)

History has generally been synonymous with male-dominated movements, theories and interests. In the area of moral and faith development, male subjects have been predominantly studied and interviewed (in, for example, the work of Kohlberg, Piaget, Erikson and Fowler and for a contrasting female perspective, Carol Gilligan). Within the past twenty-five years, the story of women in history, the celebration of their specific contributions and the witness of their daily lives, has become a subject for historians, psychologists, theologians, and sociologists. The issue of women's leadership within religious movements has become a popular topic within the last ten years. The recovery of the importance of women's roles in society, culture, and throughout history has significantly changed our former perspectives in four fundamental disciplines: history, sociology, psychology and religious studies. These new insights have had ripple effects in other areas as well, specifically in moral and faith developmental studies and the growing area of the study of conversion experiences. . In Wesleyan studies, the role of women in leadership and practical developments has long been implied, but only recently examined in depth. What was the contribution of women's leadership in moral, ethical, faith, and practical developments during the Wesleyan Revival of 1738-1791, and what conclusions can be drawn concerning the roots of moral and faith developmental theories and conversion studies through consideration of these Wesleyan women's testimonies?

As I was doing the research for this paper, I glanced out of the library window. There, just outside, was a magnificent tree, blowing in the fierce wind. I marvelled at how the tree was immovable; its foundation of roots secured it in the soil. These roots were nurtured by the surrounding elements, and the roots, in turn, nourished the tree trunk and all its branches and leaves. The same common roots had joined together to form and support all the various aspects of the tree. If a tree is used as a metaphor for this study, then the roots identify the disciplines of history, sociology, psychology, and religious studies.

The primary focus of this study is to answer the question, 'What was the contribution of women's leadership in moral, ethical, faith and practical developments during the Wesleyan Revival of 1738 to 1791?' All inquiries and investigations into the aforementioned disciplines lead back to this primary focus. There are reasons for a hermeneutic of suspicion concerning the comparisons between faith development theories and the historic documents from Wesley's female adherents. It is a given that our modern perspective colours the way in which we view the religious experiences of eighteenth-century women. The records are often sparse, or written many years after they actually occurred. Most accounts are either in the form of autobiographical journals, diaries, or personal letters, or part of an obituary written to honour that particular woman's faith and life. Once we accept the limitations of such a study, and our own limited perspectives on the eighteenth century itself, then we are free to investigate the field, recognizing that we are making suggestions, drawing conclusions and celebrating these very real experiences while making no claim to the scientific accuracy of our case. Also, the disciplines involved overlap and intersect one another in our modern interpretations, but such has not always been the perspective. The eighteenth century viewed theology separately from religious history and the disciplines of psychology and sociology were at their earliest stages of development, not taken seriously as

disciplines to study. Today, sociologists study the sociology of religion and theologians study the psychology of sociology. Historians look at the theological roots of historical movements while psychologists debate the impact of sociology on their science.

Returning to the primary focus, women's leadership in the Wesleyan movement, the question that surfaces is: 'What were the strengths and appeal of its power, moral impetus, and witness, especially in the lives of the women who became leaders of this movement?' Anne Laurence commented that 'the strength of their [women's] faith prompted them to play an active and public part in the early Methodist evangelization'.¹ Exactly what made the Wesleyan movement attract such a large following of women? For some historians, the answer to that question is obvious. It was John Wesley himself that appealed to the masses of women.² John Wesley was magnetic, influential, and for more than half his life, unmarried. His mother, Susanna, and his sisters taught him the 'principle of inclusion'.³ He wrote three times as much to women as to men in his vast correspondence.⁴ He desired and sought their devotion, approval, and friendship. However, this simplistic, but obvious, answer obscures the rest of the picture. To truly assess the impact of this movement, we must examine the historical, sociological, psychological and religious roots of the eighteenth-century revival and how those roots molded and informed Wesley's theology and praxis within his movement. By the early 1700s, it was obvious that there was a marked decline in popular religion as Alan Gilbert explains:

By 1740, habits of indifference stretching back several generations had become embedded in the structures of many local communities ... The actions of the early Methodists brought into sharp focus for the first time an Anglican dilemma which was to retain primary significance in English social and religious history ... Society was beginning to evolve voluntaristic attitudes towards religious behaviour.⁵

By its very nature, the Methodist movement was better able to cope with the social context and rapid changes brought on by depopulation in some areas, industrialization and rapid population growth in other areas, and the changing labour force inherent in becoming a modern, industrial nation. Some scholars suggest that the Church of England, though still powerful and favoured politically, was 'inflexible and ill-prepared for change; Methodism, in its infancy was already showing signs of dynamism'.⁶ There was a need to provide a religious frame of reference in a changing social environment. In the more rural, agricultural areas, poverty was overwhelming and the day-to-day struggles to survive led to depression and the willingness to spend hard-earned money on gambling, alcohol, and tobacco. Children were often forced to work in order to bring in the needed extra income to help feed their families. Trade unions and labour laws were nonexistent. Difficult weather patterns meant disaster for some rural communities. Education, which provided an alternative to the poverty of rural life, was mainly unattainable due to the cost, distance to travel, and the time away from earning wages. In the larger towns and cities, inadequate housing was the over-arching issue. Other social problems such as rampant alcoholism, gaming, gambling and prostitution often plagued these population centres. Oppression and the growing division between landowners and employers and their tenants and labourers kept widening and deepening the misunderstandings of the social orders.⁷ The Church of England attempted to control the social and religious laws as well as the laws of human nature.⁸ However, the gulf between the established clergy and those in the pews continued to increase and challenged the dominance of the Church of England throughout the 1700s. At times, the clergy exploited the political situation and asserted their superiority. The watchwords of the era were power and expanded opportunities, but the reality for the lower orders was more often despair. The Church itself appealed to the social elite rather than the lower orders, who constituted by far the largest proportion of the population. John Wesley came into this historic and social context. The Church of England, and English society in general, would feel his presence and the consequences of his message of the grace and love of God.

Wesley's message of grace and redeeming love provided the impetus for his practical devotion and social reforms. His goal of 'spreading Scriptural holiness throughout the land, amid the comparatively static society of 1738',⁹ enabled him to preach his message to the neglected masses,

including the women of his time. This is therefore a second reason for his appeal to women: his personal message of individual salvation, preached to those for whom the established Church was out of touch. The message of God's grace and saving love, which is available to all who desire it, was eagerly received by those whose lives were less than hope-filled and loving. The third reason for his appeal is related to women's particular roles. Wesley used the 'familial image of Methodism as the "household of faith"',¹⁰ at a time when family relationships were chaotic and strained. His own role in the movement and the way in which the Methodists organized themselves (under his supervision) stressed relationships, accountability and trust. Wesley's movement underscored the need for family, community and commitment as it provided needed 'security and material welfare for its members'.¹¹ Since the industrial revolution had shaken family relationships to their core, and was not immediately able to meet those same needs in newer paradigms, Wesley's message and practice provided the means by which women, in particular, felt secure and could exercise some leadership in a *family* atmosphere. Into this familial atmosphere streamed women from all walks of life - encouraged by Wesley's message and nurtured in the network of societies, classes and bands. Wesley realized how important local leadership was in his organizational scheme and so he enabled those with leadership abilities - male and female alike - to take the reins within their local areas. According to one author, the Methodists 'had evolved a simple and flexible machine, like a watch, wheels within wheels, and as throughout the land societies grew and multiplied, it was often in informal, almost haphazard ways'.¹² By utilizing women in the leadership roles of the classes and bands and tapping into their need for family and security, the Methodist movement flourished and solidified its place in the history of English spirituality.

Even though Wesley was drawn instinctively into correspondence with women and had allowed them (from the beginnings of the movement) to take leadership positions in their local area, he was 'at first hesitant to allow women to preach'.¹³ Women, as class and band leaders, shared their faith through testimonies, public prayers and Bible readings. Wesley continued to encourage women's leadership, except in preaching, until he was persuaded to allow - on a case-by-case basis - particular women to preach. The persuasive argument came by way of a letter from Mary Bosanquet (later, Fletcher), who asked that women be given 'the same opportunity to follow their call under similar rules and restraints'. Wesley, therefore, allowed some exceptions of extraordinary women preachers to the general rule of his societies. He tried to change public opinion by 'maximizing the benefit of the grace and gifts manifest in the ministry of these women'.¹⁴

One such gifted and grace-filled woman was Sarah Crosby, formerly a class leader at the Foundry in London. After transferring to Derby, the classes she led there grew to over 200, but her actions of praying and speaking about her faith experiences caused her much soul searching. Leslie Church quotes her in a letter to John Wesley, giving her reasons for conducting this type of service:

Yet I saw it impracticable to meet all these people by way of speaking to each individual. I therefore gave out a hymn, and prayed, and told them part of what the Lord had done for myself, persuading them to flee from all sin ... I do not think it wrong for women to speak in public provided they speak by the spirit of God.¹⁵

She wrote to Wesley to ask his advice, which he was more than happy to provide. In the strictest sense, Wesley never granted his full permission for Sarah, or any other woman, to preach in public. He recognized her abilities and suggested that she do everything but formally preach. Paul Chilcote explains that 'prayer, testimony and exhortation were well within the limits of permissible women's activities'.¹⁶ Wesley was a man of his social and historical context and stopped short of endorsing women's preaching because the expected norms of his social situation dictated a different role for women in religious activities.

Anne Laurence sheds additional light on the subject of women's roles in eighteenth-century England:

Women's preaching aroused opposition but the conduct of devotional exercises was uncontentious, an extension of women's domestic role as preservers of the faith. Women's participation in

congregations may be seen in testimonies. These were accounts of their lives, laying particular stress upon their spiritual development and their conversion, which people had to deliver to the congregation as a condition of entry to certain churches ... [They] spoke about the things that were most important to them ... [they] rarely mentioned their husbands.¹⁷

Generally, women were acknowledged, not by their own abilities, but by the status of their husbands or fathers. However, Laurence suggests that women 'had a certain amount of independence as to their religion'.¹⁸ This independence would prove costly, however, often forcing women to choose either their families, friends, and employment or their Methodist beliefs and call to lead and preach.

One such heroic woman was Sarah Bentley (1767-1847), who lived a long, but seldom peaceful life. She had no formal education, no religious upbringing, and her parents were farm labourers who died when she was in her teens. After their deaths (only 7 weeks apart), she began by opening her Bible and found direct guidance for her questioning faith. Her friends were against her new-found religion and tempted her to return to 'normal' by attending dances and drinking. Her own brother was so appalled by her plain appearance, her seeming depression, and her lack of friends that he took her Bible away. By this time she had experienced the love and help of two Methodist preachers and found a new joy in the simple Gospel and peace in the power of prayer. She 'practiced her faith and vows every day'. Her faith was tested greatly in that she worked as a barmaid: she asked God what she should do in her employment. She found that working as a barmaid enabled her to make personal contacts with many people throughout the day. Through prayer, she felt led by God to continue to witness in her bold way, as a barmaid. Thomas Morrow describes her as having 'persistence which refused to be in any way discouraged by opposition, insight into people's needs and a complete trust in God and His ability to guide her through every situation'.¹⁹ Her family despised her conversion to Methodism and her enthusiastic leadership of the Methodist society in York. In spite of these obstacles, Sarah Bentley lived a powerful witness to her plain and prayer-filled faith. She left no diary or letters, no journal or sermons, and yet her testimony has been handed down through those whose lives she changed by her honesty, goodness and courage.

Courage was a word all Methodists understood, but women in particular had to exhibit courage and the power of their convictions in the midst of overwhelming persecutions. Josiah Henry Barr discusses the cases of several women who were beaten and threatened due to their beliefs and Methodist connections. He quotes from Charles Wesley's Journal of September 28, 1739:

Wives and children are beaten and turned out of doors and the persecutors are the complainers ... To-day Mary Hanney was with us. While she continued a drunkard, a swearer, and company-keeper, it was all very well; she and her father agreed entirely. But from the time of her turning to God he has used her most inhumanly. Yesterday he beat her, and drove her out of doors, following her with imprecations and threatening to murder her, if she returned.²⁰

Mob violence was common in the early part of the movement, but continued throughout the time of John Wesley's ministry. This brute force was especially aimed at women, those who were class leaders, lay preachers and followers alike. Barr describes several such attacks:

Shocking, however, as was the brutality of this merciless mob, yet more bestial still was their treatment of some of the women. One was knocked down, and bruised in many places; another was forced to flee from her home and to stay in the fields in midwinter with her infant, born only 2 weeks before, in her arms, and a third was assaulted by a group of men, who threw her to the ground, and four or five held her that another might force her. She fought bitterly and untiringly, and, after being severely beaten, escaped them.²¹

Not only mobs of men attacked and beat these Methodist women - other women would also curse and beat these believers. This is vividly detailed in the account of the wife of John Nelson, who

was a local lay preacher near Wakefield. Mrs Nelson and several other women were walking to Birstal when a mob began to harass them. After she had talked to the angry mob, the men dispersed, but the women continued to threaten her. Mrs Nelson was obviously pregnant, but they [the women] 'beat her so brutally as to kill the child, and caused her to miscarry immediately upon reaching home'.²²

Given these obvious obstacles to following Methodist teachings, and the hardships endured after conversion, why would these women desire and even seek after this controversial religious experience, let alone take leadership in this movement? As stated previously, John Wesley's own witness and influence played a part of his movement's appeal to women. Also, the social and historic context added to the upheaval of stable relationships in society and Wesley's organized classes, bands and societies helped provide a new means of security and a regulated daily routine, in an otherwise chaotic existence. Paul W. Chilcote adds yet another dimension to this discussion when he writes:

Women helped to make the Wesleyan revival in England a powerful religious awakening ... Their search for truth and justice brought vitality to the movement ... The early Methodists not only rediscovered lost truths for the community of faith, but their faith also led them to confront the injustices of their world ... Methodist women dared to claim their rightful place within the life of the church. They challenged repressive institutions ... They questioned the validity of exclusive structures ... The women preachers stood on the cutting edge of the struggle for liberation.²³

Was it a desire for freedom and liberation that motivated these women to face dangers, and even possible death, to preach the message of personal salvation to a society not generally ready to hear a message of assurance and grace? Deborah Valenze suggests yet another motivation: economic stability. She comments that 'through religion, women found ideological support and inspiration for their campaign against economic defeat'.²⁴ For Wesley's followers, diligence and thrift formed conditions that improved the standards of living for the poor (who were mainly women and children). In an affirming, yet alternative point of view from that of Chilcote, Valenze points out that 'the steps towards becoming a female preacher were, in effect, stages in renouncing community and family'. She further states emphatically that 'conversion became a ritual renunciation of courtship, marriage and family life'.²⁵ For female preachers, the rigours of visiting, leading meetings, travelling, preaching and other pastoral duties meant little time for the duties of family and home. Such pastoral duties and the flock of believers these women cared for, replaced household chores and families. Certainly women preachers defied social norms and stood against the status quo. Valenze suggests that 'during times of economic distress, this kind of conversion gave women leverage in a struggle that pitted the household against competing social ties'. Valenze concludes that 'female preachers might attract listeners by virtue of their novelty; they changed listeners' lives by reformulating the dictates of necessity'.²⁶ However, I believe in the majority of cases that the motivation behind the leadership of women in the Wesleyan movement was profoundly part of their personal conversion experiences - motivated not by the search for justice, economic security, family values, the 'dictates of necessity' or even liberation, but rather a sense of morality and a need to explain the radical transformation of their own conversions.

John Wesley's conversion experience was a gradual awakening to the truth of a personal salvation brought by the love of God and witnessed in the love of others. His 'heart warming' experience at Aldersgate was but the plateau of a life's searching for the faith he preached. Wesley's aims of 'preaching Scriptural holiness throughout the land'²⁷ brought both a renewal of society and individuals. He believed that 'everyone has a soul that must be saved',²⁸ that everyone had value as a person, and that this provided the framework of sharing God's love through faith. In *A Short History and Handbook of the Methodist Church*, George Eayrs wrote of Wesley's experience on May 24, 1738:

[It] was a spiritual crisis that led to [Wesley's] evangelical conversion ... Wesley was now a new man. Such a close personal relation to God, assurance of pardon, power over sin, and love to all men, he had never known before.²⁹

I believe that conversion experiences are crises of faith - pivotal and vital experiences of personal connection with God. If conversion is indeed a process of change - of radical transformation - then John Wesley's experience certainly fits this definition. In his own conversion, Wesley realized the power of his deepened religious faith and saw the need for a 'revival of religion' in English society. In transforming individuals, society was likewise transformed. In transforming society, did women's leadership play any pivotal or explicit roles? In what ways did women benefit, or suffer additional difficulties, as a result of taking leadership roles in the Wesleyan Revival?

To answer these questions, the experiences of the women themselves stand as evidence of the force of their influence within this movement. First, it is evident that the role of women in leadership was indeed limited not only by Wesley's Biblical interpretation, but by his inherited Anglican social perspective of women. His own experiences of women's ministry challenged his perceptions, however. In his Epworth home, under his mother's leadership, a small prayer meeting turned into a religious revival for more than 200 people. Wesley saw for himself what could be 'achieved by a woman empowered by God'.³⁰ John Newton, in his classic biography of Susanna, completes the picture of this holy woman:

What she preached to her children, she practised herself ... In one of her morning meditations she reminded herself: 'Religion is not to be confined to the church, or closet, nor exercised only in prayer and meditation. Everywhere we are in the presence of God and every word and action is capable of morality'.³¹

Second, women who were informally leaders were equally important in the movement. Annie Keeling describes other women who were less well known in history and who are often overlooked. She writes of Lady Mary Fitzgerald (1725 - 1815) who was attracted to the Methodist movement in mid-life. Lady Mary's conversion is one 'evidenced by the changed tenor of her life'. Keeling reports on this transforming experience:

In private life an austere simplicity replaced the sumptuousness affected by persons in her life; and on the poor and the suffering she now lavished the means once employed, without a thought of wrong, on mere luxury and pomp. The employment of her time, like that of her wealth, was also totally changed; she devoted both, now and forever, to the service of God and of man.³²

Keeling uses other witnesses to bring Lady Mary's story into fuller bloom. She quotes one witness as saying, 'There was a sort of heavenly atmosphere around her'. Another summarized their own experience of her by saying, 'Conversation with her was more impressive and more convincing as to the truth of religion than any book or sermon, however excellent'.³³

Third, women who were of various social classes supported the revival, not always by their testimonies and active preaching but through their financial leadership and social witness, as is the case of Lady Selina, Countess of Huntington. She disliked publicity and kept no journal or diary of her experiences. Her formal education was limited, but she read widely later in life. She was titled by marriage, but largely avoided her class and ministered instead to the people that 'Whitefield and Wesley catered to'. She took great care in financial matters throughout her life and she led many to conversion simply by meeting her. Her interest in education led her to establish schools and to provide scholarships at universities. In fact, George Whitefield benefited from her philanthropic endeavours on behalf of higher education. Lady Selina's role within the Wesleyan movement was 'to be protector and a provider of patronage, to rescue their followers from riots, the press, and hostile incumbents and bishops'.³⁴

Finally, women who rose to the top leadership positions in Wesley's movement were encouraged to be of even greater service in the Lord's work. Wesley bestowed upon some extraordinary women leaders the title, 'mother in Israel'. Deborah Valenze explains

Spiritual mothers were often witness to or responsible for the conversion of souls. The combined

imagery of motherhood and preserved territory represented perfectly the sectarian ideal of domesticity and the family.³⁵

Mrs Mary (Barritt) Taft is but one example of a 'mother in Israel' who was an extremely powerful preacher and evangelist. She reached many souls who were beyond the reach of other preachers. Maldwyn Edwards observed:

He [Wesley] wanted women of outstanding ability to be natural allies of the preachers stationed in their area. They were not only to encourage them but also to take an active part in the fellowship and service of the Society.³⁶

Thus far I have examined the benefits of women's leadership in the Wesleyan movement. What, if any, were the difficulties? First, Wesley's mother exerted enormous influence on Wesley's actions, doctrines, and practices as well as providing a role model with which other women paled in comparison. Susanna's strict Puritan piety and serious self-examination, which she taught her children, included the use of various 'means of grace, including Scripture reading, prayer and meditation, public worship and private self-scrutiny, but also the sacrament of Holy Communion'.³⁷ Newton's biography of her summarizes her life and witness in this way:

We see in Susanna a remarkable blend of the active and contemplative life. Her life exemplified rather Luther's teaching on the calling of the Christian woman. Luther had taught that the saint's path to heaven was to be trodden, not by renouncing the offices of wife and mother, but precisely through fulfilling them, while at the same time making the concerns of the spirit paramount ... In her writings all the great Puritan keywords recur: method, discipline, duty, reason, conscience, experience, and holiness. These terms, which give the clue to her whole pattern of life, were translated into an ordered framework of Puritan theology and devotion.³⁸

All of this seems positive - growing and blossoming in Wesley's life and ministry. However, largely due to his mother's influence, once a leader in the Wesleyan revival, a woman had to be of the highest character and practise disciplined devotion, severe self-examination, and continue a rigorous daily schedule. Maldwyn Edwards casts a negative shadow on this mother-son relationship by suggesting that Wesley had a 'mother fixation' and stating that 'no mother was less possessive, no son less demanding'.³⁹ This may be an overstatement, but the fact remains that Wesley never honestly considered marriage until after his mother's death. A classic example of his unyielding disciplinarian approach to life is the letter he wrote to his sister on the death of her husband and children stating that their deaths should be 'welcomed, in that it freed her for further work for God'.⁴⁰ By her disciplined life and her devoted faithful friendship, Ann ('Nancy') Bolton was an ideal leader in Wesley's eyes. She was obedient to him in all matters, seeking his approval and his advice often, even turning to him to ask his permission to marry and declining to do so when he suggested that 'The best and most desirable thing of all is that you should live and die wholly devoted to God, waiting upon him without distraction, serving him without carefulness'. She had a quality of spirituality and an inner beauty, as well as a dependence and deep affection for him. Other women in his movement were spiritually more mature, and more gifted in their abilities to teach and preach, but Wesley viewed Ann's unquestioning devotion to him and her ability to take his advice in all areas of her life as equally important gifts for a female leader.⁴¹

Second, many women's stories, testimonies and sermons are lost because they did not keep journals, diaries, or records of their testimonies. The words, devotional practices, and ministries of many of those who were class and band leaders are lost forever. Some were remembered in the various Methodist publications as part of their obituaries, but these were often written years later as a tribute, and what is more important, written by male friends, relatives, pastors and class leaders. These women's voices are now silenced and it is a major historical loss.

Third, the Countess of Huntington, who had a sharp temper and was a demanding authoritarian in most matters, gradually withdrew her support for Wesley's movement due to her increasing allegiance to the Calvinistic doctrine of salvation by election, rather than Wesley's more Arminian

understanding of universal salvation. Her 'Connexion' was the first formally to withdraw from the Church of England. She used her unique situation as a widowed peeress to continue to appoint clergy to Anglican chapels, but her decisions were often hasty and ill advised. Before her death in 1791, her debts were numerous and her 'Connexion' was in serious financial difficulty.⁴² Thus, what started out as a positive part of the Wesleyan Revival, ended as an unsuccessful splinter group that divided the movement through doctrinal differences and inflexible personalities and which eventually became financially insolvent.

Finally, in spite of a multitude of women in both major and minor leadership positions, Wesley's attitude toward women as preachers never ultimately changed. Paul Chilcote offers this explanation:

Wesley's primary concern was for the movement to thrive in the life of the Church ... [thus he] moved with caution into areas that others might consider to be too innovative!⁴³

Is it any wonder that Wesley stayed with a traditional course of action in terms of women preaching? He did however, overwhelmingly support women in a variety of other leadership roles within the movement, which inevitably led to women preaching in the Methodist movement. E. Gordon Rupp expands this statement:

John Wesley was reluctant to allow women to preach ... But in fact Wesley had already been forced to admit that women class leaders, from praying and giving their testimony, i.e., reciting their own experiences, might proceed to exhortation and so to preaching ... By the end of the century, women preachers were making their own distinctive contribution to the revival, and at least one of the leaders of the next generation, Thomas Jackson, was converted by a woman preacher, Mary Barrett. As in the first days of the Christian religion, a devout band of godly women were at the heart of the Methodist movement.⁴⁴

Most of the discussion thus far has touched upon the thesis in general terms - examining the contribution of women's leadership during the Wesleyan Revival. It is time for the discussion to become much more specific in each of the areas presented in the thesis: moral, ethical, faith, and practical terms. I have already referred to the area of morality when I claimed that the motivation for taking on leadership roles in Methodism was, for the majority of women, part of their conversion experience, arising out of a sense of morality and a need to explain their radical transformations. It is to this moral impetus and the study of conversion experiences that this paper now turns, not only to the historic records and the social context of the eighteenth century, but to modern moral development theories (i.e., Kohlberg and Gilligan) and to the theories behind religious conversion experiences (i.e., Rambo, Gration, and Gillespie).

Donald M. Joy, in a seminal essay, bridges the perceived gap between the historical facts and modern theory. His thesis is that: 'the God who revealed himself in history and in his Son Jesus, is also the God who left a record of himself in what he has created ... and that both disclosures of himself are ultimately reconcilable'.⁴⁵ Beginning with these basic assumptions, he goes on to share his 'tentative connections to structural stages and levels', especially as these relate to Wesley's understanding of the 'stages' of his own life and subsequent conversion experience, nurtured faith experiences, and maturing evangelistic zeal. Taking a cue from this study and applying it to the thesis at hand, I will examine women's testimonies and experiences based on modern moral development. As with Joy's work, and in all developmental theories, these stages are best viewed in hindsight, studied as informed history, documented by personal revelation, and tested over time.

As to moral development, primarily, Lawrence Kohlberg postulated that 'all cultures and subcultures employ the same basic moral concepts (e.g., love, respect, liberty, authority) and that all individuals, regardless of culture, go through the same stages of reasoning about these concepts'. Kohlberg defined the difference between the structure of the moral order, which he felt was universal, and the content of moral behavior, which he understood to be variable and experiential. He clarifies this by explaining that 'content tells us *what* a person believes; whereas structure tells us how a person *thinks about* the content of his beliefs'.⁴⁶ With these preliminary definitions in

place, starting at Kohlberg's Level I, or Pre-Conventional judgement, the individual's social orientation is of a 'concrete and individual perspective'. In other words, in relation to society, an individual is self-centered and interested only in self-preservation or the escape from punishment and/or the accumulation of rewards. This theme of wanting an escape from punishment and the accumulation of rewards is reported in many testimonies, especially those recorded by Zachariah Taft in his two volume accounts of the *Lives of Holy Women*. Two such testimonies are offered as examples: first, Miss Margaret Adams, in her own words states, 'The Lord was pleased to meet me in the way of mercy ... Glory be to God for his redeeming grace, and his 10,000 times 10,000 mercies towards me, - I who fell on the brink of ruin; glory be to God, I am out of hell';⁴⁷ second, Miss Ann Carr, who was 'deeply awakened to a sense of her guilt and danger as a sinner before God; she returned to the Lord with penitential sorrow, and a broken heart'.⁴⁸ These two women, whose language and testimonies are common in Wesley's time, serve as examples of persons caught (for a time) in the Pre-Moral stage of judgement, where punishments and rewards influence their moral behaviour. Their conversions were based on their fear of hell and condemnation. As they grew in their faith, they also journeyed to other levels within Kohlberg's theory of moral development.

In Kohlberg's theory, Level II, or Conventional judgement, is marked by conformity to rules and a desire to live up to standards and role models.⁴⁹ What other people think about their behaviour and how others live their lives are important values to those operating in Level II moral judgements. Two more testimonies, this time from the diary of the Reverend Thomas Collins and printed in *The Life of the Rev. Thomas Collins*, by Rev. Samuel Coley, help to detail this Level II behaviour in Methodist converts: first, 'At St. Alban's: A little *girl*, with ecstasy in her eyes, exclaimed, "O I do *like* Jesus!" I asked her, "Why?" "Because He *likes* me," she replied'; second, 'An old woman, who, until those days of grace, for a lifetime had neglected worship, rose up to tell how she had been 'renewed in the spirit of her mind.' "I feel," she said, "*just as if I was somebody else*".⁵⁰

Recall too, the previous reference to Ann ('Nancy') Bolton, who relied heavily on Wesley's advice and approval. She is another example of someone operating on Level II moral judgements, trying to please John Wesley and model her life after his own devotional practices. Other women, in their letters to Wesley, showed this same moral basis. For example, in a letter dated May 1, 1738 and reprinted in the first volume of *The Arminian Magazine* in 1778, Miss M. Kinchin writes to Mrs Wesley:

You have been, I hope, an instrument under God, of reclaiming me ... I certainly was in a very unhappy state when you was here; I was grown very slack and remiss ... Some time after you was gone, I thought, I felt the good effects of your Prayers ... I beg you would continue to pray earnestly for me, who am scarce able to pray for myself.⁵¹

Kohlberg's theory, Level III, or Post-Conventional moral judgements, consists of an internalization of the ideal, or moral behaviour, selflessly lived for others. One acts morally because it is the right thing to do, not because of external laws or standards to live up to, not because one desires approval or wishes to model one's own life on that of an exemplary person, but rather because there is intrinsic value in acting morally and because it will help others or society at large. An example of this Level III behaviour is found in the testimony of Elizabeth (Russell) Smith, a lay preacher on a mission to South Wales. Elizabeth got lost on her way to a certain home where she was to stay during her mission in the area. It began to rain and soon she found herself on a 'pitted, flooded common'. She decided that she should call for help by singing three verses of *Jesu, Lover of my Soul*, until 'a family residing in a cottage at the edge of the common' heard her singing. This rescue was 'a sign to both parties, for the cottagers were in fact the hosts sought by the pilgrim preacher'. She later wrote these words describing her consummate faith and abiding love for God:

I hope, I shall be swallowed up of God and only live for him, and to him, speak for him, and by him, and at last, Preach him to all, and cry in death, 'Behold, behold the Lamb'.⁵²

The testimony of Mrs Sarah Crosby, who was previously mentioned, is another example of Level III moral behaviour, especially after years of praying and faithfully leading in several Methodist societies. She began a non-stop evangelism campaign, with only 'minor obstacles to be overcome: loss of her voice, tiredness, and long journeys on packhorse trails'. Her intense care for individuals was evident in her practice of rising at 4 o'clock.. every morning to pray for those she would meet that day. She wrote of her relationship with God, 'I walk in His Light and stand in His might'. It was said of her that 'the glory of God in view was in all she did'.⁵³

No discussion concerning moral developmental theories and women would be complete without adding some insight from Carol Gilligan's work. Gilligan moves beyond the patriarchal limitations of stage developmental theories as she speaks of women's relational experiences in developing moral and ethical practices. Gilligan summarizes her views on this topic: 'Sensitivity to the needs of others and the assumption of responsibility for taking care [of others] lead women to attend to voices other than their own and to include in their judgements other points of view'.⁵⁴ This indicates a moral strength, according to Gilligan, and not, as Kohlberg assumed, a weakness in the moral character of women. Women place value and importance in 'intimacy, relationships, and care'. Gilligan expands this concept as she continues to observe the relational qualities of women's moral reasoning:

As the events of *women's lives and of history* intersect with their feelings and thought, a concern with individual survival comes to be branded as 'selfish' and to be counter posed to the 'responsibility' of a life lived in relationships ... The truths of relationships, however, return in the rediscovery of connection, in the realization that self and other are interdependent and that life, however valuable in itself, can only be sustained by care in relationships.⁵⁵

Gilligan has a point that is defined in many of early Methodist women's stories. Wesley understood a preacher's role as to take the Gospel to as many people as possible - not to develop roots in a local community and to be bound by relationships in any one particular location. Being an itinerant preacher was hard, but especially on women who, as Gilligan points out, are 'interdependent ... [and] sustained by care in relationships'. Overall, Gilligan suggests that there are two different moral orientations - one, termed the 'morality of justice' (as defined by Freud and Piaget) and one, denoted as the 'morality of judgement and action',⁵⁶ which is more central to female, relational moral development.

Likewise, in the area of ethical behaviour, based on a theory of William Frankena (who agrees with Carol Gilligan concerning male and female differences in predominant modes of moral orientations), there appear to be four separate and distinct styles of ethical evaluation in human behaviour. Frankena calls these styles revelational-authoritative (based on faith and revelation from Scripture); regular (based on reason and obedience to laws); teleological (based on empirical evidence and tradition); and situational-expressive (based on intuition and personal experience).⁵⁷ A few examples from the lives of women leaders in the Wesleyan movement will aid in understanding how their contribution to the area of ethical behaviour continues in their witness, even today.

Beginning with the revelation-authoritative style of ethical evaluation, Mrs Sarah Crosby's faith experience attests to the value and emphasis she placed on Scripture in her daily living. At age 20, she joined the Methodist Society at the Foundry. She realized there that most of the other members 'knew their Bibles and the hymns by heart'. She wanted that same type of faith and so prayed that 'God would show her whether He had taken the root of sin out of her heart and sealed her by His Spirit'. She had a deep and abiding faith that God's grace would allow her to know that she was saved. By the fruit of her evangelistic ministry, it can be acknowledged that Sarah helped others experience God's mercy too.⁵⁸ Mrs Frances Pawson (1736- 1809) provides the case for the regular (or reason) style of ethical evaluation. Mrs Pawson was born into a wealthy, cultured home and for 34 years led a 'life of leisure'. She stated that 'religion was like paying a social call on God'. For two years she tried to set a new pattern to her life - to work out her own salvation. She finally realized that she could do nothing but accept God's grace and mercy and continue to 'allow God's will to be fully accomplished in her obedience to His commands'. She continued to try to reconcile

her faith experience and her enjoyment of worldly pleasures, like fine clothing, but in the end her dutiful obedience to God enabled her to enjoy her plain and humble Methodist lifestyle (as the York Methodist Circuit Superintendent's wife).⁵⁹ The testimony of Hannah Yeoman of Derbyshire sheds light on the teleological ethical evaluation, in that she was able to convert a vicar and his wife at a chance meeting while she was visiting the sick. The Vicar's wife wondered if 'Religion is something more than the endorsement of the Apostle's Creed, and prayer is something more than a formula'. Through the 'beautiful simplicity of her prayer' this couple was converted. This vicar later became the Chaplain to the House of Commons.⁶⁰ Finally, John Wesley's oldest sister, Emily, provides the case for the situational-expressive ethical style of evaluation. For 30 years, Emily served as an 'unpaid deaconess whose main interest was to share in the work of the Society'.⁶¹

Ethical leadership within the Methodist movement was vital to Wesley's concern for 'perfection' and the centrality of the message of God's grace and love. It also gave rise to Wesley's social outreach and practices. The goals of Wesley's social ethics were the renewal of individuals first, through the self-awareness of sin, the self-examination of daily actions and beliefs, and the solidarity of the Methodist network of bands, classes and societies⁶² and second, the renewal of society through a system of social welfare and services not available through civil authorities or other religious charitable groups.⁶³ Wesley's emphases on education, equal justice for rich and poor alike, free medical care, prison reforms, humane treatment of prisoners of war, the abolition of slavery, and a system of money-lending, debt relief and employment services⁶⁴ were part of the Methodist understanding of Christian witness and mission. Wesley preached 'not just enlightenment, but compassion' as an 'inner necessity arising from the love of God communicated in faith'.⁶⁵ Methodist women in leadership roles branched out in service through the office of sick visitors (which was a well-organized ministry of visitation to the sick, prisoners, and homebound). They fed the hungry, provided schools and orphanages, worked to provide adequate housing for the homeless and helped care for children of labourers. As class and band leaders, they were aware of the physical, as well as the spiritual, needs of the people they were ministering to. This system of care, - a 'vast network of trained, functioning, lay persons' as Chilcote notes, - was part of the social reforms that rooted Methodism in English society and in the hearts of Wesley's converts. The ethical treatment of others was the trunk of Wesley's social ethic, branching out in his own faith experiences and based on the experiences of those who followed him.

The area of faith development is the next category to explore in answering the questions, originally posed, concerning women's leadership within the Wesleyan revival. Paul Chilcote adds:

These [lay workers] were not passive Christians for whom ministry was performed; rather they were active, ministering servants who cared for one another. . . And most of these were *women*. . . The band leaders, in particular, had to be persons of spiritual depth and maturity . . . Many of the women were well suited by nature for this kind of spiritual nurturing.⁶⁶

Chilcote goes on to discuss leadership in these particular areas: the band leaders were able to discuss their faith and Biblical understanding, tell about their conversion experiences and give their testimonies concerning the way in which God answered prayer.⁶⁷ One such leader, Ann Cutler, known as 'Praying Nanny', was particularly effective at prayer services and devotional leadership.⁶⁸ Her bold faith was a powerful example of a life lived based in the practices of both public and private prayer, disciplined devotion, and Christian concern for souls. How does faith develop, grow, and mature in the Christian life? This discussion is precisely the basis for James Fowler's work in faith development.

Fowler defines faith development as 'the developmental process of finding and making meaning as a human activity'. In other words, 'faith is a verb' denoting an active process not simply static knowledge. For Fowler, 'making meaning' in life and therefore, faith experiences, includes 'our knowing, valuing, interpreting, understanding, experiencing, and feeling . . . [of] finding significant patterns and connections within the world and within oneself'.⁶⁹ Fowler's hierarchical system of stages suggests an emphatic process of continued and gradual growth, maturity, and change over the period of one's life. Though Fowler mainly studied male American subjects, his theory has value in its relational understanding. Fowler concluded that in faith, we are in

relationships, both horizontally and vertically. Horizontally, we relate to others. Vertically, we relate to God, or another ultimate reality.⁷⁰ It is in the intersection of this cruciform relationship that we find the inherent meaning of life, faith and values. In the Wesleyan movement, one woman's faith journey will serve to outline the process of faith development, as understood by Fowler's six dynamic stages and the underlying horizontal and vertical dimensions of faith. That woman is Ann ('Nancy') Bolton, previously mentioned as one of John Wesley's most faithful women adherents. In his biography of her, John Banks publishes her testimony, which begins in the 'chaotic', stage 1, faith development process:

I lived from my birth till I was nineteen years of age, what was commonly called a sober life, but God knows my heart was evil & that continually, I was seeking happiness where I never attained it, in the vanities of this evil world.⁷¹

Through many struggles and daily tests, Ann began to attend revival services and question the Methodist preachers' messages. She writes:

When Mr. Tobias preached from those words 'What think ye of Christ?' the word did not sink deep in my mind but I could not speak against it, so I continued to hear it often, & I began to get acquainted with the people.⁷²

This seems to me representative of stage 2, 'ordering' faith, in Fowler's theory. She then wrote of her desire to 'join among the people of God ... but still I remained ignorant of myself and of my want of a redeemer'. This is indicative of stage 3, or 'conforming faith', when the individual desires to conform to his/her peers and join a group of like-minded believers, yet still continues to seek his/her own identities in this new found faith experience. Stage 4, or 'choosing faith' then follows, and of this stage Ann wrote:

I longed to be happy in his love, to know my sins forgiven. I often had great encouragement from the scripture and a strong hope that God would be merciful thro[ugh] the son of his love, & in waiting upon him my strength was renewed indeed I felt without Jesus I could do nothing against my enemies, who were very powerful.⁷³

After this faith crisis (of friends and family members trying to dissuade her continuing to attend Methodist meetings), Ann's testimony continued as an example of a 'balanced,' stage 5 faith:

I had more sense than to be led away ... Glory be to God I was not dismayed but he made me willing to forsake all that I might find all in him, my soul longed for his salvation & panted for him as the hart for the water Brook.⁷⁴

She continued in her faith and bore powerful witness to God's grace in various stages of her life. While her testimony does not really include direct references to stage 6, or selfless faith, her actions in regard to her family's salvation make it clear that she had at least in part, achieved this level of development. Her family, though originally opposed to Methodism, gradually adopted the faith for themselves: she reported that her eldest brother, Edward, was converted in 1763 and her only sister, Sarah, on March 11, 1771. An interesting side note is that Edward 'became a Local Preacher and in 1771, a member of Conference'.⁷⁵

While Fowler never attempted to shed light on historical biographies from the perspective of faith development theory, his later writings admit of such a possibility.⁷⁶ These historic accounts, albeit not necessarily totally accurate, continue to inform, challenge, and even frustrate scholars in each of the four disciplines I mentioned as I began this paper. It is not simply a question of peeling back the layers of history and trying to discover the ways in which women's personal faith experiences transformed the Wesleyan Revival and their society in general, but rather trying to fit together what we know about the impact these women had on the Methodist movement and society

with what we now know as modern theories of development in morality, ethical behaviour, and faith. Lewis Rambo reminds us that 'history is important, too' He explains that there are 'different motives [for conversion experiences and for relating them] at different times in history'.⁷⁷ Rambo nuances this in light of the phenomenology of conversion and the self-reporting suggested by the testimonies, journals, letters and biographies of these women. He suggests that 'Self-reporting is self-censoring: selective, discriminating (and discriminatory), judgmental, and subject to internal and external influences'.⁷⁸ John Gration, in an article concerning conversion in cultural context, suggests that the biographies of converts found in testimonies should not be used as documentation for what has really happened to a person, but rather, be viewed in the context of the movement in which it occurs or the theology of that movement.⁷⁹

Even within these parameters and influenced by self-censoring, the women's stories are valuable tools to gain insights into the moral, ethical, faith, and finally, practical leadership they provided in the Wesleyan Revival. By way of examining and summarizing the practical leadership developments attributed to these women, I will briefly review what I have already uncovered. First, women provided organizational leadership and in those structures, like the bands and classes, relationships helped build accountability, responsibility and pastoral oversight. Joyce Pipet states that 'some women in Bristol' developed a 'very innovative, comprehensive and practical structure to ensure that people who were converted ... would have pastoral care and fellowship'.⁸⁰

Second, women's testimonies, public prayers, and exhortations gave even uneducated women opportunities to share their faith, question their unique calls, and inspire others to examine their witness for Christ. This led to security, self-worth and respect from others (particularly other classes and men). Mary (Bosanquet) Fletcher, a godly woman, who helped lead an orphanage and school and founded a society at Leytonstone, wrote in her journal:

We agreed to spend an hour every night together in spiritual reading and prayer. . . A poor woman came to ask if she might come in when we made prayer? ... she soon brought two or three more and they others till in a short time our little company increased to 25.⁸¹

Further evidence of practical leadership was demonstrated as these women exhibited great courage under difficult circumstances and tremendous persecutions. Josiah Barr relates this story: 'One Mrs. G ... was put in Bedlam, an insane asylum, by her husband. She escaped, but returned, and was chained down and treated in the usual manner of the asylum. Her crime was 'Methodism'.⁸²

Often women provided protection for male preachers from press gangs, mob violence and unlawful arrests.⁸³ A fourth practical leadership development attributed to women in the movement was in the area of economic, family, and social stability, in a turbulent society. Women who were band and class leaders continued to provide economic strength, wholesome family devotions, and models of decency and sobriety. Their leadership was also shown in visitation, and other pastoral care duties, which aided the preacher's in the itinerant ministry. They were to be 'helpers', as Wesley defined their tasks - to aid the local preachers in extending their care and Christian oversight.⁸⁴ They helped too in the practical relief work of carrying out Wesley's social ethic and welfare reform work that other groups were not interested in. Still another role women played in practical terms was in the area of financial support for the Methodist societies. Martha Thompson became a dress maker and started a Methodist Society in Preston. Later she married a J. B. Whitehead and 'used her position and wealth to further the cause of Methodism in her area'.⁸⁵ Women were pioneers of the personal salvation and vibrant faith that Wesley preached and they campaigned with great zeal and fortitude for the cause of the Gospel of love that they understood was grace-filled and available to all. Finally, the women who led the Methodist Revival were role models for other women in their conversions and faith journeys. Taft writes about a Miss Grace Reed who

was not backward when in the society of her Christian friends, especially in the class meetings, and love-feasts, to declare that the blood of Christ HAD *cleansed her from ALL sin*. And it appears that the sincerity of her profession was never called into question by

any who knew her.⁸⁶

That certainty of faith, and the testimony that accompanied it, was at the heart of Wesley's movement and helped strengthen it in the years during Wesley's active ministry. The roots of faith, which blossomed into the leadership and witness of Wesley's women adherents, continue to provide food for thought in light of growing revival movements today.

The testimonies I have presented in this paper must stand on their own merits, as examples of issues raised in the paper and as valuable and transforming events for the subjects themselves. It is clear that there were many women within the Wesleyan movement, and many of them shared their testimonies and conversion experiences with others who preserved them, published them, or handed them down orally. Their numbers, and the way in which their accounts have been preserved show that Wesley valued women's leadership within his movement. Wesley knew that women's leadership in moral, ethical, faith, and practical dimensions was vital to the movement, even though he was unwilling to accept women in all the roles usually undertaken by the clergy. According to one sociologist, 'it is easier to demonstrate that women were significant in such movements than to explain precisely why they were prominent'.⁸⁷ In the book, *Women, Religion, and Social Change*, the editors comment that 'religion has been an instrument of liberation for women, but has just as often become an instrument of women's social oppression'.⁸⁸ During Wesley's lifetime, his movement allowed women some degree of liberation and opportunities for the improvement of their lives, physically and spiritually. Since his death, Methodists have been in conflict as to the role women should have and have had in church leadership. Time will prove the case, either way. In the Wesleyan Revival of 1738-1791, the contribution of women's leadership in moral, ethical, faith, and practical developments shine in their testimonies and witness and provide inspiration and motivation for Methodist women today, throughout the world. Where there is innovative, creative leadership needed in each of those areas, one can turn to the stories of the Wesleyan women and find a tested pattern of dealing with similar issues that model leadership for today's religious movements.

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⁴ Maldwyn Edwards, *My Dear Sister: The Story of John Wesley and the Women in his Life* (Manchester: Penwork, n.d.), pp. 10-13.

⁵ Alan D. Gilbert, *Religion and Society in Industrial England: Church, Chapel and Social Change 1740 - 1914* (London: Longman, 1976), pp. 7-8.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 22.

⁷ Laurence, *Women in England*, 1994, p. 14.

⁸ David Lyle Jeffrey (ed.), *English Spirituality in the Age of Wesley* (Grand Rapids, Michigan: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1987), p. 10.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 6.

¹⁰ Sydney G. Dimond, *The Psychology of the Methodist Revival* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1926), pp. 40-41.

¹¹ Gilbert, *Religion and Society*, p. 88.

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¹⁵ Leslie Church, *The Early Methodist People* (London: Epworth Press, 1948), p. 34.

¹⁶ Paul Wesley Chilcote, *John Wesley and the Women Preachers of Early Methodism* (Metuchen, NJ: The American Library Association and Scarecrow Press, Inc., 1991), p. 8.

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²⁰ Josiah Henry Barr, *Early Methodists Under Persecution* (New York: The Methodist Book Concern, 1916), p. 10.

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²² *Ibid.*, pp. 102-3.

²³ Chilcote, *She Offered Them Christ*, p. 7.

²⁴ Deborah M. Valenze, *Prophetic Sons and Daughters: Female Preaching and Popular Religion in Industrial England*,

- Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1985), pp. 40-1.
- ²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 65.
- ²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 148.
- ²⁷ Manfred Marquardt, *John Wesley's Social Ethics: Praxis and Principles*, translated by John E. Steely and W. Stephen Gunter (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1992), p. 36.
- ²⁸ Dimond, *The Psychology of the Methodist Revival*, p. 46.
- ²⁹ George Eayrs, *A Short History and Handbook of the United Methodist Church* (London: Henry Hooks, 1913), p. 5.
- ³⁰ Joyce Pipet, 'The Hidden Connexion' (Trinity Term, Dissertation, Oxford: Westminster College Oxford, 1998), p. 9.
- ³¹ John A. Newton, *Susanna Wesley and the Puritan Tradition in Methodism* (London: Epworth Press, 1968), p. 133.
- ³² Annie E. Keeling, *Susanna Wesley and Other Eminent Methodist Women* (London: Charles H. Kelly, 1897), p. 89.
- ³³ *Ibid.*, p. 89.
- ³⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 90.
- ³⁵ Valenze, *Prophetic Sons and Daughters*, p. 35.
- ³⁶ Edwards, *My Dear Sister*, p. 84.
- ³⁷ Newton, *Susanna Wesley*, p. 144.
- ³⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 132.
- ³⁹ Edwards, *My Dear Sister*, pp. 15-16.
- ⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 15.
- ⁴¹ John Banks, "Nancy, Nancy" (Manchester: Penwork (Leeds) LTD., 1984), pp. 31-51.
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- ⁴⁴ Rupp, *Religion in England*, p. 396.
- ⁴⁵ Donald M. Joy (ed.), *Moral Development Foundations: Judeo-Christian Alternatives to Piaget/Kohlberg* (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1983), p. 207.
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- ⁴⁷ Zachariah Taft, *Biographical Sketches of the Lives and Public Ministry of Various Holy Women, Volume II*, Facsimile Reproduction by The Methodist Publishing House, 1992, Original Publishing Date, 1828, p. 253.
- ⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 288.
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- ⁵¹ *Arminian Magazine*, vol. I (1778), p. 178.
- ⁵² Valenze, *Prophetic Sons and Daughters*, pp. 128-9.
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- ⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 31.
- ⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 33.
- ⁶⁶ Chilcote, *She Offered Them Christ*, p. 36.
- ⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 39-49.
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- ⁶⁹ James W. Fowler, Karl Ernst Nipkow and Fredreich Schweitzer (eds.), *Stages of Faith and Religious Development: Implications for Church, Education, and Society* (London: SCM Press, LTD., 1991), p. 1.
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- ⁷³ *Ibid.*, p. 13.
- ⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 13.
- ⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 14.
- ⁷⁶ Fowler et al, *Stages of Faith*, p. 5.
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- ⁷⁸ H. Newton Maloney, and Samuel Southard (eds.), *The Handbook of Religious Conversion* (Birmingham, Alabama: Religious Education Press, 1992), p. 255.
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⁸⁰ 139 Pipet, 'The Hidden Connexion', 1998, p. 6.

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