RELIGION AND REPRESENTATION:

METHODISM 'DISPLAYED' IN A SERIES OF SEVEN IMAGES

ACCOMPANYING SIX ANTI-METHODIST PUBLICATIONS, 1778-9

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ABSTRACT

This thesis assesses how negative attitudes towards the Methodist movement and one of its' leaders, John Wesley (1703-1791), impacted on image making in the late-eighteenth century. The thesis focuses upon one title page illustration and six frontispieces from a series of anti-Methodist publications produced in London in 1778-9: *The Fanatic Saints; or,* Bedlamites *Inspired. A Satire*, *Perfection. A Poetical Epistle*, *The Temple of Imposture; a poem*, *Sketches for Tabernacle-frames, a poem*, *The Love-Feast, a poem* and *Fanatical Conversion; or, Methodism displayed. A satire*, which exists in two versions. It provides the first in-depth analysis of these images. It is argued that the foci images had a discursive function, coding vast bodies of knowledge into a compact form through the use of visual symbols and embedded textual labels, captions and intertextual references. Various, readily legible, discourses around sovereignty and governance, unreason, the passions and religious enthusiasm, poor relief, gin and idleness and religious imposture and priestcraft, were coded and decoded in relation to specific emergent anxieties around John Wesley's temporal and spiritual influence, his alleged duplicitous intent and London Methodism. The thesis argues that the foci images mediated, reconstituted, synthesised and transformed logocentric areas of discourse around Wesley and Methodism.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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INTRODUCTION

Part I *The Foci Images of the Thesis*

This thesis will assess how negative attitudes towards the Methodist movement and one of its' leaders, John Wesley (1703-1791), impacted on image making in the late-eighteenth century.[1] The thesis focuses on one title page illustration and six frontispieces from a series of six anti-Methodist publications produced in 1778-9.[2] These are entitled: *The Fanatic Saints; or, Bedlamites Inspired. A Satire* (1778) (Fig.1), *Perfection. A Poetical Epistle* (1778) (Fig.2), *Sketches for Tabernacle-Frames, a poem* (1778) (Fig.3), *The Love-Feast, a poem* (1778) (Fig.4), *The Temple of Imposture; a poem* (1778) (Fig.5) and *Fanatical Conversion; or, Methodism displayed. A satire* (1779) the frontispiece for which exists in two versions, which I have titled *(A New World! A New World!)* (Fig.6) and *(An Ass in the Greek Pallium Teaching)* (Fig.7).[3] I will refer to the images by their shortened publication titles. I do this so as not to distinguish the images as separate from the texts that they

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[1] Methodism was an evangelical 'movement' led by George Whitefield (1714-1770) and the brothers John (1703-1791) and Charles (1707-1788) Wesley that emerged in England in the 1730s. Secondary literature on the history of British Methodism is vast. Bibliographies of such material can be found in Clive Field's annual bibliographies of current research on Methodism from 1976 in the *Proceedings of the Wesley Historical Society*. For an overview of Methodism in the eighteenth century see: G.M Ditchfield, 'Methodism and the Evangelical Revival' in H.T. Dickinson (Ed), *A Companion to Eighteenth-Century Britain*, Oxford, 2006, 252-260.

[2] I understand a title page illustration to be an illustration on the title page of a book or pamphlet and a frontispiece to be an illustration facing the title page of a book or pamphlet.

[3] A further publication, R. Hill esq of Cambridge, *A Gospel Shop, a comedy of five acts*, London, 1778, is included in a discussion of this series by Luke Tyerman *Life and Times of Rev John Wesley, Founder of the Methodists*, Vol. 3, London, 1880, 262 and Richard Green, *Anti-Methodist Publications Issued During the Eighteenth Century*, London, 1902, 134. It was priced at 2s and existed without a frontispiece or title page illustration, therefore I will not be discussing it here. *The Fanatic Saints* went through two editions - I am quoting from the second edition throughout. The frontispiece for *Fanatical Conversion* exists in two versions, which I discuss in Chapter Two, page 54. The British Museum have the following prints, distinct from the poems, in their holdings: *Perfection* (*A Coat of Arms for John Wesley*) BM Satires 5493, *Sketches for Tabernacle-Frames* (*Toothless He Draws The Teeth of All His Flocks*) BM Satires 5494, *The Love-Feast* (*Reynardo's Consecration by the Goddess Murcia*) BM Satires 5496 and *The Temple of Imposture* (*Wise As Serpents*) BM Satires 5495.

accompanied in their original format, with text and image being interdependent in meaning making.[4]

The images are emblematical devices which constructed layers of meaning through the use of word and image, such as: visual symbols, embedded textual labels, intertextual references, quotations and page numbers, as well as mottos, captions and occasional explanations.[5] The accompanying texts are written in verse.[6] They were published in Pater-Noster-Row, London, by J. Bew. The texts are sometimes attributed to William Combe, however they were published anonymously.[7] It can be assumed that these publications were produced in a standard press run size of 1,000 copies per volume.[8] However, the actual number that were printed and distributed is unclear. Their readership may have been considerably higher, taking into account modes of reading and access to literature.[9]

Each pamphlet was quarto in size, usually with 35 or 36 pages.[10] Publications in the quarto format were considerably more expensive to produce than others,[11] and the production of the accompanying high-quality etchings would have been an additional expense. Furthermore, the foci publications were advertised as a series, suggesting

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[4] In M. Dorothy George, *Catalogue of Political and Personal Satires in the British Museum*, Vol. 5, London, 1935, the images are named according to the captions embedded in the images, e.g. *Reynardo's Consecration by the Goddess Murcia* (which I am calling *The Love-Feast*). See n3 above.

[5] The images were described as 'emblematical' in the advertisement pages. John Manning has shown that emblems are constituted of a motto, a picture and a following explanatory text, John Manning *The Emblem*, London, 2002, 18

[6] Written in decasyllabic couplets.

[7] George, *Catalogue of Political and Personal Satires*, Vol. 5, 301

[8] Michael F. Suarez, 'The Business of Literature: The Book Trade in England from Milton to Blake', in David Womersley (Ed), *A Companion to literature from Milton to Blake*, Oxford, 2000, 131-147, 140

[9] I discuss this in relation to Wesley's *Calm Address* in Chapter One, page 18.

[10] *The Fanatic Saints* 36 pages, *Perfection* 36 pages, *Sketches for Tabernacle-Frames* 36 pages, *The Temple of Imposture* 35 pages. *The Love-Feast* was 47 pages and *Fanatical Conversion* was 55 pages in length and price unknown.

[11] For example, the octavo or duodecimo, which allowed for greater economy with more pages able to be generated from each sheet of paper. See: Suarez, 'The Business of Literature', 2000, 142.

that they were conceived of as such from the outset.[12] Therefore, the production and dissemination of them was a considerable commercial venture, with each volume in press at the same time. Each publication was priced at 2 shillings, apart from *The Love-Feast* which was priced at 2s 6d.[13] They would have therefore been both expensive to produce and to buy. Pamphlet prices commonly ranged from 6d to 1s 6d.[14] Indeed, in comparison, the selection of contemporary anti-Methodist publications I have examined ranged in price from 3d to 1s 6d. Thus the price of the series I am focusing on was consistent with that of novels or collected essays, which were often priced at 2s 6d per volume.[15] However, accessing the images as accompaniments to publications was a comparatively cheaper purchase for the reader-viewer;[16] a single-sheet stand-alone print could sell for around 4s.[17] David Alexander has shown that illustrations in pamphlets acted as 'strong selling point[s]' for this reason.[18] As such, the images' importance in marketing and selling the publications cannot be overlooked.[19]

Nonetheless, the financial output required for their production suggests that the producer/s of the publications was relatively certain that they were being disseminated in a print and visual culture in which they would sell to particular audiences. This also

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[12] Described as a series in the advertisement pages which appeared in the following publications: *The Fanatic Saints*, *The Love-Feast*, and *Fanatical Conversion*. The publications are advertised in the following order: *The Fanatic Saints*, *Perfection*, *Sketches for Tabernacle-Frames*, *The Love-Feast*, *The Temple of Imposture*. The publications *A Gospel Shop* and *Fanatical Conversion* were not advertised at the same time.

[13] Probably because it was the longest of those published in 1778.

[14] Suarez, 'The Business of Literature', 2000, 142

[15] *Loc. cit.*

[16] See: Richard Clay, 'Riotous images: representations of Joseph Priestley in British prints during the French Revolution', in *History of Education*, 27 (4), 2008, 585-605, 588, n9

[17] Vic Gatrell, *City of laughter: sex and satire in eighteenth-century London*, London, 2006, 244-5. This was the average price for large, tinted prints.

[18] David Alexander, "Alone worth treble the price": illustrations in eighteenth-century English magazines, in Robin Myers and Michael Harris (Eds), *A millennium of the book: production, design & illustration in manuscript & print, 900-1900*, Winchester, 1994, 107- 133, 108

[19] The images are mentioned in the advertising pages.

points to their target audience, the socio-economic elite, who could afford to purchase one or all of the volumes, which would have cost up to 12s 6d.[20] It can also be assumed that the ideas mobilised in them in relation to Wesley and Methodism were readily legible to certain audiences. Texts and images were not passively received. Raven has shown 'how particular readers read a text and become aware of belonging to a greater or particular audience'.[21] Therefore, consideration needs to be paid to the 'readers' own recognition of what and why they were reading'.[22] Indeed, the size and price of the publications, along with an engraved frontispiece, may have impacted on the viewer-reader's expectations of the pamphlets and thus the claims found within the contents. It should also be noted that these were not necessarily being read solely by anti-Methodists and this would have impacted on the potential meanings generated.

Part II *Anti-Methodism in Eighteenth-Century Visual and Textual Cultures*

There are a limited number of extant satiric prints of Wesley and Methodism - Robert Glen has determined that there are nineteen from the eighteenth century.[23] Prior to 1770, Glen deduces that Wesley appeared in anti-Methodist prints about once per decade, two out of three of these were alongside representations of George Whitefield (1714-1770)[24] who was the focus of these satiric prints.[25] I will refer to one print produced before 1770 – William Hoagrth's *Credulity, Superstition and Fanaticism: A*

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[20] This would have been 14s if both versions of *Fanatical Conversion* were purchased.
[21] James Raven, 'New reading histories, print culture and the indentification of change: the case of eighteenth-century England', *Social History*, Vol. 23, No.3 (Oct 1998), 268-287, 270
[22] *Ibid*., 272
[23] Robert Glen, 'The Fate of John Wesley in the English Satiric Prints', Tim Macquiban (Ed), *Methodism in its Cultural Milieu (Proceedings of the Centenary Conference of the Wesley Historical Society in conjunction with the World Methodist Historical Society, 26-30 July, 1993, Cambridge, England)*, Oxford, 1994, 35-43, 35. Aside from a second design of the illustration for Augustus Toplady's publication *An Old Fox Tarr'd and Feather'd* (1775) (Fig.9 and 10), I have not found any additional prints.
[24] George Whitefield was one of the leaders of the Methodist movement. See n1 above.
[25] Glen, 'The Fate of John Wesley', 42

Medley (1762) (Fig.8). As well as the seven images that are my point of study, seven additional prints of Wesley appeared between 1770 and 1780.[26] Like the series that is the focus for this thesis, the explicitly anti-Methodist images produced between 1770 and 1779 were not stand-alone prints. In 1775 a small illustration of Wesley featured on the title page of Augustus Toplady's publication *An Old Fox Tarr'd and Feather'd* (1775) (Fig.9). I will discuss this image and the second design of it (Fig.10) in relation to my focal series of prints in Chapter One. Also in 1775, a small oval portrait of Wesley appeared in the *Town and Country Magazine* entitled *The Pious Preacher* (Fig.11).[27] Three of the images that Glen identified are of a similar design, pertaining to the Tree of Life.[28] They include Whitefield and are not explicitly anti-Methodist; their meaning is ambiguous and would require more attention.[29] Therefore, I will not be discussing these for reasons of space. For the same reason, I will not be examining the remaining two images of Methodism which were produced after 1779.[30]

In contrast, logocentric publications about John Wesley and Methodism were comparatively common. Richard Green's *Anti-Methodist Publications Issued During the Eighteenth Century* (1902),[31] and Clive Field's recently revised version of this,[32]

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[26] *Ibid.*, 42-3

[27] Anon., *The Town and Country Magazine; or Universal repository of knowledge, instruction, and entertainment, for the year 1774*. Vol VI, London, January 1775, no xxxviii, 681-683. It was published with a corresponding portrait of 'Miss Dalrymple', no xxxvii. I will situate these images among scope for further research in Chapter Two.

[28] The Tree of Life is a Biblical reference to the tree found in Paradise (Revelation, 22:2).

[29] The scene could be interpreted as depicting John Wesley and George Whitefield attempting to direct the crowd toward heaven, either successfully or unsuccessfully, or towards hell. Glen does not state whether he considers them to be anti-Methodist or not, Glen, 'The Fate of John Wesley', 1994, 36-6.

[30] See Glen, 'The Fate of John Wesley', 40-1. One was a title page illustration to the publication *Voltaire's Ghost*, London, 1779, which was a response to a sermon Wesley preached in November 1778. The other featuring Wesley was a print of the Gordon Riots (1780). See Chapter Three, page 86, n126.

[31] Richard Green, *Anti-Methodist Publications Issued During the Eighteenth Century*, London, 1902

[32] Clive D. Field, *Bulletin of the John Rylands University Library of Manchester,* Summer, 1991, 159-280. See also: Clive D. Field, 'Primary Sources, 1738-1800, Part 2, Anti-Methodist Publications', *The People Called Methodists; a documentary history of the Methodist church in Great Britain and Ireland on Microfiche*, 1998, 18-38 (available online at: www.idcpublishers.com/pdf/151_guide.pdf)

list over 600 anti-Methodist publications produced between 1732-1809. Furthermore, these resources show that there were certain periods when the number of anti-Methodist satires was at its highest, particularly 1775-1778 when my foci images were produced. The volume of texts published during this time can be accounted for as being a response to John Wesley's tract *Calm Address to Our American Colonies* (1775). Significantly, whilst many texts were produced in response to Wesley's *Calm Address*,[33] my foci publications are the only ones published as a series and with full-page accompanying illustrations.[34] In addition, in contrast to the majority of extant images of Methodism, those that are the foci of this thesis mobilised specific anti-Methodist discourses in relation to John Wesley only and London Methodism.[35]

Given the parameters of this study, I am unable to account for why there were so few images produced in relation to anti-Methodism, particularly given the impact that dissenting religious figures, such as Joseph Priestley, had on image-making in the 1790s.[36] However, I will consider why it was significant that images were chosen to accompany the poems and how the relative textual and visual cultures impacted on their conception and production in relation to their functionality. Indeed, the images mobilised areas of logocentric discourse and included intertextual links to specific anti-Methodist publications.

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[33] Green, *Anti-Methodist Publications*, 125-137. See also: Field, *Bulletin*, 1991.

[34] I make this conclusion by viewing those pamphlets listed in Green and Field's bibliographies.

[35] I understand the term 'discourse' to mean any utterance. For the purposes of this thesis, this includes images, pamphlets, plays and songs. Whilst discourses were not universally understood or stable, I will refer to some as being 'readily legible', by which I mean that I assume some bodies of knowledge to be shared, if only in part, and thus some discourses to be easily recognised and interpreted by the audience of my foci publications, which I established on pages 3-4 above. Throughout this thesis I use the term discourse to think about meaning making around the images by the producers of them, the coders, and the audience who viewed them, the decoders.

[36] Clay, 'Riotous images', 2008, 586

Part III *Addressing Gaps in Scholarship*

There is extensive secondary literature on the social history of British Methodism.[37] Yet, the visual culture of Methodism is under-explored and detailed academic studies of anti-Methodist imagery remain scarce.[38] Rigorous academic study of this series of anti-Methodist publications has been limited. Therefore my thesis will address significant gaps in current scholarship.

Written for the *Wesleyan Journal*, William G. Beardmore's article 'Picture Satires on Methodism' (1897) is the only text that deals specifically with anti-Methodist prints of the eighteenth century.[39] Beardmore dedicates one page to a discussion of five of the frontispieces that are among my foci images.[40] Luke Tyerman's *Life and Times of Rev John Wesley* (1878), dedicates three pages to these 'infamous pamphlets'.[41] For Beardmore and Tyerman, these publications, and their accompanying images, were considered to be the most controversial of those produced in the eighteenth century against Methodism. Yet, for this reason, the analysis of them by both authors is edited to short, censored descriptions.[42] I will, therefore, be the first to provide a detailed visual analysis of all seven images.

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[37] Between 1974-98, Field compiled a bibliography of some 3500 items, Clive D Field, 'Bibliography of Methodist historical literature, 1998' Silver Jublilee edition 1974-98 supplement to the *Proceedings of the Wesley Historical Society*, May 1999

[38] In the *Proceedings* Field categorises secondary publications on the topic of anti-Methodism in relation to physical or literary opposition only.

[39] William G Beardmore, 'Picture Satires on Methodism', *Wesleyan-Methodist Magazine*, 120, April 1897, 285-292

[40] *Ibid.*, 290-1

[41] Tyerman, *Life and Times*, Vol. 3, 1880, 262-265

[42] Tyerman notes, 'we have read hundreds of tracts and pamphlets against Wesley; but nothing which for profanity, pollution and violent abuse equals these', Tyerman, *Life and Times*, Vol. 3, 1880, 265-6. On the frontispiece *Fanatical Conversion (A New World! A New World!)* (Fig.6) Beardmore comments, 'some details of this blasphemous cartoon are so obscene as to forbid description', Beardmore, 'Picture Satires', 1897, 290. Likewise, Richard Green describes the series as 'seven publications of the coarsest and vilest character. They would disgrace any age', Green, *Anti-Methodist*

In the *Catalogue of Political and Personal Satires in the British Museum* (Vol. 5, 1935), M. Dorothy George introduces the focal symbols that comprise the four prints in the holdings of the British Museum, which are contextualised with some historical details and quotations from the accompanying poems.[43] However, due to the limits of her study, full examination of the images is not supplied. The same four of the frontispieces are used as the illustrations to Albert Lyle's account of anti-Methodism during this period, in the book *Methodism Mocked: the Satiric Reaction to Methodism in the Eighteenth Century* (1960). Lyles provides a description of some of the symbols in the images in relation to the poems that accompany them, in order to outline some of the charges levied against Wesley and Methodism. Whilst this is done alongside anti-Methodist publications, sustained visual analysis is not offered. Furthermore, Lyles does not consider the function of the images in mobilising various discourses in relation to anti-Methodism, nor are the images situated in the wider discourses that impacted on meaning making around them.

More recently, John Miller has provided an overview of religion and print culture in his *Religion in the Popular Prints, 1600-1832* (1986).[44] Three pages are dedicated to Methodism in the introduction to the period 1714-1780.[45] Six plates are included on Methodism, of which the frontispiece to *The Temple of Imposture* (Fig.5) is incorporated.[46] One sentence, focusing on the motives behind its production with

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Publications, 134, and Frank Baker describes the poem *The Love-Feast* as 'one of a series of scurrilous and obscene attacks on Methodism', Frank Baker, *Methodism and the Love-Feast*, London, 1957, 32.

[43] M. Dorothy George, *Catalogue of Political and Personal Satires in the British Museum*, Vol. 5, London, 1935

[44] John Miller, *Religion in the Popular Prints, 1600-1832*, Cambridge, 1986. Miller's survey comprises prints from the holdings of the British Museum. See n3 above.

[45] *Ibid.*, 35-37

[46] *Ibid.*, 198-209 (plate numbers 69-74). *The Temple of Imposture* is plate 74, 209.

reference to the American War of Independence, is used to describe this work.[47] Whilst representations of non-Anglican religions are examined in Miller's book (e.g. Dissenters, Catholicism and Judaism), Miller does not unpack the cross-religious discourses alluded to in *The Temple of Imposture* (Fig.5) as I will do in Chapter Three. As such, my research will show for the first time that negative attitudes towards Wesley and Methodism impacted on the wider dissemination of thought about religious identities in the late-eighteenth century.[48]

Historian Robert Glen has introduced all seven of the images in each of his two articles about representations of John Wesley in eighteenth-century print culture: 'Man or Beast? English Methodists as animals in Eighteenth-Century Satiric Prints' and 'The Fate of John Wesley in the English Satiric Prints'.[49] Whilst they are situated in relation to other visual depictions of Wesley and Methodism from throughout the century, detailed visual analysis is not offered. Glen attributes their conception to Wesley's *Calm Address* only. In contrast, as well as the discourses around Wesley's *Calm Address*, I will consider the images in relation to the accompanying poems and will situate the meaning making around them in the wider print cultures and anti-Methodist discourses in which they were produced and viewed**.**

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[47] *Ibid.*, 209. *The Temple of Imposture* is described as 'one of several attacks on John Wesley for alleged hypocrisy after his denunciation of the American rebels'.

[48] Although religion has been acknowledged as important in the context of twenty-first-century academia (the AHRC and Yale University have recently established the *Religion and Society Research Programme,* 2007-12, and the *Initiative for the Study of Material and Visual Cultures of Religions*, 2008-12, respectively), B. W Young and Jonathan Sheehan have highlighted that religious complexity in the eighteenth century is a seriously neglected area of study: B.W Young, 'Religious History and the Eighteenth-Century Historian', *The Historical Journal*, Vol. 43, No. 3, (September 2000), 849-868 and Jonathan Sheehan, 'Enlightenment, Religion, and the Enigma of Secularization: A Review Essay', *The American Historical Review*, Vol. 108, No. 4 (Oct., 2003), 1061-108.

[49] Robert Glen, 'Man or Beast? English Methodists as animals in Eighteenth-Century Satiric Prints', *Connecticut Review*, Vol. XV, No. 2, Fall 1993, 83-100, Robert Glen, 'The Fate of John Wesley in the English Satiric Prints', Tim Macquiban (ed), *Methodism in its Cultural Milieu (Proceedings of the Centenary Conference of the Wesley Historical Society in conjunction with the World Methodist Historical Society, 26-30 July, 1993, Cambridge, England),* Oxford, 1994, 35-43

Throughout this thesis I will consider the foci images' discursivity by examining the networks of inter-relations that were coded in the images and, in conjunction, in their accompanying poems. In contrast to previous scholarship, and considering them as a series, I will examine how meaning was made across all seven images and the intra-relationships of visual and textual symbols that composed them. However, I acknowledge that perceived meanings would have potentially varied due to the order in which the publications were viewed, or if only part of the series was accessible. This can also be said in relation to how the reader-viewer engaged with them, as objects in the physical act of reading. Publications were not necessarily read in a linear fashion and this could affect the decoding of an image and, as such, the meanings being made. Tom Gretton has shown that publications enabled 'numberless different pathways ('purposeful readings') and random encounters [...]. These ensure[d] that the cumulative revelation of meaning and value [was] both discontinuous and evidently incomplete'.[50]

As well as positioning the images in relation to the poems they accompanied and wider textual discourse that they referenced, I will also situate them in the contemporary socio-historical context of their conception, production, dissemination and reception.[51] I will argue that the seven foci images acted as vehicles that were informed by, referenced and combined multifarious discourses. Specific emergent areas of discourse around John Wesley (his temporal and spiritual influences and activities) and London Methodism (the Methodist Headquarters in London, the

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[50] Tom Gretton, 'Difference and Competition: the Imitation and Reproduction of Fine Art in a Nineteenth-Century Illustrated Weekly News Magazine', *Oxford Art Journal*, 23:2, 2000, 143- 162, 146

[51] I acknowledge problems with the use of the term 'context', see: Mieke Bal and Norman Bryson, 'Semiotics and Art History: A Discussion of Context and Senders', in Donald Preziosi (Ed), *The Art of Art History: A Critical Anthology*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1998, 242-256, 246-252.

Foundery,[52] and the City Road Chapel) were coded and decoded in relation to readily legible discourses around sovereignty and governance, 'madness', religious enthusiasm and the passions, idleness and gin and religious imposture and priestcraft. I will examine how knowledge was structured with the use of word and image and how meaning was made by the producer/s and audience of the images.

At work in the images are two embedded sign systems: text and image. Using Barthes' *Rhetoric of the Image*, I will consider the interplay between the two and how meaning was signified.[53] Barthes assesses the 'functions of the linguistic message with regard to the (twofold) iconic message', to be anchorage and relay.[54] In a system of anchorage, 'the text *directs* the reader through the signifieds of the image',[55] in order 'to *fix* the floating chain of signifieds',[56] whereas with relay, 'text […] and image stand in a complementary relationship'.[57] I will consider the images' function in supplying links and references, using word and image, to a variety of discourses. Additionally, I will consider the notion of intertextuality in the textual sign system in the images. Daniel Chandler notes that, with intertextuality, 'texts provide contexts within which other texts may be created and interpreted'.[58] I will examine the images' role in reconstituting an intertextual framework through embedded quotations, page numbers, titles of texts and authors' names. I will consider how this involved both the mediation and reconstitution of logocentric discourse around Methodism and will conclude by showing how the images, therefore, functioned in 'transform[ing],

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[52] Sometimes also spelt 'Foundry'. I use this spelling as was done in the majority of primary sources. The Foundery was the headquarters of London and English Methodism between 1739-1778, David Hempton, *Methodism: Empire of the Spirit*, New Haven and London, 2005, 39

[53] Roland Barthes, 'Rhetoric of the Image', *Image, Music, Text*, Ed. and Trans. Stephen Heath, New York, 1977, 32-51

[54] *Ibid.*, 38

[55] *Ibid.*, 39

[56] *Ibid.*, 39

[57] *Ibid.*, 41

[58] Daniel Chandler, *Semiotics, the basics*, London, 2010, 201

modif[ying], elaborat[ing] or extend[ing]' the arguments in, or discourses around, these texts by viewing them in comparison with each other.[59] I will also engage with the notion of hypertextuality, which Graham Allen states is a 'capacity […] for interconnectedness',[60] particularly in relation to the image *Perfection* (Fig.2) where lettered labels embedded in the image provide direct links to pages and selected lines within the accompanying poem, with the aid of a key at the bottom of the plate. Similarly, the selected lines and pages in the poem were labeled, which in turn referred the viewer back to the accompanying image. In the same way, I will consider the repetition of symbols (visual and textual) across the series, which allowed for intra-publication links.

The thesis is formed of three chapters structured around areas of discourse that would have been readily legible to the coders and decoders of the images that are the foci of this study. In Chapter One, 'John Wesley and his *Calm Address*', I will examine discourses that were mobilised by the coders and decoders of the foci images around the dissemination and reception of Wesley's *Calm Address to Our American Colonies* (London, 1775). This will be situated in relation to anxieties around Wesley's temporal and spiritual activities: his publishing output, alleged seeking of preferment in the Anglican Church and the building of the City Road Chapel (1777-8). I will consider this in relation to the content of Wesley's tract, political theory of parliamentary sovereignty and residual politico-religious anxieties. In Chapter Two, 'The Foundery: Religious Experience and Poor Relief', I will consider the discursive construction of the Methodist Foundery. I will examine meaning making by the coders and decoders of the foci images around religious enthusiasm, the supernatural

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[59] *Ibid.*, 206
[60] Graham Allen, *Intertextuality: the new critical idiom*, Oxon, 2010, 199

and 'madness', Methodist love-feasts and the passions, as well as the poor relief function of the Foundery.[61] This will be examined with reference to anxieties around Wesley's temporal and spiritual influences and situated in relation to discourses around the impact on the followers of idleness and gin drinking. In Chapter Three, 'Prototypes and Parallels: Imposture and Priestcraft in Cross-Religious Discourse', I will examine areas of discourse that were generated in the decoding of the foci images, focusing on *The Temple of Imposture* (Fig.5), around a selection of 'ancient' and contemporary 'Non-Western' and 'Western' religions, religious orders and their leaders.[62] I will consider how these religions were coded and decoded with reference to logocentric debates about imposture and priestcraft. Meaning making around these religions will be situated in relation to notions of dissent and national identity.

I will conclude that the images that are the foci of this study had a discursive function, coding vast bodies of knowledge and networks of discourses into a compact form. Thus, the images acted as satiric lenses through which various, readily legible discourses were coded and decoded in relation to specific emergent anxieties around John Wesley and London Methodism. As such, the images mediated, reconstituted, synthesised and transformed logocentric areas of discourse around Wesley and Methodism. I will end by addressing the significance of the way that the foci images functioned in the structuring of knowledge around Wesley and Methodism and will assess the role of the visual in meaning making. I will also outline the limitations of

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[61] The Methodist love-feast was a form of communion. This will be discussed in Chapter Two, page 47
[62] I use the term 'ancient' in accordance with the *Oxford English Dictionary*'s definition to mean religions of 'the period of history before the fall of the Western Roman Empire'. For the purpose of this thesis, I use the term 'Western' in a simplistic sense in accordance with the *Oxford English Dictionary*'s definition to mean those religions 'Of or pertaining to the Western or European countries […] as distinguished from the Eastern', the latter I refer to as 'Non-Western'.

this study and scope for further research, particularly in relation to discourses on religious tolerance.

CHAPTER ONE

JOHN WESLEY AND HIS *CALM ADDRESS*

In this chapter I will focus on the controversy surrounding John Wesley's widely disseminated political pamphlet, *Calm Address to our American Colonies* (pub. September 1775).[1] Explicit references to this publication can be found in the frontispieces to *Perfection* (Fig.2), *Sketches for Tabernacle-Frames* (Fig.3) and *The Temple of Imposture* (Fig.5). The series which is the focus of my study belongs to a larger collection of publications produced in response to the *Calm Address*, yet, whilst Wesley's tract received extensive criticism,[2] these are the only extant pamphlets with frontispieces or full title page illustrations that allude to the controversial publication.[3] Therefore, I will examine where these images were situated in meaning making about Wesley and Methodism, in relation to wider contemporary politico-religious discourse.

I will consider how the image *Perfection* (Fig.2) was informed by anxieties around the *Calm Address* in terms of its widespread dissemination and positive reception by Lord North's (1732-1792) ministry (1770-1781). I will then examine how this image reconstituted textual criticism of Wesley and the *Calm Address* that was published between 1775-8 from Rev. Rowland Hill (1744-1833), Rev. Caleb Evans (1737-1791), Rev. Augustus Toplady (1740-1778) and the anonymous author writing under

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[1] John Wesley, *Calm Address to our American Colonies*, London, 1775

[2] Green, *Anti-Methodist Publications*, 125-137, Field, *Bulletin*, 1991, 159-280 and Field, 'Primary Sources, 1738-1800, Part 2, Anti-Methodist Publications', 18-38. These do not include pamphlets in support of Wesley.

[3] I make this conclusion by viewing those pamphlets listed in Green and Field's bibliographies. Whilst not discussed in detail, M.D. George has referenced that anti-*Calm Address* abuse climaxed with the production of my foci prints, M.D. George, 'American in English Satirical Prints', *The William and Mary Quarterly*, Third Series, Vol. 10, No.4, (October 1953), 512-537, 530.

the pseudonym Patrick Bull. This criticism will be analysed in relation to the progress of Methodism in London signalled by the building of the City Road Chapel (1777-8). I will then consider meaning making around the content of Wesley's publication. The frontispieces *Sketches for Tabernacle-Frames* (Fig.3) and *Fanatical Conversion (A New World! A New World!)* (Fig.6) reference seventeenth-century political theory on the location of sovereignty and, therefore, engaged with late eighteenth-century debates surrounding parliamentary representation. Lastly, I will situate the foci images in relation to contemporary concerns surrounding Wesley's perceived politico-religious motives for writing the *Calm Address*. The negative reception of the *Calm Address* has not previously been considered in this way.

Part I *The 'Calm Address' and Modes of Dissemination*

The frontispiece to *Perfection* (Fig.2) is a representation of a mock coat of arms for John Wesley. The *Calm Address* is explicitly cited in the middle section of the heraldic device; a flag reads 'Calm Address p.21' (Fig.13). In addition, the representation of the sword in *The Temple of Imposture* (Fig.5) is labeled 'Calm Address of both'[4] and in *Sketches for Tabernacle-Frames* (Fig.3), the labourer holds a pamphlet entitled 'A Calm Address'. The *Calm Address* was a political tract published by John Wesley in September 1775 and sold for 2d. It was an unauthorised abridgement of Dr Samuel Johnson's 18d tract *Taxation No Tyranny* (pub. March 1775).[5] The publication centred on the taxation of the American colonies, which was an issue of considerable potency in the late 1760s and 1770s.[6] As such, it engaged

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[4] I will examine this label in Chapter Three, page 77-78.
[5] Samuel Johnson, *Taxation No Tyranny: an answer to the resolutions and address of the American Congress*, London, 1775.
[6] During the years 1763-83, American disputes stimulated the publication of over 1,000 pamphlets in England, C.C. Bonwick, 'An English Audience for American Revolutionary Pamphlets', *The Historical Journal*, Vol. 19, No. 2, June 1976, 355-374, 355. For a bibliographic list of these

with discourses around parliamentary sovereignty, which had been highlighted as a result of the resistance in the colonies over taxation. Addressed to the subjects in America,[7] Wesley argued uncompromisingly for the right to tax the American colonies without representation in English parliament, noting that, 'the supreme power in England has a legal right of laying any tax upon them for any end beneficial to the whole empire'.[8]

My analysis of the *Calm Address* as represented in my focal series of images, which were produced three years after its publication and after substantial changes in the colonies,[9] will not focus on the details of the publication or the controversy in relation to the American Revolution, since the content of Johnson's tract was not received in the same way by the selection of authors I am examining.[10] Instead, I will consider the specific meanings generated about Wesley and Methodism through the mobilisation of the *Calm Address* as a signifier. I will show that anxieties around the dissemination and reception of the *Calm Address* were conflated with emergent discourses surrounding Wesley's temporal influence and perceived politico-religious intentions.

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pamphlets, see: Thomas Adams, *The American Controversy: a Bibliographical Study of the British Pamphlets about the American Disputes, 1764- 1783*, New York, 1980. For information on the impact on visual culture see: George, 'American in English Satirical Prints'. There is scope for research into how my foci images related to the wider visual culture on America after the Declaration of Independence.

[7] See also: Wesley's later *A Calm Address to the Inhabitants of England*, London, 1777, 3, which shows his intention to dispatch there.

[8] Wesley, *Calm Address*, 8

[9] By 1778-9, when they were produced, American independence had been declared (4 July 1776) and Britain had suffered a defeat at Saratoga (1777) after the French had formally recognised and allied with the American colonists. See: Dora Mae Clark, *British Opinion and the American Revolution*, New York, 1966, 51-95.

[10] For Patrick Bull 'Dr. Johnson, [was] a man too eloquent to be comprehended by the vulgar', and 'the CALM ADDRESS was only an abstract, divested of all that bombast of eloquence' [of Johnson's Taxation No Tyranny], Patrick Bull, *A Wolf in Sheep's Cloathing* [*sic*]*: or an old Jesuit Unmasked [...]*, Dublin and London, 1775, 8-9. For Augustus Toplady the *Calm Address* was 'both as to Matter and Expression, a Bundle of Lilliputian Shafts picked and STOLEN out of Dr. *Johnson*'s Pin-cushion', Augustus Toplady, *An Old Fox Tarr'd and Feather'd: occasioned by what is called Mr. John Wesley's Calm Address to our American Colonies, by an Hanoverian*, London, 1775, 19, Rowland Hill referred to Wesley's 'theft and mutilated publication of Dr Johnson's Pamphlet', *Imposture Detected: and the dead vindicated [...]*, London, 1777, 7.

Wesley's pamphlet had a significant impact on contemporary print culture in England - 40,000 copies were printed in just three weeks[11] and within a few months 100,000 copies had been produced.[12] This was especially considerable given that eighteenth-century print runs usually ranged from 200 to 1,500 copies per edition.[13] Yet, it would have potentially had an even wider readership given eighteenth-century reading cultures and modes of access to literature. James Raven notes that 'communication operated at multiple levels and […] was often influenced by other modes of social interaction'.[14] Modes of reading included 'communal, vocalised reading' as well as independent reading and text sharing[15] and access was also provided through subscription schemes and circulating libraries.[16] As well as a large direct and indirect readership, the pamphlet received government endorsement. Luke Tyerman noted that the government ordered copies to be distributed 'at the doors of all the metropolitan churches'.[17] Indeed, it was alleged that the publication of the *Calm Address* had been at the government's request[18] and Wesley had been offered a pension as a reward.[19] In *Perfection* (Fig.2), a flag that refers to Wesley's publication hangs from the roof of the building in the central section (Fig.13). The weathervane on top of the building points to 'N' for north, meaning Lord North,[20] which implicitly signalled Wesley's allegiance to the government. The trope of the weathervane, however, showed that

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[11] Allan Raymond, '"I fear god and honour the King": John Wesley and the American Revolution', *Church History*, Vol. 45, No. 3, September 1976, 316-328, 322.

[12] *Loc. cit.*

[13] Joad Raymond, 'Pamphlets and News', in David Womersley (Ed), *A Companion to literature from Milton to Blake*, Oxford, 2000, 483-495, 490. However, a run of 1,000 copies was typical, Suarez, 'The Business of Literature', 2000, 140

[14] Raven, 'New reading histories', 268

[15] *Ibid.*, 274

[16] *Ibid.*, 277

[17] Tyerman, *Life and Times*, Vol. 3, 191

[18] Raymond,'"I fear god and honour the King"', 322

[19] Henry Abelove, 'John Wesley's Plagiarism of Samuel Johnson and its Contemporary Reception', *The Huntington Library Quarterly*, Vol. 59, No. 1, 1996, 73-79, 73. See also: Tyerman, *Life and Times*, Vol. 3, 191.

[20] George, *Catalogue of Political and Personal Satires*, Vol. 5, 301

Wesley's allegiance was temporary. This was highlighted in anti-*Calm Address* discourse: Rowland Hill noted that Wesley '*shifts* and *veers about* like a *weather-cock*'[21] and Augustus Toplady considered that, 'probably, the Weathercock [Wesley] is not, even yet, completely *rusted*. It may still vary with the Wind.'[22]

In addition, in *The Love-Feast* (Fig.4), *Sketches for Tabernacle-Frames* (Fig.3) and *Fanatical Conversion (A New World! A New World!)* (Fig.6), Wesley is represented with fox's head and is dressed in an MA gown and clerical bands, wearing a collar brandished 'North' (Fig.14). Robert Glen has suggested that this signalled that Wesley was 'powerless' and 'under the control' of Lord North.[23] However, I think the references to North signalled emergent anxieties about Wesley's influence over temporal activities. Whilst Wesley is depicted ostensibly wearing the collar of North, like the weathervane that points there temporarily, in *Perfection* (Fig.2) the motto 'good will towards men' shrouds a dagger, which signalled an alleged hidden intent behind Wesley's *Calm Address* (Fig.15). This meaning was coded and decoded via the embedded letter 'e' above the dagger. This label referred to the key at the bottom of the plate, which functioned to direct the viewer to specific pages and lines within the accompanying poem in relation to visual symbols that comprise the coat of arms, in order to reveal related information and inspire new meanings in the interpretation of the image (Fig.15). The embedded label 'e' referred to the last 5 lines of page 36 which ended '*massacre* Mankind with CALM ADDRESS'. Through these hypertextual links, the image and text were interdependent in meaning making: labels in the frontispiece and highlighted passages in the accompanying text encouraged the reader-viewer to constantly move between text and image.

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[21] Hill, *Imposture Detected*, 28
[22] Toplady, *An Old Fox*, 21
[23] Glen, 'The Fate of John Wesley in the English Satiric Prints', 39

Indeed, the phrase '*massacre* Mankind with CALM ADDRESS' is visually connoted throughout the focal series. The dagger and ribbon motif is repeated in *Sketches for Tabernacle-Frames* (Fig.3 and 16), stocks and gallows are represented in *The Fanatic Saints* (Fig.1) and a sword and gridiron are depicted in *The Temple of Imposture* (Fig.5). Furthermore, as well as being depicted as a Satyr in *The Fanatic Saints* (Fig.1),[24] in *The Love-Feast* (Fig.4), *Sketches for Tabernacle-Frames* (Fig.3) and *Fanatical Conversion (A New World! A New World!)* (Fig.6), Wesley is depicted with a cloven hoof that is revealed beneath a gown, an iconographic convention of representing of the devil in disguise (Fig.17).[25] Likewise, Wesley takes the form of 'the subtlest beast of the field', a serpent, in *The Temple of Imposture* (Fig.5), another iconographic incarnation of evil.[26] These symbols functioned to satirically point to anxieties around the *Calm Address* and hidden intentions.

As well as being readily available in London through government dissemination, Wesley had his own promotion and distribution networks of Methodist preachers and tradespeople.[27] As Baker has shown, Wesley 'advertised very little in newspapers and magazines, perhaps especially in London'.[28] Anxieties around the distribution of Wesley's tracts were manifest in anti-*Calm Address* discourse. In his *A Wolf in Sheep's Cloathing* [*sic*], Patrick Bull noted 'this CALM ADDRESS made its appearance in a fury; it was never so much as advertised; but, contrary to all probable or natural means, like a mushroom it sprung up in one night, and in the morning was

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[24] There is an iconographic link between the devil and Satyr, see: James Hall, *Hall's Dictionary of Subjects and Symbols in Art*, London, 1996, 272-273.
[25] *Ibid.*, 272
[26] *Ibid.*, 272 and 285
[27] Frank Baker, *John Wesley, London Publisher*, *1733-1791*, a lecture to the Friends of Wesley's Chapel given on Thursday, May 24th, 1984 at Wesley's Chapel, London, 1984, 6
[28] *Ibid.*, 6

dispersed in the most distant parts of the kingdom'.[29] In the capital, the locus of Wesley's publishing and bookselling activity took place at the recognised Methodist headquarters, the Foundery.[30] Indeed, *Sketches for Tabernacle-Frames* (Fig.3) depicts the supposed interior of the Foundery's on-site bookshop.[31] The three shelves of the crowded bookshelf signalled Wesley's prolific publishing output, as well as his combined temporal and spiritual influence (Fig.18).[32] At the top is the 'Primitive Physick', which refered to Wesley's medical manual *Primitive Physick, Or, an Easy and Natural Method of Curing Most Diseases* (1747), which was in its seventeenth edition by 1776.[33] The middle shelf is dedicated to 'Political Pamphlets' and, being the most disordered, perhaps connoted Wesley's changeable, allegedly confused views on politics. The bottom shelf is reserved for 'Prayers, Sermons, Hymns'. Therefore, concerns surrounding Wesley as a publisher on various subjects were coded in relation to the dissemination and reception his *Calm Address*.

Wesley's opinions on America were also disseminated through oratory. Wesley regularly preached sermons on themes pertaining to the American Revolution, particularly when in regions where there was substantial opposition to the ministry's policy.[34] This was referenced in discourse around the *Calm Address*, Hill denounced

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[29] Bull, *A Wolf in Sheep's Cloathing*, 6

[30] Baker, *John Wesley, London Publisher,* 5-6

[31] As the explanation of the frontispiece shows.

[32] John Wesley, along with his brother Charles, published 450 literary works that each went through approximately 2000 editions in John Wesley's lifetime, Baker, *John Wesley, London Publisher*, 1. The types of works Wesley published were vast, see: Brian Young, 'Religious Writing', in David Womersley (Ed), *A Companion to literature from Milton to Blake*, Oxford, 2000, 536-547, 541.

[33] Samuel J. Rogal, 'Pills for the Poor; John Wesley's "Primitive Physic", *The Yale Journal of Biology and Medicine*, 51, 1978, 81-90, 83. The publication is sometimes referred to as *Primitive Physic* in secondary literature– I use this spelling 'Physick' to correspond to that of the title of Wesley's eighteenth-century publication. I will discuss discourses around the manual and the labouring poor in Chapter Two, page 55-57.

[34] William Warren Sweet, 'The Role of the Anglicans in the American Revolution', *The Huntington Library Quarterly*, Vol. 11, No. 1, November 1947, 51-70, 67.

Wesley for 'bring[ing] his politics to the pulpit'.[35] Wesley's political use of his sermons was also manifest in a version of the title page illustration for Toplady's publication *An Old Fox Tarr'd and Feather'd* (London, 1775) (Fig.10).[36] Wesley is depicted in profile with a head of a fox and wearing clerical bands and a gown. The figure holds an open publication in its right hand, as if reading aloud, and the text alongside shows that the publication is 'A Calm Address to our American Colonies'.

Wesley's tract had a significant impact on print and verbal cultures, his opinion on the American colonies was disseminated verbally, through reading practices and sermons, and in print, in which it was distributed via various means (including Methodist-centric modes of dissemination), on a substantial scale and with government endorsement. The networks of discourse that were generated around the production, dissemination and reception of the *Calm Address* informed the coding and decoding of the foci images. Furthermore, Wesley's temporal influences were situated in relation to concerns over a hidden intent, signified by a dagger, instruments of torture and Wesley's satiric representation as evil incarnate.

Part II *Intertextual Criticism of Wesley and London Methodism*

Intertextual links to key publications that were written in response to the *Calm Address* are embedded in the images *Perfection* (Fig.2), *Sketches for Tabernacle-Frames* (Fig.3) and *Fanatical Conversion (A New World! A New World!)* (Fig.6). In *Perfection* (Fig.2), a wolf in sheep's clothing (dexter) and a fox (sinister) stand on plinths that contain textual labels (Fig.19). On the left, the top plinth reads 'Imposture detected / Letters', which referred to publications by Rev Rowland Hill (*Imposture*

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[35] Hill, *Imposture Detected*, 34

[36] This version has not been analysed by Glen in his 'The Fate of John Wesley in the English Satiric Prints', or 'Man or Beast? English Methodists as animals in Eighteenth-Century Satiric Prints'.

Detected and the Dead Vindicated, London 1777), and Rev Caleb Evans (*A Letter to the Rev Mr John Wesley*, Bristol and London 1775), the middle plinth has the label 'Contributions to the Stock' and the lower reads 'Evans I.W. detected', which suggested the outcome of Evan's pamphlet. In addition, the plinth on the right reads, 'Rowland Hill, p.17'. References to the authors Hill and Evans are repeated in *Sketches for Tabernacle-Frames* (Fig.3): on the table in the left foreground are two open publications which have been stabbed with a dagger, they read 'Impostor Detected by R. Hill' and 'Political Sophistry detected by Evans' (Fig.16). The latter is an intertextual reference to an additional tract by Evans, *Political Sophistry Detected [...]* (Bristol 1776).[37] Furthermore, Hill and Evan's names are engraved into the walls of the barn in *Fanatical Conversion (A New World! A New World!)* (Fig.6 and 20) and the pamphlet *Sketches for Tabernacle-Frames* is 'most thankfully' dedicated to Evans and Hill for being 'candid and ingenious *detectors*, in acknowledgement of their service to the *public*'. I will therefore consider the meanings that were generated about Wesley through the reconstitution of these specific textual discourses, and how these informed meaning making in relation to London Methodism in the foci images.

Evans' pamphlet, *A Letter to the Rev. Mr John Wesley* was published in early October 1775 under the pseudonym 'Americanus'.[38] As well as documenting Wesley's plagiarism of Johnson, Evans challenged each of the points Wesley made in the *Calm Address*. Furthermore, Evans asked 'how comes he now to appear a defender of such measures as he before admitted to be indefensible?'[39] Indeed, the *Calm Address* signalled a change in Wesley's political opinion on the situation in the American

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[37] Caleb Evans, *Political Sophistry Detected, or Brief Remarks on The Rev. Mr Fletcher's late Tract, entitled 'American Patriotism', in a Letter to a Friend*, Bristol, 1776
[38] Evans, *A Letter*, 24
[39] *Ibid*., advertisement page

colonies. Between 1768 and 1782, Wesley wrote and published ten political pamphlets, of which six were on the subject of America.[40] In his earlier tracts, Wesley had defended the colonies and referred to Americans as 'oppressed, injured people'.[41] Yet, in the *Calm Address* he accused them of being allied with English radicals, men whose 'grand design' was to provoke unrest in England.[42] This led Evans to declare 'for the sake of the multitudes that follow you [I hope] you will be more *steady* and *consistent* as a *Divine* than, I am sure, you are as a *Politician*'.[43] A series of exchanges between Evans and Wesley were conducted in open letters and in new prints of their tracts between 1775-6.[44] Therefore, the references to Evans also mobilised these wider logocentric discourses. In a letter to the *Gentleman's Magazine* (December 1775), Evans noted 'you have one eye on a pension, and the other upon heaven; one hand stretched out to the K –g [King], and the other raised up to God'.[45]

In a similar way, Wesley was discredited for alleged hypocrisy, plagiarism and desire for temporal and spiritual preferment through the signification of Hill's pamphlet *Imposture Detected and the Dead Vindicated* (1777). In this tract, Wesley was presented as a 'lying apostle of the Foundery' who was 'sufficiently *vain* and *insolent*' and who preached 'without any regard to truth, or fear of falsehood'.[46] In *Perfection* (Fig.2), the plinth that reads 'Rowland Hill, p.17' is an intertextual link which referred the viewer to page 17 of a publication by Hill (Fig.19). On page 17 of

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[40] Sweet, 'The Role of the Anglicans', 64

[41] Anon., *The London magazine, or, Gentleman's monthly intelligencer, for the year 1775*, Volume 44, London, 1776, 537 and Evans, *A Letter*, 22. See also: John Wesley, *Free Thoughts on the present state of publick affairs: in a letter to a friend*, London, 1770, 14, which argued that the government's actions against the American colonies could not be defended.

[42] Wesley, *Calm Address*, 18, also 14-16. This view can also be found in John Wesley, *Some Observations on Liberty: occasioned by a late tract,* London, 1776.

[43] Evans, *A Letter*, 24

[44] See Henry Abelove, 'John Wesley's Plagiarism of Samuel Johnson and its Contemporary Reception', *The Huntington Library Quarterly*, Vol. 59, No. 1, 1996, 73-79, 76-78

[45] *Gentleman's Magazine*, 45, December 1775, 564

[46] Hill, *Imposture Detected,* 4-5

Imposture Detected Hill noted, 'all Mr John's preachers are a *wicked set* of *deceivers*, because he himself was lately *detected*.' A footnote referred the reader to Evan's *Letters*. This meaning is consistent with the two corresponding plinths 'Evans I.W. Detected' and 'Rowland Hill p17' in *Perfection* (Fig.2 and 19). However, I think this intertextual link could also refer to Hill's slightly later tract, *A full answer to the Rev. J. Wesley's remarks upon a late pamphlet [...]* (Bristol 1777).[47] Whilst it is Hill's tract *Imposture Detected* that was explicitly referenced elsewhere in the images, page 17 of *A full answer* engaged with the controversy around Wesley and the Bishop Erasmus, thus, I interpret the link in relation to the wider visual analysis of the image *Perfection* (Fig.2). Erasmus was an itinerant Bishop, believed to be that of Arcadia, Crete.[48] On page 17, Hill accused Wesley of seeking to ordain his lay-preachers and 'wanting Episcopal consecration from Erasmus'.[49] Hill provided an excerpt from a letter that proved it 'incontrovertible fact' that 'Mr. Charles Wesley offered [Erasmus] forty guineas if he would consecrate his brother *John* a Bishop'.[50] Thus, this intertextual link anchored a reading of the visual symbols in the upper section of the coat of arms in *Perfection* (Fig.2 and 21): the Bishop's mitre labeled 'Erasmus', the crook-shaped crozier and the purse labeled '40 Gui's' directed the viewer to Hills' assertion that Wesley had sought consecration as a Bishop. The reference to the mitre and crozier is repeated in *Sketches for Tabernacle-Frames* (Fig.3) as well as *The Love-Feast* (Fig.4), where the mitre is used to crown Wesley with the 'Diocese of all

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[47] Rowland Hill, *A full answer to the Rev. J. Wesley's remarks upon a late pamphlet, published in defence of the characters of the Rev. Mr. Whitefield and others. In a letter to a friend*, Bristol, 1777.
[48] Lyles, *Methodism Mocked*, 124
[49] Hill, *A full answer*, 17
[50] *Ibid.*, 17. See also: Toplady, *An Old Fox*, 5.

Moorfields'.[51] Therefore, the symbols and intertextual link to Hill's tract referenced Wesley's alleged desire for preferment in the established Church.[52]

The coding and decoding of the image *Perfection* (Fig.2) reconstituted specific logocentric discourse around Wesley's *Calm Address* in order to signal his alleged hypocrisy. In addition, the publication *A full answer* was Hill's counter to Wesley's response to *Imposture Detected*.[53] Likewise, the label 'Political Sophistry detected by Evans' in *Sketches for Tabernacle-Frames* (Fig.3 and 16), was an intertextual reference to Evan's publication *Political Sophistry* (1776),[54] which was a response to a tract written by John William Fletcher (1729-1785), a Church of England clergyman and Methodist writer, entitled *American Patriotism* (Shrewsbury 1776), which defended Wesley's position on the American Revolution.[55] By including intertextual links that referenced the responses to Wesley and Fletcher's counter responses, the images mediated and reconstituted the wider textual discourse generated around the *Calm Address*. By providing links to texts that defended Hill and Evans' original arguments, this also functioned to anticipate the reader-viewer's engagement with the images, which could have potentially been challenged if the reader-viewer had access

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[51] As the caption beneath the image explains.

[52] As a further register of meaning, these references may also be understood in relation to discourses around the Bishop for America. As well as signaling Wesley's intention to disseminate the *Calm Address* in the colonies (see: Wesley, *A Calm Address to the Inhabitants of England*, 3), in *Sketches for Tabernacle-Frames* (Fig.3) the ribbon above the dagger that reads 'dispatch for America' alongside the mitre and crozier could be decoded as showing Wesley's positioning of himself for this post. My thanks go to Peter Forsaith for pointing this out. More research could be done in this area: Toplady questioned whether Wesley wanted to 'be appointed to the first American Bishoprick', *An Old Fox*, 5. For prints relating to these discourses, see: M.D. George, 'American in English Satirical Prints', 521.

[53] John Wesley, *A Full Answer to Mr. Rowland Hill's Tract entitled 'Imposture Detected'*, London, 1777

[54] Evans, *Political Sophistry Detected, or Brief Remarks on The Rev. Mr Fletcher's late Tract, entitled 'American Patriotism', in a Letter to a Friend*, Bristol, 1776.

[55] John Fletcher, *American Patriotism farther confronted with reason, scripture, and the constitution: being observations on the dangerous politicks taught by the Rev. Mr Evans M.A., and the Rev. Dr. Price. With a scriptural plea for the Revolted Colonies*, Shrewsbury, 1776.

to the wider print culture, or if the reader-viewers were not necessarily anti-Methodist.

Furthermore, the image *Perfection* (Fig.2) visually signified two other textual polemics against Wesley and the *Calm Address*: Augustus M Toplady's *An Old Fox Tarr'd and Feather'd* (pub. October 1775) and Patrick Bull's *A Wolf in Sheep's Cloathing* [*sic*] (pub. 1775). The title page for *An Old Fox Tarr'd and Feather'd* (Fig.9) featured a small illustration of a cleric with the head of an ageing fox, viewed in profile. This illustration was the first time that Wesley was depicted as a fox.[56] Thus, by mobilising the same trope, the frontispieces to *Perfection* (Fig.2), *The Love-Feast* (Fig.4 and 14), *Sketches for Tabernacle-Frames* (Fig.3 and 14) and *Fanatical Conversion (A New World! A New World!)* (Fig.6 and 14) connoted Toplady's pamphlet. Indeed, Toplady wished to show 'Mr Wesley's *Honesty* as a PLAGIARIST' and thus give 'the Fox a gentle Flogging, as a TURN-COAT'.[57] Toplady compared Wesley's text to Johnson's in order to highlight that there were '*Thirty-one* borrowed Paragraphs'.[58] Toplady hypothesised that Wesley's hope was that his 'Pilfering may procure […] some Preferment in the Church' or to 'obtain a Pension'.[59] The anthropomorphic fox, however, was also a readily legible signifier of a cunning and deceitful character, as defined in the well-known fable of 'Reynard the fox'.[60] Indeed, the textual labels 'Reynard/o' in the embedded captions in *The Love-Feast* (Fig.4) and *Sketches for Tabernacle-Frames* (Fig.3) re-tasked this signifier, mapping those connotations onto Wesley. In a similar way, Bull's publication, *A Wolf*

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[56] Glen, 'Man or Beast?', 90. I discussed a second version of this title page illustration earlier in this Chapter, 22.

[57] Toplady, *An Old Fox*, advertisement page

[58] *Ibid.*, 19

[59] *Ibid.*, 5

[60] Anon., *The Pleasant and Entertaining History of Reynard The Fox*, London, 1775

in Sheep's Cloathing [*sic*] was visually referred to by the representation of a wolf, semi-disguised in the fleece of a sheep, which forms part of the heraldic device in *Perfection* (Fig.2 and 22). The initials 'I.W' signalled that the wolf was Wesley, showing him to be duplicitous.[61] Bull satirically argued that the views in the *Calm Address* could not have been Wesley's, for he had previously sympathised with the Americans. He concluded that a ghost appearing to Wesley as an apparition must have written the publication.[62] That it was a ghost 'of a Jesuit' will be discussed in Chapter Three. As a further register of meaning, this could be interpreted in relation to the Biblical quote 'beware of false prophets, who come to you in sheep's clothing but inwardly are ravenous wolves.'[63] The notion of religious imposture will also be explored in Chapter Three.

Thus, intertextual links to logocentric publications by Evans and Hill, and visual reference to those by Toplady and Bull, reconstituted key debates in the contemporary semiotic ground of anti-*Calm Address* discourse. As such, meanings were generated that signalled Wesley's hypocrisy and ambition. In *Perfection* (Fig.2), this network of discourses was coded and decoded in relation to emergent anxieties around the progress of Methodism in London, as represented by the building of the City Road Chapel. The foundation stone was laid on 21 April 1777 and the building opened in 1778, when this focal series was published.[64] Significantly, this was the first purposely-built Methodist chapel in the capital.[65] Anxieties around the building were mobilised in Hill's pamphlet *Imposture Detected*, which referred to it as the 'new

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[61] The letter 'I' was used for 'J' in print.
[62] Bull, *A Wolf in Sheep's Cloathing*, 2. The ghost was that of Father Petre (1631-1699), an English Jesuit and advisor to King James II.
[63] Matthew, 7:15
[64] Stevenson, *City Road Chapel*, 68
[65] *Loc. cit.*

DISSENTING MEETING-HOUSE, near the *City-Road'*.[66] I would argue that the building represented in the central section in *Perfection* (Fig.2 and 13) is the City Road Chapel.[67] Figure 12 shows a slightly later representation of the chapel published in the *The Arminian Magazine* in 1781. There is a substantial amount of visual resemblance between the two representations.[68] Furthermore, the initials 'I.W' on the pediment of the building, and the portrait head of Wesley immediately below, signalled that it was Wesley's chapel. The noticeable addition to the representation in *Perfection* (Fig.2 and 13) is the weathervane on the roof - this can be accounted for as having a symbolic function. Having recently been completed and opened, this representation finished off the design for the chapel. As a satiric device, the addition of a weathervane showed that the new chapel required one, in order to highlight the alleged fickleness of Wesley as a 'politician' as well as a 'divine'.[69]

In addition, the two flags that hang from the roof of the chapel, labeled 'Calm Address p.21' and 'Perfection' (Fig.13), mobilised specific discourses around Wesley and London Methodism. 'Perfection' was a Methodist doctrine that promoted freedom from sin, including original sin, instantaneously and during the believers' lifetimes.[70] It stimulated controversy in the 1760s,[71] particularly in relation to the

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[66] Hill, *Imposture Detected*, title page. The tract was a response to a 'false and libellous harangue': John Wesley's, *A Sermon on Numbers xxiii. 23. Preached Monday, April 21, 1777. On Laying the Foundation of the New Chapel, near the City-Road, London*, London, 1777.

[67] George, *Catalogue of Political and Personal Satires*, Vol. 5, 301, mentions that the City Road Chapel was built in 1778, but does not explicitly state that it is represented in the image *Perfection* (Fig.2).

[68] The pediment, the formation of the windows, the entrance with pillars and steps, all correspond.

[69] Evans, *A Letter*, 24

[70] Henry Abelove, *The Evangelist of Desire: John Wesley and the Methodists*, Stanford, 1990, 78-79. See: John Wesley, *A Plain Account of Christian Perfection: as believed and taught by the Rev. Mr. John Wesley, from the year 1725, to the year 1765*, Bristol, 1766. Adding another register of meaning this, in part, pertains to Methodist sectarian debates around Arminianism and Calvinism. There is scope for further research in this area. See: Michael Watts, *The Dissenters*, Vol. 1, Oxford, 1978, 428-434.

[71] See also: John Wesley, *Original Letters Between the Reverend John Wesley, and Mr. Richard Tompson, Respecting the Doctrine of Assurance, as held by the former, wherein that tenet is fully examined with some strictures on Christian Perfection*, London, 1760.

London Society of Methodists.[72] As with the *Calm Address*, the use of the word 'perfection' in the publication title and on the label on the flag in *Perfection* (Fig.2 and 13), and on the ribbon in the title page of *The Fanatic Saints* (Fig.1), signified specific, residual discourses surrounding Methodism in London. It acted as a satiric reminder to the reader-viewer of this controversy, along with that surrounding the *Calm Address*, at a time when the new chapel had been recently erected in the capital. This was perhaps particularly significant given that London already had more than one preaching house[73] and that the London Society had a high level of membership.[74]

Therefore, the embedded intertextual links and the mobilisation of established visual tropes reconstituted a negative discursive framework around the *Calm Address* and discredited Wesley and his temporal and spiritual activities. These discourses were coded and decoded in relation to both residual anxieties of widespread dissemination and government support of the *Calm Address* and emergent anxieties around the City Road Chapel being erected, which signalled Methodism's increased progress in London.

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[72] The London Society had the biggest group of Perfected members and Wesley gave charge of them to George Bell. Under Bell's command, their interpretation of Perfection took a hybrid form and the Perfected came to believe that, apocalyptically, the world would end on 28 February 1763. See: Abelove, *The Evangelist of Desire*, 93 and Hempton, *Methodism: Empire of the Spirit*, 39-40.

[73] Gareth Lloyd, 'Eighteenth-Century Methodism and the London Poor', in Richard P. Heitzenrater (Ed), *The Poor and the People Called Methodists 1729-1999*, Nashville, 2002, 121- 130, 123. Manchester and Bristol, Methodist strongholds, had only one meeting house until nearly the end of the century, Lloyd, 'Eighteenth-Century Methodism and the London Poor', 123.

[74] By 1780, the London Society had the highest level of membership out of all of the Methodist societies, Lloyd, 'Eighteenth-Century Methodism and the London Poor', 121. However, Lloyd does show that the city should not necessarily be considered to be a stronghold in terms of membership, due to its percentage of the population, 121-22.

Part III *Political Content and the Location of Sovereignty*

As part of a larger discursive framework, *Sketches for Tabernacle-Frames* (Fig.3) and *Fanatical Conversion (A New World! A New World!)* (Fig.6) reference seventeenth-century political theorists. In *Sketches for Tabernacle-Frames* (Fig.3 and 23), Wesley rests a cloven hoof on four publications entitled 'Acherley's Constitution', 'Magna Carta', 'Sidney' and 'Locke', cornerstones of British constitutional and political theory on liberty and sovereignty.[75] The hoof resting on these publications suggested that Wesley held these authors in contempt.[76] In contrast, in *Fanatical Conversion (A New World! A New World!)* (Fig.6 and 24) a bottle labeled 'Prim Physic', a reference to Wesley's own publication, *Primitive Physick*, rests on top of a collection of books, including one labeled 'Filmer' which referred to Sir Robert Filmer. This indicated that Wesley was making use of text by the latter. Therefore, the textual labels that referenced these writers reconstituted discourses around the political theory outlined in Wesley's *Calm Address*, considered as a doctrine of non-resistance and the divine right of Kings, his intent and the perceived outcome of the publication in relation to residual and emergent politico-religious anxieties.

Sir Robert Filmer's (1588? – 1653) main political work was entitled *Patriarcha* (pub. 1680). In this tract, Filmer refuted claims that all people were originally free and that political authority came from their consent.[77] Instead, political sovereignty was identified as having a divine origin which derived from Adam and was traceable to

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[75] See explanation of frontispiece.

[76] See explanation of frontispiece.

[77] Glenn Burgess, 'Filmer, Sir Robert (1588?–1653)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, edited by H. C. G. Matthew and Brian Harrison, Oxford, 2004, online edition, edited by Lawrence Goldman, Oct 2009 (http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/9424, accessed 2 May 2010)

present the Monarch.[78] For Filmer this meant 'the laws and liberties of England […] owed their existence solely to the royal will'[79] and that parliament had a subordinate role, existing only by the Monarch's grace.[80] In *Perfection* (Fig.2 and 13), the flag labeled 'Calm Address p.21' was an intertextual reference that referred the viewer to page 21 of Wesley's tract. On this page, as Evans noted, Wesley 'infer[s] that the Sovereign […] has a right to tax his subjects with or *without their consent*'.[81] Similarly, in his *Thoughts Concerning the Origin of Power* (1772), Wesley argued that power did not originate with the people, but with God.[82] Therefore, a combined reading of the images *Sketches for Tabernacle-Frames* (Fig.3), *Fanatical Conversion (A New World! A New World!)* (Fig.6) and *Perfection* (Fig.2) aligned Wesley's *Calm Address* with Filmerian ideas and the promotion of the doctrine of divine right, arbitrary power and absolutism.

As such, the image *Sketches for Tabernacle-Frames* (Fig.3) mobilised specific discourses around the negative reception of the political theory Wesley utilised in the *Calm Address*. In *Letters*, Evans attacked Wesley's publication by arguing that 'the people, *only*, are the *source of power* […] which no Sovereign on earth *could have* but *by their consent*'.[83] This view corresponded with the theorists that are referenced in *Sketches for Tabernacle-Frames* (Fig.3 and 23): Acherley, Sidney and Locke. Roger Acherley's (*bap.* 1662? -1740) *The Britannic Constitution* (1727) provided an account of the constitution in practice and stressed the historically important role of

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[78] *Ibid.*,
[79] H.T. Dickinson, 'The Eighteenth-Century Debate on the Sovereignty of Parliament', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, Fifth Series, Vol. 26, 1976, 89-210, 191
[80] Burgess, 'Filmer, Sir Robert (1588?–1653)'
[81] Evans, *A Letter*, 1775, 6
[82] John Wesley, *Thoughts Concerning the Origin of Power*, Bristol, 1772, 5 and 12. See also: Raymond, '"I fear god and honour the King"', 318.
[83] Evans, *A Letter*, 11

parliament.[84] Kilburn summarises that, for Acherley, 'the monarch ruled according to laws prescribed by parliament, consisting of mutually independent king, lords and commons'.[85] In a similar way, the reference to Magna Carta reinforced this idea, signifying the codification of the respective rights and responsibilities of citizens and the Church in relation to the power of the Crown, guaranteeing fundamental civil liberties and curtailing abuses of royal power.[86] Both Algernon Sidney (1623-1683), in his *Discourses Concerning Government* (pub. posthumously after 1698), and John Locke (1632-1704), in his *Two Treatises of Government* (pub. 1689), argued that sovereignty originated in the people, who consented to be governed.[87] Each refuted Filmer's *Patriarcha* by challenging the divine right of Kings and instead articulated the sovereignty of the legislature. [88] Similarly, both articulated the right of resistance if the original contract was broken, in order to defend liberty.[89] The ideas in both publications were influential during the American Revolution.[90]

Therefore, *Sketches for Tabernacle-Frames* (Fig.3) and *Fanatical Conversion (A New World! A New World!)* (Fig.6) mobilised readily legible discourses around the location of sovereignty and legitimate political authority. The divine right of Kings was contrasted with government by consent and the, historically practiced, mutual legislative interdependence of the King and parliament. The coding and decoding of

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[84] Matthew Kilburn, 'Acherley, Roger (*bap.* 1662?, *d.* 1740)', in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, edited by H. C. G. Matthew and Brian Harrison, Oxford, 2004, online edition, edited by Lawrence Goldman, (http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/57, accessed 2 May 2010)
[85] *Ibid*.
[86] See: Evans, *A Letter*, 5
[87] Dickinson, 'The Eighteenth-Century Debate', 202
[88] *Ibid*., 192. See also: Pamela Edwards, 'Political Ideas from Locke to Paine', in H.T. Dickinson (Ed), *A Companion to Eighteenth-Century Britain*, Oxford, 2006, 294-310.
[89] J. R. Milton, 'Locke, John (1632–1704)', in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, edited by H. C. G. Matthew and Brian Harrison, Oxford, 2004. Online edition, edited by Lawrence Goldman, May 2008, (http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/16885, accessed 2 May 2010), Caroline Robins, 'Algernon Sidney's "Discourses Concerning Government": Textbook of Revolution', *The William and Mary Quarterly*, Third Series, Vol. 4, No. 3, July 1947, 267-296, 268.
[90] Milton, 'Locke, John (1632–1704)', Robins, 'Algernon Sidney's "Discourses Concerning Government"', 279-80.

the foci images situated Wesley and Methodism within these discourses: Wesley was aligned with Filmer, who located sovereignty with the King, not the legislature. As such, Wesley's *Calm Address* was constructed as promoting absolute monarchy, denying parliamentary sovereignty and the right of resistance in order to defend constitutional and civil liberties and property against arbitrary rule. Meanings were generated by the coders and decoders of the foci images in relation to specific anti-*Calm Address* discourses about political sovereignty, and Wesley's alleged politico-religious motives for writing the tract. Evans declared that Wesley had, in both his *Calm Address* and *Origin of Power*, 'reviv[ed] the good old Jacobite doctrines of *hereditary*, *indefeasible*, *divine right*, and of *passive obedience* and *non-resistance*'.[91] Quoting Wesley's earlier statement, 'I am no politician, politics lie quite out of my province',[92] Evans questioned, 'how comes Mr. John Wesley, who was then no Politician, to commence one now?[93] Similarly, Bull asked, 'why does he pretend to be [a politician] now',[94] at this '*very* critical juncture'?[95] Evans suggested he was seeking 'the restoration of the […] Stuarts'.[96] In addition, the title page to Toplady's *An Old Fox Tarr'd and Feather'd* (Fig.9) stated that it was written by 'an Hanoverian [*sic*]', suggesting that Wesley, by contrast, was not. In a similar way, Bull insisted that the *Calm Address* was intended to 'light the torch of civil discord at home, and then to take advantage of our intestine confusion to introduce popery and the Pretender from abroad'.[97]

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[91] Evans, *A Letter*, 11. The Jacobites – their name derived from the Latin *Jacobus*, meaning James – were supporters of James II and his heir's claim to the English throne.
[92] John Wesley, *Free Thoughts on the present state of publick affairs: in a letter to a friend*, London, 1770, 1
[93] Evans, *A Letter*, 2
[94] Bull, *A Wolf in Sheep's Cloathing*, 10
[95] *Ibid.*, 22
[96] Evans, *A Letter*, 24
[97] Bull, *A Wolf in Sheep's Cloathing*, 13-14

In *Sketches for Tabernacle-Frames* (Fig.3), a portrait of 'Jacobus II', or, Catholic King James II, hangs on the wall directly above Wesley's head (Fig.25). This acted as a signifier of politico-religious instability, suggesting that Wesley revered the Stuart King and was the latest incarnation of supporters to attempt to regain the English throne for one of James II's Catholic heirs. The foci images were therefore informed by, and represented, wider politico-religious anxieties. Two unsuccessful Jacobite uprisings had taken place in the early eighteenth century.[98] I will explore contemporary anti-Catholic sentiment in Chapter Three. These anxieties were mapped onto Wesley in *Sketches for Tabernacle-Frames* (Fig.3). Passive obedience and non-resistance was visually depicted by the figure of Wesley pulling the teeth of the labourer (distinguished as such by the unkempt appearance, torn clothing, work boots, tool bag, and arms with defined musculature) with head of an ass who is prostrate and submitting to Wesley's will.[99] The labourer holds a copy of the *Calm Address* in its left hand (Fig.26), signaling the outcome of reading the text, and he is being persuaded by the doctrines it allegedly promoted.

In addition, these discourses were situated in relation to Wesley's perceived motive behind the publishing and bookselling activities within the Foundery and the transformative power of texts on a specific audience. The anonymous author of *Sketches for Tabernacle-Frames* considered that Wesley had converted Johnson's 18-penny pamphlet into a 2-penny one in order to 'gain the mob'.[100] This sentiment was also expressed in *Calm Address* criticism. Bull considered that Johnson's text had

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[98] An uprising occurred in Scotland in 1715 against George I (1714-1727) by James Edward Stuart, the 'Old Pretender' and son of James II. Whilst this was a failure, there was a second uprising in 1745, this time by the 'Young Pretender', Charles Edward Stuart, the son of the 'Old Pretender'. Charles was defeated in April 1746 at the Battle of Culloden. See: Murrary Pittock, *Jacobitism*, Basingstoke, 1998.
[99] The title line of the print reads, 'Toothless, his draws the teeth of all his flocks'. Lyles considers that the scene was a comment on Wesley's old age, Lyles, *Methodism Mocked*, 113.
[100] Anon., *Sketches for Tabernacle-Frames*, 20

been 'adapt[ed] to the understanding of common readers, that the poison might spread universally'.[101] As an abridgement of Johnson's *Taxation No Tyranny*, the *Calm Address* was produced cheaply and was more readily available to a wider audience than the original.[102] This was suggested in the frontispiece for *Sketches for Tabernacle-Frames* (Fig.3 and 26). The labourer is depicted with a copy of hymns in his pocket and holding a bottle emblazoned 'Prim. Phys', which referred to Wesley's publication, *Primitive Physick*.[103] This functioned to perpetuate fears that those who adopted the remedies recommended in the *Primitive Physick* and who sang the Methodist hymns, were also those who had access to the *Calm Address*. Depicted with the head of an ass, the beast of burden and of the poor, the labourer here signals ignorance and, thus, susceptibility.[104]

Part IV *Conclusion*

This focal series of images was informed by areas of discourse around the *Calm Address* and were situated in relation to specific anxieties around Wesley's temporal influence: the wide and various dissemination of the pamphlet and his opinions on America, government endorsement of it and his role as a publisher. As well as this, through intertextual links, meaning making around the images reconstituted the semiotic ground of anti-Methodism in relation to Wesley and his *Calm Address*. These discourses were coded and decoded in relation to the building of the City Road Chapel, and, in a wider culture of politico-religious discourse, concerns over Wesley's questionable motives and the alleged promotion of passive obedience and non-resistance. As Hill stated, Wesley was perceived to be 'seeking to enkindle the

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[101] Bull, *A Wolf in Sheep's Cloathing*, 9
[102] Raymond, ''I fear god and honour the King''', 322
[103] The hymns could perhaps be those written by Charles Wesley.
[104] Hall, *Hall's Dictionary*, 34

flame of ecclesiastical and civil discord' for his own ends.[105] In the following Chapter, I will examine discourses around Wesley and the mediation of religious experience. I will consider the alignment of religious enthusiasm with notions of 'madness'. This will be analysed in relation to the Foundery and its poor relief practices. In so doing, I will examine the perceived implication of Wesley's appeal to the labouring poor on their utility.

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[105] Hill, *Imposture Detected*, 31

CHAPTER TWO

THE FOUNDERY: RELIGIOUS EXPERIENCE AND POOR RELIEF

In this chapter, I will examine the meanings generated around the Foundery, the Methodist headquarters in London from 1739-1778, and practices therein. As the site of Wesley's temporal and spiritual activities, it had a range of functions that are referenced in this thesis's foci images. It was the locus of Wesley's publishing and bookselling, as I explored in Chapter One, and a hub of activity centered on poor relief in the capital.[1] It was a free medical dispensary,[2] supplied complimentary food and clothing to the poor,[3] acted as an alms house, provided schooling and was a lending society.[4] It was also a large meeting-house which provided seating for 1500 people[5] and was the place where sermons and activities such as love-feasts took place.[6]

I will focus on the images *Fanatical Conversion (A New World! A New World!)* (Fig.6) and *(An Ass in the Greek Pallium Teaching)* (Fig.7), *Sketches for Tabernacle-Frames* (Fig.3) and *The Temple of Imposture* (Fig.5). I will explore two main areas of discourses: religious experience and poor relief. Firstly, I will consider how the textual symbols of 'Bedlam' and 'Moorfields' acted as spatial signifiers that generated meanings that were mapped onto the Foundery and connoted unreason. I will then show how this informed the decoding of the behaviour depicted in the scene

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[1] Other Methodist chapels also provided outreach to the poor in London during this period. For more information see: Lloyd, 'Eighteenth-Century Methodism and the London Poor.'
[2] Stevenson, *City Road Chapel*, 40
[3] *Ibid.*, 40
[4] *Ibid.*, 41
[5] Lloyd, 'Eighteenth-Century Methodism and the London Poor', 122
[6] Frank Baker, *Methodism and the Love-Feast*, 13. The love-feast will be discussed on page 47 of this Chapter.

Fanatical Conversion (A New World! A New World!) (Fig.6). This will be situated in relation to discourses around the supernatural, religious enthusiasm and 'madness'. I will then examine the representation of the Foundery's poor relief practices in relation to negative constructions of John Wesley. Lastly, I will examine how these practices were considered to promote unreason in the form of idleness; this will be analysed in relation to gin drinking.

Part I *Religious Experience*

The Foundery and Bedlam: Religious Enthusiasm and 'Madness'[7]

There are embedded textual references to 'Bedlam' in the foci images and throughout their accompanying poems. In *The Temple of Imposture* (Fig.5), as well as a book labelled 'Bedlam Hymns', Wesley is depicted as a 'Bedlam-Serpent' as the caption beneath explains. Likewise, the subtitle for *The Fanatic Saints* (Fig.1), which forms the title page along with the illustration, reads 'Bedlamites *inspired*', anchoring a reading of the image in relation to Methodist religious inspiration. Furthermore, there are references to fanaticism in the titles for *The Fanatic Saints* (Fig.1) and *Fanatical Conversion* and in the title page to the poem *The Love-Feast*.[8]

'Bedlam' was the name that referred to Bethlem hospital which was for those considered to have mental disorders; Johnson's Dictionary defined it as 'an hospital for the mad and lunatick'.[9] Jane E. Kromm has distinguished readily legible tropes of

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[7] For the purposes of this thesis, I consider 'madness' as a cultural construction of a form of 'unreason'. I use the word 'madness' because it is the term used in my foci publications. Samuel Johnson's *A Dictionary of the English Language*, Vol. 2, London, 1777, defines madness as 'Distraction; loss of understanding; perturbation of the faculties'. However, it should be noted that contemporary understandings of 'madness' and 'reason' were complex and shifting, pointing to the instability of such concepts. See: Katrin Seyler, *Representations of Aberrant Mental States in Boydell's Shakespeare Print Folio*, unpublished MPhil thesis, University of Birmingham, 2007.

[8] The publication is dedicated to 'the whole communion of fanatics that infest Britain'.

[9] Johnson, *A Dictionary*, Vol. 1

'madness' in the visual and literary cultures of the period.[10] Bedlam's inmates were characterised as having flawed capabilities of reasoning,[11] and the madhouse could discursively signify a 'repository of unrealised ambitions'[12] and 'the uselessness of endeavours'.[13] The images that are the foci of my study mobilised the stability of Bedlam as a signifier of unreason. As such, the negative discourses generated by the use of the textual label of 'Bedlam' were mapped onto the Foundery which could be understood as the 'temple' that is referenced in the title of *The Temple of Imposture*. Furthermore, the Foundery and Bedlam shared the geographic location of Moorfields, London.[14] As well as the ribbon with the phrase 'New Light in Moorfields', the caption to *The Temple of Imposture* (Fig.5) asserted that Wesley was 'the subtlest beast of the field': the label 'a' appended to this statement referred the viewer to the caption below which read, 'NB Some Hyper-Critics say it was not originally written Field but Moorfields'. Therefore, as well as a topographical indicator, the reference to Moorfields in *The Temple of Imposture* (Fig.5) mobilised spatial signifiers that connoted Bedlam and the meanings about 'madness' and unreason that were associated with the asylum. In *The Temple of Imposture* (Fig.5), the representations of the book labeled 'Bedlam Hymns' and the serpent labeled 'Bedlam serpent' anchored this reading of 'Moorfields'. The two spaces – Bedlam and the Foundery – were conflated through the alleged commonality of unreason that the site – Moorfields – connoted. Thus, unreason was discursively constructed, spatially.

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[10] Jane E. Kromm, 'Hogarth's Madmen', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, Vol. 48, 1985, 238-242

[11] *Ibid.*, 239-242

[12] *Ibid.*, 238

[13] *Ibid.*, 240

[14] Moorfields was the second site of the hospital, see: Anon., 'The Old "Bethlem" and the New: Seven Hundredth Anniversary of Foundation', *British Medical Journal*, Vol.1, No. 4512, Jun 28 1947, 935-936, 935.

This informed the decoding of the images which situated the Foundery as a space of unreasoned belief, experience and behaviour. The poem accompanying *Fanatical Conversion* read, 'Ye neighb'ring Pow'rs of Bedlam! aid her Song; To you these *Myst'ries* and their *Priest* belong'.[15] Indeed, as I will explore, in the scene *Fanatical Conversion (A New World! A New World!)* (Fig.6), enthusiastic religious experience and the belief in the possibility of supernatural intervention were coded and decoded as symptoms of 'madness'. Thus, the images corresponded to, and were situated within, wider anti-Methodist discourses around religious enthusiasm and the unreasoned belief in the supernatural. This had also been done in William Hogarth's earlier Methodist satire *Credulity, Superstition and Fanaticism: A Medley* (1762) (Fig.8).[16]

In Hogarth's print, references to the supernatural (puppets in the form of a witch on a broomstick and a demon which hang from the preacher's hands on the pulpit, and the book labeled 'Glanvil on Witches' which sits beneath the thermometer in the bottom right), are combined with a representation of an 'enthusiastic' crowd below who wail, cry or swoon.[17] The coders and decoders of the images that are the focus of my study were likely to have been aware of Hogarth's satire in which Methodism served as a readily legible signifier of enthusiasm and the effects on its followers.[18] It would have therefore informed reader-viewers' meaning making around the foci images.

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[15] Anon., *Fanatical Conversion*, 12. See also: Anon., *The Love-Feast*, 16, 43.

[16] For an interpretation of the many levels of meaning in this print in relation to its earlier unpublished state, *Enthusiasm Delineated*, see: Bernd Krysmanski, 'We See a Ghost: Hogarth's Satire on Methodists and Connoisseurs', The Art Bulletin, Vol. 80, No. 2 (Jun., 1998), 292-310. Whilst I make reference to Hogarth's *Credulity, Superstition and Fanaticism* (Fig.8) in Chapters Two and Three, there is scope for further analysis.

[17] The focus of this print was George Whitefield, however Wesley is referenced by the publication beneath the thermometer that reads 'Westley's sermons' and is the figure in the congregation pointing to the globe, Krysmanski, 'We See a Ghost', 294-5 and 297.

[18] Krysmanski considers the target of the print, along with its earlier state, to be 'enthusiasm in general', Krysmanski, 'We See a Ghost', 298.

Indeed, the representation of the book labelled 'Glanvill on Witchcraft' is re-tasked in *Fanatical Conversion (A New World! A New World!)* (Fig.6 and 24). This referred to Joseph Glanvill (1636-1680), a Church of England clergyman who chronicled accounts of witches and other supernatural phenomena in tracts such as *Saducismus triumphatus* (1681) in order to attempt to prove the existence of a spiritual world.[19] This textual signifier was coded and decoded in relation to Wesley's belief in witches and the supernatural which, through direct divine intervention, manifested itself in convulsions, fits, trances, revelatory visions and dreams.[20] Therefore, the textual reference anchored a reading of the scene depicted in *Fanatical Conversion (A New World, A New World!)* (Fig.6 and 24), which in turn anchored the textual reference. This also referred to Hogarth's satire. Like Hogarth's *Credulity, Superstition and Fanaticism* (Fig.8), the scene combined a representation of religious experience at a 'fanatical' conversion, as the publication title suggests, with representations of the supernatural. Set in a barn, figures of men and women are undergoing various experiences; some are talking out loud to themselves, hands clasped or upraised.[21] Two figures are standing on their heads and, in the lower left foreground, a labourer is exclaiming 'he's gone he's gone' as a demon is emitted from his mouth (Fig.27). Another figure is distracted by a devil that surveys the scene through the hole in the

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[19] Glanvill's publications included: *A Philosophical Endeavour towards the Defense of the being of Witches and Apparitions* (1666), *Some Philosophical Considerations Touching the being of Witches* (1667), *A Blow at Modern Sadducism* (1667), *Saducismus triumphatus* (pub. posthumously with additions by Henry Moore, 1681). See: William E. Burns, 'Glanvill , Joseph (1636–1680)', in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, edited by H. C. G. Matthew and Brian Harrison, Oxford, 2004, online edition, edited by Lawrence Goldman, January 2008, (http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/10790, accessed 2 May 2010)

[20] See: Henry D. Rack, 'Doctors, Demons and Early Methodist Healing', 137- 152, *Studies in Church History*, Vol. 19, W.J. Shiels (Ed), *The church and healing: papers read at the twentieth summer meeting and the twenty-first winter meeting of the Ecclesiastical History Society*, Oxford, 1982, Hempton, *Empire of the Spirit*, 35.

[21] Adding a further layer of meaning, the barn could be read as a reference to itinerant preaching practiced by the Methodists.

roof of the barn (Fig.28). Lines in the accompanying poem read, 'these *Mad-folks* foam, rant, caper, and cuvet, flame, shiver, tremble, dance, chant, rave and fret',[22] anchoring further this interpretation of the scene.[23]

Belief in possession by supernatural forces and spirits could be interpreted in relation to discourses around unreason. In his *An essay on the demoniacs of the New Testament* (London, 1775), Hugh Farmer argued that demonic possessions described in the New Testament could be accounted for as symptoms of 'madness'.[24] Similarly, Richard Mead suggested that such symptoms were the result of non-supernatural disease.[25] Indeed, in anti-Methodist publications such as *An Earnest and Affectionate Address To the People Called Methodists* (London, 1774) and, the earlier, *The Principles and Practices of the Methodists Farther Considered* (London, 1761), it was claimed that supernatural possession was not possible.[26] Similarly, Bishop Lavington chastised Methodist preachers for regarding their religious experiences as 'conflicts and combats with Satan'.[27]

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[22] Anon., *Fanatical conversion*, 15

[23] See also the explanation to the frontispiece *Fanatical Conversion (A New World! A New World!)*, which contains intertextual references to descriptions of these allegedly fanatical conversion experiences found in pages in Wesley's published journals - these intertextual links are referred to by numbered labels in the image. There is scope for research here.

[24] Hugh Farmer, *An essay on the demoniacs of the New Testament*, London, 1775, 1-9, 79-86, 92, 152-163. See also: Hugh Farmer, *A Dissertation on Miracles [...]*, London, 1771, v.

[25] Richard Mead, *The Works,* Edinburgh, 1775, 465-6 and 470-7, quoted in Michael MacDonald, 'Religion, Social Change, and Psychological Healing in England, 1600-1800, in W.J. Sheils (Ed), *The Church and Healing*, Studies in Church History, 19, Oxford, 1982, 101-125, 122

[26] John Green, *The Principles and Practices of the Methodists Farther Considered*, Cambridge, 1761, 2-4, 30-1, Henry Stebbing, *An Earnest and Affectionate Address To the People Called Methodists*, London, 1774, 23-6

[27] Bishop Lavinton, *The Enthusiasm of Methodists and Papists Compared*, London, 1749, Part II, 37-8, quoted in MacDonald, 'Religion, Social Change, and Psychological Healing', 121

Yet, as well as discourses around the supernatural, meaning making around the images was also situated within anti-enthusiastic frames of reference.[28] Indeed, Thomas Church addressed to Wesley that these types of experiences were 'a Confirmation of your Enthusiasm'.[29] In Johnson's *Dictionary*, enthusiasm was defined as 'a vain belief of private revelation'.[30] Indeed, Jan Goldstein shows that in Great Britain enthusiasm stood for falsity of mental state and was 'a powerful term of opprobrium'.[31] However, Roy Porter has suggested that, by the mid-eighteenth century, enthusiasm was increasingly re-conceptualised as 'madness'.[32] Indeed, publications such as *Bedlam, a poem* (London, 1776) described a 'bedlamite' as a 'wild enthusiast'.[33] These ideas were also manifest in specific Methodist discourses. For George Lavington and Nathaniel Lancaster, Methodist enthusiasm was aligned with madness and delusion,[34] William Warbuton noted that Methodists turned 'fools into madmen'[35] and Theophilus Evans claimed that it was 'the natural Tendency of their [Methodists'] Behaviour, in Voice and gesture and horrid Expressions, to make

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[28] There are many attacks on Methodist enthusiasm in eighteenth-century pamphlets. See Green, *Anti-Methodist Publications*.

[29] Thomas Church, *Remarks on the Reverend Mr John Wesley's last journal*, London, 1745, 67-71, quoted in MacDonald, 'Religion, Social Change, and Psychological Healing', 119

[30] Johnson, *A Dictionary*, Vol. 1, 1777. The full definition reads: '1. A vain belief of private revelation; a vain confidence of divine favour or communication 2. Heat of imagination; violence of passion; confidence of opinion 3. Elevation of fancy; exaltation of ideas'.

[31] Jan Goldstein, 'Enthusiasm or Imagination? Eighteenth-Century Smear Words in Comparative National Context', *The Huntington Library Quarterly*, Vol. 60, No. 1/2 Enthusiasm and Enlightenment in Europe, 1650-1850, 1997, 29-49, 29. See also: Michael Heyd, *Be sober and reasonable: the critique of enthusiasm in the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries*, Leiden and New York, 1995. However, it should also be noted that 'enthusiasm' was a contested term in the eighteenth century and had different applications, see: Susie I Tucker, *Enthusiasm: A Study in Semantic Change*, Cambridge, 1972, 47-8, 167-8, J. G. A Pocock, 'Enthusiasm: The Antiself of Enlightenment', Huntington Library Quarterly, Vol. 60, No. 1/2, Enthusiasm and Enlightenment in Europe, 1650-1850 (1997), 7-28, 14.

[32] Roy Porter, *A Social History of Madness: Stories of the Insane*, London, 1989, 93

[33] G. Fitzgerald, *Bedlam, a poem,* London, 1776, 18

[34] Bishop Lavington, *The Enthusiasm of Methodists and Papists Compared*, London, 1749, Part III, 16, Nathaniel Lancaster, *Methodism Triumphant, or, the decisive battle between the old serpent and the modern saint*, London, 1767, 68, 96, 131-2

[35] William Warburton, *The Doctrine of Grace: or, the Office and Operations of the Holy Spirit Vindicated*, London, 1763, 137-44, 200-12, quoted in MacDonald, 'Religion, Social Change, and Psychological Healing', 118

People mad.'[36] Indeed, the thermometer, implying a physical condition, in Hogarth's *Credulity, Superstition and Fanaticism* (Fig.8) satirically signals various states of enthusiasm that the Methodist preachers were allegedly able to induce, ranging from 'suicide' and 'despair' at the bottom, to 'convulsion fits' and ending with 'raving madness'.[37] For R.A. Houston, the 'label of madness' was used to 'attack religious rivals by linking dissent with "enthusiasm" and Anglicanism with reason'.[38] Yet, whilst these publications were aimed at '*fanatical Enthusiasts*',[39] they did not attack 'rational Dissenters', which complicates this view. I will explore this further in Chapter Three.

Therefore, the focal series of images mobilised established textual and visual tropes in the semiotic ground of anti-Methodism. Discourses around the supernatural, enthusiasm and 'madness' informed the coding and decoding of the images. The reader-viewer was led to conclude that the followers, as depicted in *Fanatical Conversion (A New World! A New World!)* (Fig.6), could not be divinely inspired or possessed by spirits. Their religious experience was understood as unreasoned and, therefore, false. This was reiterated through the representation of the labourer depicted in *Sketches for Tabernacle-Frames* (Fig.3) with an ass's head to signal ignorance. In relation to the specific discourses around Wesley that I explored in Chapter One, this motif also mobilised concerns about the susceptibility of the poor. In *Fanatical Conversion (A New World! A New World!)* (Fig.6 and 27), the sermon on

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[36] Theophilus Evans, *The History of Modern Enthusiasm from the Reformation to the present*, London, 1757, 119, quoted in Krysmanski, 'We See a Ghost', n16. See also: Evans, *The History of Modern Enthusiasm*, 130-2

[37] The notion of medical intervention involved in enthusiasm suggested by the thermometer will be explored in relation to the Foundery's poor relief practice on pages 55-57 of this Chapter.

[38] R.A. Houston, *Clergy And The Care Of The Insane In Eighteenth-Century Britain*, Church History, Vol. 73, No.1 March 2004, 114-138, 136 n117

[39] Anon., *The Love-Feast*, 8

the floor entitled 'a Wheel within a Wheel, 1778' is situated in the middle of three figures: a man spouting a demon from his mouth, a woman standing on her head and a women swooning backwards.[40] The close proximity of these figures to the publication functioned to visually represent the alleged affect that Wesley's sermons had on the labouring poor. *The Critical Review* (March 1759) noted that Methodists 'began their operations upon the most ignorant, and consequently the most easy to be misled, part of mankind, […] upon whose fears they could the easiest work'.[41] In a similar way, Bishop Lavington noted that;

> their eager and credulous *Admirers* […] have neither *judgment* [sic] *nor inclination to disprove* or *examine*; but are violently, though voluntarily and sweetly, carried away by their *Teacher's good words, and fair speeches*; by their eloquent, elevated, assuming and confident discourses, zealously and fervently poured out.[42]

In the foci images, enthusiasm and the susceptibility of the poor was situated in relation to the *Calm Address*. The notion of a 'calm' address, published in, and sold from, the Foundery was satirically juxtaposed with the references to 'Bedlam' and the scene depicted in *Fanatical Conversion (A New World! A New World!)* (Fig.6) of enthusiastic unrestraint. This was further emphasised in the embedded phrase 'Calm and Steddy [*sic*]' at the bottom of the plate in *Fanatical Conversion (A New World! A New World!)* (Fig.6).

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[40] A 'Wheel within a Wheel' is a Biblical reference to Ezekiel 1:1-28. This label could also be an intertextual link to Wesley's sermon *Some Account of the late work of God in North America*, London, 1778, 19.

[41] *The Critical Review* 7, March, 1759, 277, quoted in Krysmanski, 1998, 308 n34

[42] Lavington, *Enthusiasm*, Vol. 1, 60. See also: Anon., *Sketches for Tabernacle-Frames*, 25-29

The Foundery and the Love-Feast: Religious Enthusiasm and the Passions

As well as 'madness', the images were informed by residual discourses around religious enthusiasm and the inciting of the passions. In his *The Enthusiasm of Methodists and Papists Compared* (1749), Lavington considered that in religious enthusiasm 'the excesses of the spiritual and carnal affections are nearer allied'.[43] Indeed, Hogarth's *Credulity, Superstition and Fanaticism* (Fig.8) includes registers on the upper scale of the religious enthusiasm thermometer for 'loveheat', 'lust' and 'extacy' [*sic*]. Whilst informing the semiotic ground of the coders and decoders of the foci images in relation to Methodist religious enthusiasm, the supernatural and unreason, in *The Love-Feast* (Fig.4) and *Sketches for Tabernacle-Frames* (Fig.3) these discourses were mobilised in specific relation to the Methodist love-feast, which in London primarily took place at the Foundery.[44] This had been done in texts such as Theophilus Evans's *The History of Modern Enthusiasm from the Reformation to the present* (London, 1752).[45]

Love-feasts were a form of communion.[46] Along with eating a meal and prayer, they focused on 'testimony' which involved 'spiritual sharing' and 'spontaneous utterances'.[47] The Methodist love-feast was signified across the focal series of images, including the publication title *The Love-Feast*. Decoded in relation to the spontaneous

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[43] *Ibid.*, 59

[44] Baker, *Methodism and the Love-Feast*, 13 and Lloyd 'Eighteenth-Century Methodism and the London Poor', 128

[45] Evans, *The History of Modern Enthusiasm,* London, 1757, 7, which quoted from a letter originally published in the General Evening Post on October 30 1747.

[46] Baker, *Methodism and the Love-Feast*, preface. The love-feast had its origins in the early Christian Agape feast, see Baker, *Methodism and the Love-Feast*, 1-3

[47] *Ibid.*, 25. The love-feasts were held monthly and alternated between all-men, all-women and then a 'general' meeting once every three months where both men and women could attend, Baker, *Methodism and the Love-Feast*, 13-14. For more information on Wesley's approach to the love-feast, see: John Wesley, *A Plain Account of the People called Methodists*, London, 1749.

utterances of the figures represented, the two baskets of buns depicted in *Fanatical Conversion (A New World! A New World!)* (Fig.6 and 27) could signify the buns eaten at the love-feast.[48] In addition, the representations of hymnbooks in *Sketches for Tabernacle-Frames* (Fig.3, 18 and 26) and *The Temple of Imposture* (Fig.5) signalled the prominent role singing played at the love-feasts.[49] In the image, the hymns were aligned with Bedlam hymns, signalling unreason.

In the focal series, text and image suggested that love-feasts encouraged debauched activity and, therefore, allegedly showed Wesley to be an 'old Letcher'.[50] In the poems, the Foundery is '*lewd*',[51] '*Sin's Retreat!*'[52] where 'Saints, new-born, lascivious Orgies hold, Meek Lambs by Day, at Night no Wolves so bold'.[53] As well as the representation of Venus, the Roman goddess of love and fertility,[54] this is represented in *The Love-Feast* (Fig.4) and *Sketches for Tabernacle-Frames* (Fig.3) by the labels that refer to Lucy Cooper (dates unknown) who was an infamous London courtesan.[55] In *Sketches for Tabernacle-Frames* (Fig.3 and 29), a portrait of Cooper hangs on the wall and its inscription reads, 'converted June, 24 at 1 o'clock in the

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[48] *Ibid.*, 17 and 25

[49] *Loc. cit.*

[50] According to the explanation to the frontispiece *Sketches for Tabernacle-Frames* (Fig.3).

[51] Anon., *Perfection*, 21 and 26

[52] *Ibid.*, 36

[53] Anon., *The Love-Feast*, 27. As a further register of meaning, this could also point to the assertion that Wesley and other Methodist preachers used the Foundery as a brothel, in Anon., *The Love-Feast*, 7, 27-8 and Anon., *Pefection*, 26.

[54] I will explore the reference to Venus in Chapter Three.

[55] See: Monk of the Order of St. Francis, *Nocturnal revels: or, the history of King's-Place, and other modern nunneries.... with the portraits of the most celebrated demireps and courtezans of this period...by a monk of the Order of St. Francis. In two volumes*, Vol. 1, London, 1779, 24. For a discussion of Lucy Cooper see pages 16-24, 32, 37.

Morning'. This suggested that Cooper's alleged conversion[56] took place during a love-feast because they were often held at night-time.[57]

In addition, in *The Love-Feast* (Fig.4 and 30), one of the candelabra hanging from the ceiling of the chapel interior is labeled 'Gift of Miss Lucy Cooper'. This is contrasted with the corresponding chandelier that is labeled 'Gift of Alderman Gripus'. This referred to Philip Yorke (1690-1764), the earl of Hardwicke,[58] who was responsible for passing the 1753 marriage act that regulated and formalised marriage.[59] With both of these gifts on display the Foundery was constructed as a space of fickleness: Wesley was represented as accepting gifts from both Lucy Cooper and Lord Hardwicke. This is comparable with the function of the weathervane as a signifier in the representation of the City Road Chapel in *Perfection* (Fig.2 and 13), as I examined in Chapter One. This was further reiterated through the quote on the barn above Wesley's head in *Fanatical Conversion (A New World! A New World!)* (Fig.6 and 31) which reads, 'Let those who have Wives be as tho [sic] they had none'.[60]

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[56] See: Anon., *Perfection*, 14

[57] They were usually held on Sunday evenings following preaching services, Baker, *Methodism and the Love-Feast*, 43. Wesley regulated the love-feasts in an attempt to avoid such attacks, see Baker, *Methodism and the Love-Feast*, 32-40.

[58] Yorke was given the nickname 'Judge Gripus' due to his avarice, see: Peter D. G. Thomas, 'Yorke, Philip, first earl of Hardwicke (1690–1764)', in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, edited by H. C. G. Matthew and Brian Harrison, Oxford, 2004. Online edition, edited by Lawrence Goldman, October 2007 (http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/30245, accessed 2 May 2010).

[59] Known as Lord Hardwicke's Marriage Act. *Ibid.,*

[60] This Biblical quote, Corinthians 7:29, was given new meaning by its use here. In relation to Wesley's marriage and personal life, an area in which more research could be done, see: Anon., *The Love-Feast*, 24, Anon., *Perfection*, 15-20 and the illustrations no xxxvii and xxxviii of Wesley and 'Miss Dalrymple' in Anon., *The Town and country magazine; or Universal repository of knowledge, instruction, and entertainment, for the year 1774*. Vol VI, January 1775, 681-683 (Fig.11): the text alleged that Wesley had a child with Miss Dalrymple, his housekeeper and daughter of a London barrister. There is also scope for research surrounding the doctrine of Perfection, which I discussed in Chapter One on page 29-30, and the love-feast – the foci poems alleged that the doctrine left followers free to sin again, see: Anon., *The Love-Feast*, especially 15, 19, Anon., *The Fanatic Saints*, 32, and throughout Anon., *Perfection*.

By mobilising signifiers of Bedlam and the love-feast, Methodist religious experience was coded in relation to unreason. Religious enthusiasm was satirically aligned with 'madness' and associated with carnal passions which was consistent with areas of wider anti-Methodist discourses. These discourses were mapped onto the Foundery, as a site located in Moorfields, where activities such as love-feasts took place.

Part II *Poor Relief*

I will now examine the representation of the types of poor relief administered from the Foundery. The Foundery's expenditure on relief for the poor came to £784 in 1775, which was more than a third of the annual expenditure for the London Society of Methodists that year.[61] This shows London Methodism's dedication to supplying poor relief in the capital. I will begin by examining three areas of the Foundery's poor relief practice that are represented in the images: alms giving, teaching and physic. As well as considering the meanings generated around each, based on the conclusions drawn in Chapter One I will consider Wesley's construction as duplicitous and taking advantage of the poor. In the next section, this will be considered in relation to wider discourses around the labouring poor, benevolence and gin.

The Foundery and Alms

The Foundery's role as a lending society is visually represented in the image *Fanatical Conversion (A New World! A New World!)* (Fig.6 and 32).[62] In the middle-right of the scene, the blacksmith (distinguished by the apron, hammer and horseshoe) is depicted handing a coin to Wesley who has an empty sack labelled 'kitty' beneath his feet (Fig.33). Wesley encouraged his followers to give money generously to help

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[61] Lloyd, 'Eighteenth-Century Methodism and the London Poor', 128
[62] Established in 1747, Stevenson, *City Road Chapel*, 42. See also: Anon., *Sketches for Tabernacle-Frames*, 21, and Anon., *The Love-Feast*, 31.

others;[63] in 1775, money collected from the Foundery's congregation totalled £443, which corresponded to over half of the congregation's combined income.[64] However, the outcome of the blacksmith giving away his money is visually represented as having a negative effect. The landowner, identified by his clothing, is gesturing towards the blacksmith with his left arm outstretched and the other raised holding a stick, demanding 'give me my money' (Fig.32). This suggests that the blacksmith had neglected to pay his rent as a result of giving it to Wesley.

The second figure depicted alongside Wesley has received a donation from the Foundery (Fig 32). He is carrying a bag labelled 'old clothes', which pointed to the practice whereby free food and clothing were supplied to the poor.[65] The figure is depicted having momentarily turned after being distracted by the devil who has appeared through the hole in the roof of the barn. With his back turned, Wesley is depicted with his right hand in the man's jacket pocket at the same time that charity is being given out. Therefore, the reader-viewer was to conclude that Wesley was pick pocketing whilst the figure's back was turned. Certainly, Wesley was attacked by some for allegedly duping money from the poor for his own ends.[66] Likewise, the comedy *The Methodist* (1760) was centred on a Methodist preacher who is described as 'an enthusiastic Rascal! That frightens the ignorant out of their wits and afterwards picks their pockets'.[67] Wesley's alleged greed and duplicity were reiterated in

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[63] Lloyd, 'Eighteenth-Century Methodism and the London Poor', 126. In the sermon *The Use of Money* Wesley stated, 'gain all you can; save all you can; give all you can', quoted in John Walsh, 'John Wesley and the Community of Goods', in Keith Robbins (Ed), *Protestant Evangelicalism: Britain, Ireland, Germany and America c.1750-c.1950*, Studies in Church History 7, Oxford, 1990, 25- 50, 35.
[64] *Ibid*., 127
[65] Stevenson*, City Road Chapel*, 40
[66] *Ibid*., 42
[67] Israel Pottinger, *The Methodist, a Comedy; being a continuation and completion of the plan of The minor, written by Mr. Foote*, London, 1761, quoted without citation in Lyles, *Methodism Mocked*, 69. The title page shows that the play 'was intended to have been acted at the Theatre Royal in Covent-Garden, but for obvious Reasons suppressed'. The publication went through three editions.

Perfection (Fig.2), with the ribbon emblazoned 'My Son Get Money,'[68] and in the poem *Sketches for Tabernacle-Frames* which claimed, 'the *Mob's* weak *Brains*, and *Pockets* too, he [Wesley] taps.'[69]

The Foundery and Teaching

There are several symbols in the images which could have been decoded in relation to pedagogy: the bookshelf in *Sketches for Tabernacle-Frames* (Fig.3 and 18), the books in *The Temple of Imposture* (Fig.5) and Wesley 'preaching' in *Fanatical Conversion (A New World! A New World!)* (Fig.6 and 32) and (*An Ass in the Greek Pallium Teaching)* (Fig.7). As I explored in Chapter One, the Foundery was a publishing house and had a bookshop on site that sold Wesley's tracts. The latter is depicted in *Sketches for Tabernacle-Frames* (Fig.3). In addition, teaching took place in the school at the Foundery which could accommodate 60 children, the majority of whom were educated for free.[70] Wesley was also keen to educate his lay ministers.[71] Therefore, discourses around Wesley and education informed the coding and decoding of the foci images.

The central design of *Fanatical Conversion (An Ass in the Greek Pallium Teaching)* (Fig.7) depicts an ass in the cloak of Greek philosopher addressing two young men, one standing, one seated, who are both wearing classical dress. Below is a birch rod

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[68] See also: Anon., *Sketches for Tabernacle-Frames*, 17
[69] Anon., *Sketches for Tabernacle-Frames*, 22. See also: Anon., *The Love-Feast*, 34-5.
[70] Stevenson, *City Road Chapel*, 41. For information on other Methodist schools, such as Kingswood (Bristol, 1748), see: F.C . Pritchard, 'Education', in Rupert Davies, A. Raymond George, Gordon Rupp (Eds) *A history of the Methodist Church in Great Britain*, Vol. 3, London, 1983, 279-308.
[71] See: Dale A. Johnson, 'The Methodist Quest for an Educated Ministry', *Church History*, Vol. 51, No. 3, September 1982, 304-320. There is scope for research here in relation to Wesley and lay preachers, see Anon., *The Love-feast*, 19 and Anon., *The Fanatic Saints*, 11, 18-20, 22.'

that would have been used as a form of punishment in schools;[72] lying across this is a black hat with a rosette on the rim, resembling that of a schoolmaster.[73] There are several books and a scroll at either side: two are inscribed 'Lycophron' and 'Priscian', who were both learned philosophers. A certain audience, perhaps with a classical education, would have been aware of these philosophers, thus, a full interpretation of this image would have relied on the reader-viewer's ability to decode all of these symbols and analyse them in contrast to the ribbon above which reads 'An Ass in the Greek Pallium Teaching.' In so doing, the reader-viewer would understand that the image functioned to undermine Wesley's teaching doctrine at the Foundery and his opinions in publications and sermons. An ass, signaling ignorance and unreason,[74] which acted as a visual referent for Wesley, is teaching dressed in the guise of reason - the cloak of a pedagogue and with books attributed to learned philosophers. Despite being cloaked in the Greek pallium, akin to the MA gown Wesley wears in *Sketches for Tabernacle-Frames* (Fig.3), *The Love-Feast* (Fig.4) and *Fanatical Conversion (A New World! A New World!)* (Fig.6), Wesley's alleged ignorance cannot be disguised. Parallels can be drawn with the representation of the cloven hoof that is revealed from the beneath Wesley's gown, as I explored in Chapter One (Fig.17). Furthermore, in the same way that the ass is juxtaposed with 'Lycophron' and 'Priscian', Wesley is represented ignorantly mistreating texts by Locke et al in *Sketches for Tabernacle-Frames* (Fig.3 and 23). Therefore, in relation to meaning making around the *Calm Address* that I explored in Chapter One, Wesley's political theory was further undermined. In addition, in *The Temple of Imposture* (Fig.5) the bound edges of the books of hymns are on the right-hand edge, suggesting that the textual titles that they

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[72] Frederick George Stephens, *Catalogue of Political and Personal Satires in the British Museum*, Vol. III, London, 1877, 929-30
[73] *Loc. cit.*
[74] Hall, *Hall's Dictionary*, 34

are labeled with, including 'Bedlam Hymns', must be on the reverse of the book cover.[75] This signalled the other, unreasoned, side to the texts written by Wesley that were on sale at the Foundery and depicted both on the bookshelf and in the worker's tool bag and hand in *Sketches for Tabernacle-Frames* (Fig.3, 18 and 26).

Furthermore, the frontispiece *Fanatical Conversion (An Ass in the Greek Pallium Teaching)* (Fig.7) belonged originally to an earlier publication, *The Rod* (Oxford, 1754) which was a critique of English pedagogy.[76] Therefore, the image acted as an indexical link to the earlier text.[77] Providing that the reader-viewer shared the semiotic ground of the coders of the publication *Fanatical Conversion*, the meanings established in *The Rod* were reconstituted and mapped onto the poem *Fanatical Conversion*, thus relaying a specific satiric message about Wesley and his pedagogic methods. In *The Rod*, the promotion of learning was hindered by the mis-use of violent action by a tyrant pedagogue. This generated meanings in relation to Wesley's teaching practice at the Foundery, use of oratory to appeal to the poor,[78] as well as his publishing activity and the *Calm Address*.

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[75] I will explore the reference to 'Druid Hymns' in Chapter Three.

[76] Henry Layng, *The Rod, A Poem. In Three Cantos. By Henry Layng, Fellow of New College, Oxford*, Oxford, 1754. The frontispiece is held at the British Museum (BM Satires 3283).

[77] Glen notes that the British Library copy of the text *Fanatical Conversion* appears to be the only extant version of the publication with the frontispiece *An Ass in the Greek Pallium Teaching* (Fig.7). He speculates that only a few copies were published in this state before the specially designed *A New World! A New World!* frontispiece (Fig.6) was used, perhaps because 'the print was not ready by publication date and a suitable earlier print was used temporarily', Glen, 'The Fate of John Wesley', 40. Nevertheless, this image was selected to accompany *Fanatical Conversion* and therefore its interpretation was significant in relation to the series' meaning making around Wesley and Methodism.

[78] See: Anon., *The Fanatic Saints*, 23

The Foundery and Health: the Dispensary and Wesley's 'Primitive Physick'

From a room in the Foundery, Wesley prepared and administered medicines.[79] This is likely to have been the first free medical dispensary in the city of London.[80] Indeed, in relation to this, the poem *Perfection* satirically read, 'Hie to *Moorfields* – the noted cheapest Place'.[81] In five months during 1776, medicines had been dispensed to over 500 people, including non-members of the movement, which exemplifies the scale on which this service was taken up.[82] *Sketches for Tabernacle-Frames* (Fig.3) references the dispensary function of the Foundery. In the scene, a narrative can be constructed where Wesley has administered a bottle containing a remedy, which is labeled 'prim phys', and he is pulling the teeth of a worker, in order to treat the diagnosed ailment. However, pulling teeth does not feature as a treatment in the *Primitive Physick*.[83] This, therefore, could represent the assertion that Wesley used his dispensary to drug his followers into enthusiastic trances.[84] Indeed, the bottle emblazoned 'prim physic' that is situated in the scene in *Fanatical Conversion (A New World! A New World!)* (Fig.6 and 24) could further allude to this.

The label 'prim phys' referred to Wesley's publication, the 119-page *Primitive Physick: Or, an Easy and Natural Method of Curing Most Diseases* (London, 1747), which was into its seventeenth edition by 1776.[85] Its intention was to bring practical

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[79] Stevenson, *City Road Chapel*, 40
[80] *Ibid.*, 40
[81] Anon., *Perfection*, 12
[82] Stevenson, *City Road Chapel*, 40
[83] See: *Primitive Physick, Or, an Easy and Natural Method of Curing Most Diseases*, London, 1776.
[84] Lyles, *Methodism Mocked*, 105. See also, Anon., *Fanatical Conversion*, 105
[85] Rogal, 'Pills for the Poor', 83. The publication contained over 800 suggestions for 288 diseases, Rogal, 'Pills for the Poor', 86. For more information see: Deborah Madden, 'Medicine and Moral Reform: The Place of Practical Piety in John Wesley's Art of Physic', *Church History*, Vol. 73, No. 4, December 2004, 741-758, Randy L. Maddox, 'John Wesley on Holistic Health and Healing', *Methodist History*, 46:1, October 2007, 4-33.

medical advice to those who could not otherwise afford private doctors. It could therefore be considered as an extension of the Foundery's poor relief practices. Dr William Hawes (1736-1808) attacked and discredited Wesley's *Primitive Physick* in his *Examination of the Revd Mr John Wesley's Primitive Physick* (London, 1776). For Hawes, Wesley's medical advice was 'injurous' and 'so strongly characterised by ignorance'[86] because it was a collection of 'pretended remedies'.[87] Thus, the use of the *Primitive Physick* as a signifier mobilised wider discourses around scepticism of medicine and medical practitioners in the eighteenth century.[88]

Wesley's name first appeared on the title page of the manual in the London edition of 1761. Yet, controversy surrounding the *Primitive Physick* rose notably after the publication of the *Calm Address* (1775).[89] Therefore, as well as the widespread popularity of the medical manual, G.S. Rousseau showing that 'no other similar work of the century was so popular or had sold so many copies',[90] some contemporary opinion surrounding the *Primitive Physick* was based on multifarious anxieties surrounding John Wesley.[91] Therefore, the use of the symbol of *Primitive Physick*, like that of the *Calm Address*, mobilised specific discourses around Wesley. Indeed, the title page to the publication *Sketches for Tabernacle-Frames* contains a dedication

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[86] William Hawes, *Examination of the Revd Mr John Wesley's Primitive Physick*, London, 1776, title-page

[87] *Ibid*., advertisement page, preface and 1. Perhaps for this reason Wesley is presented not only the 'beast of the field', but also a 'subtle' one in *The Temple of Imposture* (Fig.5). For information on the controversy surrounding the *Primitive Physick* from Hawes, but also anonymous letters in the *Gazeteer*, see: Deborah Madden, 'Contemporary Reaction to John Wesley's "Primitive Physic": Or, the case of Dr William Hawes Examined', *Social History of Medicine*, Vol. 17, No. 3, 2004, 365-378, 369, 371-4.

[88] See: Roy Porter (Ed), *Medicine in the Enlightenment*, Amsterdam, 1995, especially David E. Shuttleton, 'Methodism and Dr George Cheyne's "More Enlightening Principles"', 316-335.

[89] In an open letter to the Printer of the Gazetteer dated 27 July 1776, Wesley expressed his opinion that the publication of the *Calm Address* accounted for the sustained attacks on the *Primitive Physick*, *Gazetteer and New Daily Advertiser*, London, Friday 2 August 1776, Issue 14, 803.

[90] G.S. Rousseau, 'John Wesley's "Primitive Physic" 1747', *Harvard Library Bulletin*, 16, 1968, 242-56, 249

[91] *Ibid*., 366.

to Hawes, a 'candid and ingenious' detector, along with Evans and Hill, which signalled anxieties around Wesley's temporal and spiritual influence for being an alleged '*physical,* a *political* and a *religious Quack.*'[92]

Therefore, the substantial poor relief activity of the Foundery informed the images. Areas of discourse around alms giving, teaching and health were coded and decoded in relation to unreason and anxieties around Wesley's perceived intent. I will now consider how outreach to the poor could be negatively viewed in relation to its perceived effects on the followers and residual anxieties around gin drinking and idleness.

Part III *Attitudes Towards the Labouring Poor and Poor Relief: Idleness and Gin*

The poor relief practices of the Foundery could be considered in relation to anxieties around the labouring poor and benevolence which were centred on idleness and under-performance.[93] Mercantilist writers had stressed the economic utility of the labouring poor as producers of the nation's wealth.[94] For Bernard Mandeville, in his publication *The Fable of the Bees* (1723),[95] 'the surest Wealth consists in a Multitude of laborious Poor' for 'without them […] no Product of any Country could be

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[92] Anon., *The Love-Feast*, 13. See also: Anon., *Sketches for Tabernacle-Frames*, 9, 16. This is visually represented by the three shelves in the bookshop in the frontispiece *Sketches for Tabernacle-Frames* (Fig.3).

[93] The poor could refer to both those employed and unemployed, therefore I use the term 'labouring poor'. For more information on poor relief and the classifications of the poor into 'deserving' and 'undeserving', see: Lynn Hollen Lees, *The Solidarity of Strangers: the English Poor Laws and the People, 1700- 1948*, Cambridge, 1998.

[94] Daniel A. Baugh, 'Poverty, Protestantism, and Political Economy: English Attitudes Toward The Poor, 1660-1800, 63-107, Stephen Baxter (Ed), *England's Rise to Greatness, 1660-1763*, London, 1983, 76-7. Deborah Valenze has argued that these attitudes lasted into the late eighteenth century, Deborah Valenze, 'Charity, Custom, and Humanity: Changing Attitudes towards the Poor in Eighteenth-Century England', in Jane Garnett and Colin Matthew (Eds), *Revival and religion since 1700: essays for John Walsh*, London, 1993, 59- 78.

[95] First published in 1705 under the title *The Grumbling Hive* and re-titled in 1714 as *The Fable of the Bees*.

valuable'.[96] Therefore, poverty was beneficial.[97] Indeed, Arthur Young, in *The Farmer's Tour Through the East of England* (London, 1771) noted, 'every one but an ideot [*sic*] knows, that the lower classes must be kept poor, or they will never be industrious'.[98] Education of the poor could be regarded in the same way.[99]

Meaning making around the foci images in relation to the poor relief practices of the Foundery was situated within these discourses. Through its multifarious functions that aided the poor, the Foundery could be viewed as promoting idleness. Without incentive to labour, the poor would not be at their most industrious, the poem *The Fanatic Saints* noted, 'In *lazy Hope* [they] desert their *Ploughs* and *Harrows*'.[100] This is visually represented in the scene in *Fanatical Conversion (A New World! A New World!)* (Fig.6, 27 and 34) - the figures have been distracted from their work. In the lower left foreground a worker is interrupted from his digging, livestock are not being put to good use, three figures in the right background are leaning on a barrel, the man in the right background and women in the left foreground are standing on their heads, the women in the middle ground are wandering around, seemingly aimlessly, and the women in the centre foreground is not selling the bread that fills the two baskets alongside her (Figs 27 and 34).[101] In addition, in *The Fanatic Saints*, Wesley was regarded to be 'preaching the *most serviceable* Part of Mankind (*labouring People*) into *Idleness*'.[102] Indeed, the blacksmith depicted with an ass' head in *Sketches for*

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[96] Bernard Mandeville, *The Fable of the Bees: or, private vices, publick benefits. With an essay on charity and charity-school*, 1723, Part 1, 287-8, quoted in Baugh, 'Poverty, Protestantism, and Political Economy', 77
[97] *Ibid.*, 76
[98] Arthur Young, *The Farmer's Tour Through the East of England*, London, 1771, Vol. I, 361 quoted in Valenze, 'Charity, Custom, and Humanity', 70
[99] See: Bernard Mandeville, *An Essay on Charity and Charity Schools* (1723) in Mandeville, *The Fable of the Bees*, 294-380.
[100] Anon., *The Fanatic Saints*, 8
[101] As I explored on page 48 of this Chapter, these could also be interpreted as love-feast buns.
[102] Anon., *The Fanatic Saints*, 22. See also: Anon., *The Love-Feast*, 37

Tabernacle-Frames (Fig.3 and 26) is holding a bottle labelled 'Prim Phys' in one hand and a copy of the *Calm Address* in the other. Reliant on his hands for utility, the labourer is physically unable to use them to work. His time is taken up self-diagnosing ailments or having ailments treated and purchasing and reading cheap pamphlets from the Foundery that have been authored by Wesley (Fig.18 and 26). The presence of the hymnbook in his tool bag further signalled that this labourer's time will be spent attending prayer meetings and sermons, singing hymns and attending events such as love-feasts rather than working. This was critical for a nation that was dependant upon labour to sustain its economy.

In the images, *The Fanatic Saints* (Fig.1), *The Temple of Imposture* (Fig.5) and *Fanatical Conversion (A New World! A New World!)* (Fig.6 and 33) there are explicit visual references to 'Gin'. Therefore, these anxieties around the labouring poor and poor relief were coded in relation to readily legible discourses around gin drinking and its connotative potential to signal both idleness and unreason.[103] In earlier anti-gin discourses prior to the passing of the Gin Act (1751),[104] the liquor was perceived to have a corrupting effect on the poor, leading to social disorder and the incapacity to work.[105] It was claimed that the effects of gin meant that the 'lower Kind of People are enfeebled and disabled, having neither the Will nor Power to Labor for an honest Livelihood'.[106] Writing in 1736, Thomas Wilson showed that the labouring classes were the 'Strength and Riches of every Country' and this was being lost to the gin

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[103] Peter Clark, 'The "Mother Gin" Controversy in the Early Eighteenth Century', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, Fifth Series, Vol. 38 (1988), 63 -84
[104] An earlier Act had been passed in 1736.
[105] Clark, 'The "Mother Gin" Controversy', 71
[106] Petition from the College of Physicians, 1725, quoted in Jonathan White, 'The "Slow but Sure Poyson": The Representation of Gin and Its Drinkers, 1736 – 1751, *The Journal of British Studies*, Vol. 42, No. 1, January 2003, 35 -64, 41

shops.[107] These anxieties around gin consumption were satirically represented in William Hogarth's *Gin Lane* (1751) (Fig.35) with which the coders and decoders of the focal series of images were likely to have been familiar. It commented on the social disorder arising from the poor drinking gin rather than working.[108] In *Fanatical Conversion (A New World! A New World!)* (Fig.6 and 33), the figure of Wesley stands on an empty sack which is labelled 'Kitty Loosely Lent 1/6'.[109] Depicted alongside this is a bottle of gin, its close proximity to the opening of the sack suggests that the money that had been lent to the poor has been spent on the liquor. Therefore, residual anxieties around gin were mapped onto the uptake of the poor relief available at the Foundery. Indeed, in *The Love-Feast* (Fig.4), the reference to 'Murcia', the Roman goddess of sloth and inactivity,[110] and whom Wesley is depicted bowing down before, is a further reference to social disorder.

However, as an interesting departure from Hogarth's contrasting companion pieces of *Gin Lane* (Fig.35) and *Beer Street* (Fig.36), in the scene *Fanatical Conversion (A New World! A New World!)* (Fig.6, 33 and 34), reference to Calvert's beer is made alongside gin.[111] Thus, the behaviour that is satirically represented in the scene was aligned with the effects of both gin *and* beer drinking. This reference may refer to Wesley's alleged practice of frequenting alehouses in order to convert labourers.[112] As such, the decoder of the image was perhaps meant to conclude that workers were susceptible to Wesley and could be lead into idleness through uptake of poor relief or

[107] Thomas Wilson, *Distilled Spirituous Liquors the Bane of the Nation*, London, 1736, ix-x, quoted in White, 'The "Slow but Sure Poyson"', 46
[108] Ronald Paulson, *Hogarth*, Cambridge, 1993, Vol. 3, 25
[109] Indicating the sum of one and sixpence.
[110] Thomas Broughton, *An historical dictionary of all religions from the creation of the world to this present time*, London, 1742, 148
[111] The barrel labelled 'Calverts True Old' refers to Calvert's beer.
[112] See: Richard Hill, *Logica Wesleiensis: Or, The Farrago Double Distilled*, London, 1773.

attending sermons and, therefore, their behaviour would turn into that of a gin-drinker. This could also be read as a satirical metaphor for religious conversion to Methodism, gin being readily understood as a 'foreign' spirit, as opposed to English beer.[113] Furthermore, the cockerel on the roof beam of the barn in *Fanatical Conversion (A New World! A New World!)* (Fig.6 and 37) could be a signifier of France.[114] Indeed, religious enthusiasm had been aligned with Catholicism in anti-Methodist discourses such as Hogarth's *Credulity, Superstition and Fanaticism* (Fig.8).[115]

In *The Temple of Imposture* (Fig.5), the text on the ribbon signalled that the 'new [Methodist] light in Moorfields' was supplied by the bottle of gin with a burning wick in the centre of the image. Similarly, in *The Fanatic Saints* (Fig.1) the upturned glass on top of the bottle showed that inspiration has been gained through gin, as the banner above suggests.[116] This inspiration, however, being liquor-fuelled, is false. Indeed, in the poem *The Love-Feast*, the followers' behaviour is accounted for as them being '*bemus'd* by *Inspiration's* Cup'.[117] This was satirically juxtaposed by the fact that Methodists were teetotal. Thus, residual discourses around gin drinking were mobilised and conflated with contemporary anxieties around religious enthusiasm. Both allegedly stimulated an intoxicated state of unreason and had the potential to leave the followers falsely inspired and un-industrious, as the presence of the gin

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[113] See: David Bindman, *Hogarth*, London, 1981, 180. In contrast to the scene in *Gin Lane*, the inscription on Hogarth's *Beer Street* shows that this scene is due to 'Beer, happy Produce of our Isle'.
[114] Michael Duffy, *The Englishman and the Foreigner: The English Satirical Print 1600-1832*, Cambridge, 1986, 36
[115] In *Credulity, Superstition and Fanaticism* (Fig.8), the tonsured Priest (revealed as such by the wig that has slipped from the preachers' head) at the pulpit was a signifier of Catholic doctrine in the guise of Methodism. I will explore logocentric discourses around Catholicism in Chapter Three.
[116] See also: Anon., *The Fanatic Saints*, 31
[117] Anon., *The Love-Feast*, 9

bottle in the scene *Fanatical Conversion (A New World! A New World!)* (Fig.6, 27, 34 and 33) signified.

The coding and decoding the images were informed by areas of discourse around benevolence, the labouring poor, gin drinking and idleness which were mapped onto Wesley, the Foundery's practices and religious experience. The labouring poor should have been working for the industrious health of the nation, but were instead distracted as a result of Wesley and Methodism. The poem *The Fanatic Saints* claimed that the followers 'seldom work, but, without ceasing, *pray*'.[118] Furthermore, the poem *The Love-Feast* noted, 'Your Zeal for Me [Wesley] your Toils the Land have fill'd; *Industry* drops, and Fields are left untill'd'.[119] Indeed, having been 'enchanted with the [Foundery's] sweet *Decoy*',[120] the poem *Perfection* satirically asserted that, 'Industruous *Trade* with *Contributions* crush, And plunder *Poverty* without a Blush'.[121]

Part IV *Conclusion*

To conclude, the focal series of images mobilised discourses that could be mapped onto the practices of the Foundery. The Foundery was aligned with Bedlam in order to signify 'madness', which was decoded in relation to the visual representation of, and discourses around, religious experience, Wesley's belief in the supernatural and the Methodist love-feast. Unreason associated with this was coded and decoded in relation to the Foundery's poor relief practices, Wesley's alleged duplicitous motives and the perceived affects on the poor's industriousness, as situated in relation to

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[118] Anon., *The Fanatic Saints*, 35
[119] Anon., *The Love-feast*, 36
[120] Anon., *Perfection*, 9
[121] *Ibid*., 13

residual concerns around gin. Thus, the Foundery's practices were represented as promoting unreasoned behaviour in the form of enthusiasm and idleness, as well as being situated within emergent politico-religious anxieties surrounding Wesley and Methodism in London, as I explored in Chapter One. In Chapter Three, I will examine the discourses generated around the selection of non-Anglican religions, religious orders and their leaders that are signified across the images that are the foci of my study. I will consider how cross-religious discourses of religious imposture and priestcraft were mapped onto Wesley's temporal and spiritual influences, including the role of the Foundery, which I have outlined in Chapters One and Two.

CHAPTER THREE

PROTOTYPES AND PARALLELS: IMPOSTURE AND PRIESTCRAFT IN

CROSS-RELIGIOUS DISCOURSE

Focusing on the image *The Temple of Imposture* (Fig.5), in this chapter I will consider cross-religious discourses that were mobilised in order to critique John Wesley and Methodism. This image was informed by, referenced and combined readily legible negative textual discourses around a specific selection of ancient, non-Western and contemporary Western religions, religious orders and their leaders including: the Druids, 'Mahometanism' and the Society of Jesus (or 'Jesuits').[1] In addition, the Society of Jesus and Roman Catholicism, in general, are referenced in the images *Fanatical Conversion (A New World! A New World!)* (Fig.6 and 24) and *Sketches for Tabernacle-Frames* (Fig.3 and 25), the Roman goddess Venus Murcia is visually represented in the frontispiece to *The Love-Feast* (Fig.4) and the poem *The Temple of Imposture* refers to the 'Hindoo' priests,[2] 'Brachman' [*sic*].[3]

Firstly, I will consider logocentric discourses around religious imposture and priestcraft which were generated by decoding the Chapter's foci image and its title, *The Temple of Imposture* (Fig.5). However, I will show that the series that is the focus of my study was not anti-religion in a general sense. This was signified by the unusual absence of references to Judaism in relation to religious imposture, by Biblical quotes and positive intertextual references to pamphlets by religious authors, and by the texts that accompanied my foci images which highlighted the alleged disparity between

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[1] Islam was referred to as 'Mahometanism' at this time and the Prophet Muhammad was referred to as 'Mahomet'. I will use these contemporary terms throughout this Chapter.

[2] 'Hindoo' was the contemporary spelling of 'Hindu'. I will use this term throughout this Chapter.

[3] Spelt 'Brahman' or 'Brahmin'.

'Rational Dissent' and Methodism.[4] I will go on to examine the cross-religious discourses that were mobilised by the coders and decoders of the foci images around the selection of historical and contemporary religions, religious orders and their leaders. I will consider how these discourses informed meaning making around the images in relation to emergent anxieties around John Wesley and his temporal influence, particularly his publishing output and the reception of his *Calm Address*. Lastly, I will analyse the role of 'reason' in the formation of national identity.

Part I *Religious Imposture and Priestcraft*

In *The Temple of Imposture* (Fig.5) a serpent signifying Wesley encircles various religions which are identifiable by a combination of visual and textual attributes. Reading the image from top to bottom, as the captions dictate, 'Mahomet's Gridiron', the 'Koran',[5] a sword,[6] and the dove in the serpent's mouth (which the caption shows is 'Mecca's Dove') visually represent 'Mahometanism'. The Society of Jesus and Druidism are represented by the books labeled 'Ignat Loyola; Monita Secreta' and 'Druid hymns' respectively. The title of the publication, *The Temple of Imposture*, anchored an interpretation of the image (Fig.5) in relation to religious imposture. Thus, the symbols are signifiers of alleged 'false' religions and orders, ancient and contemporary.[7]

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[4] I will discuss the term 'Rational Dissent' on page 88 of this Chapter.

[5] 'Koran' was the common spelling of the Qur'an. I will use this spelling throughout this Chapter.

[6] M. D. George does not equate the sword with Islam, noting it is 'a short curved sword of the pattern worn by macaronies c.1771-3', George, *Catalogue of Political and Personal Satires*, Vol. 5, 303. Further research could be done here.

[7] Throughout the accompanying poem, each religion signified in the frontispiece is identified as being false. These religions were also discussed together in earlier texts such as *A Dissertation on False Religion*, London, 1757, second edition 1763.

Yet, as well as *The Temple of Imposture* (Fig.5) being informed by wider discourses on 'false religion', the use of negative signifiers of non-Anglican religions were mobilised in specific anti-Methodist discourses in comparison to Wesley. In the publication *Imposture Detected*, which, as I discussed in Chapter One, is referenced through intertextual links in *Perfection* (Fig.2) and *Sketches for Tabernacle-Frames* (Fig.3), Rowland Hill satirically claimed 'I might defy the shrewdest of his [Wesley's] readers to discover, whether the lying apostle of the Foundery [Wesley] be a *Jew*, a *Papist*, a *Pagan*, or a *Turk*'.[8] This perhaps, in part, informed the meaning making around *The Temple of Imposture* (Fig.5). Yet, in the poem accompanying *The Temple of Imposture*, Wesley is alleged to be 'Of Druid, *Brachman*, *Mufti*, Pope, combin'd' and the image simultaneously aligned Wesley with Druidism, Jesuitism and Mahometanism.[9] Furthermore, in *Sketches for Tabernacle-Frames* (Fig.3 and 25) Wesley has a portrait of Catholic King James II on the wall and in *The Love-Feast* (Fig.4) he is kneeling before the Roman goddess Venus. Therefore, through cross-referencing between images, Wesley was satirically constructed as drawing on all of these religions. In addition, in *The Love-Feast* (Fig.4) Wesley is being crowned with a mitre and in *Perfection* (Fig.2 and 21) there are allusions to Hill's claim that Wesley had been ordained as a Bishop by Erasmus.[10] Thus, Wesley was constructed as readily modifying his religious beliefs in order to gain preferment. The textual label 'Brother Bray' which appears hanging from the donkey's neck in *Fanatical Conversion (A New World! A New World!)* (Fig.6 and 38) anchors this further. It referred to an eighteenth-century satirical song entitled 'The Vicar of Bray', which recounted the career of the eponymous vicar from Berkshire who adapted his religious beliefs in

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[8] Hill, *Imposture Detected*, 4
[9] Anon., *The Temple of Imposture*, 22
[10] I explored this in Chapter One, page 25.

order to remain in office.[11] This was indicated by the chorus, 'And this is law I will

maintain Until my dying day, sir, That whatsoever King shall reign, I'll be Vicar of

Bray, sir.'[12]

Therefore, anxieties around Wesley's temporal influence, particularly his *Calm

Address* (Wesley as fickle, changing his opinion on the American situation and

ambitiously seeking preferment and political influence), were also mapped onto

anxieties around religious imposture and priestcraft. In this way, the envelope labeled

'Aldebert's Letter' in *The Temple of Imposture* (Fig.5) could be decoded as an

historical precedent for Wesley.[13] Aldebert was an eighth-century French preacher

who was said to have claimed to have a letter from Christ which the archangel

Michael had delivered to him and which falsely-amassed him many followers.[14]

Indeed, rather than the generic members of the religions to which Hill referred, in *The

Temple of Imposture* (Fig.5) emphasis is placed on the religious leaders and their

written sources (a letter, two open books, one religious, one containing alleged secret

instructions of the Jesuits and two closed hymnbooks) through which they claimed

authority and accumulated followers. The emphasis placed on written accounts which

allegedly either falsely inspire or show hidden intent for doing so, pointed to concerns

surrounding religion and power as denoted by the term 'priestcraft'. Johnson's

Dictionary defined priestcraft as 'religious frauds; management of wicked priests to

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[11] Also published throughout the century, see: Anon., *The Vicar of Bray's Garland: Containing six new songs, 1. The Vicar of Bray [...]*, Salop, n.d (?1760). It documented the change in monarchs from Charles II to George I. This label can be likened to the weathervane that I discussed in Chapter One and the dual gifts of Lucy Cooper and Alderman Gripus that I explored in Chapter Two.
[12] Anon., *The Vicar of Bray's Garland*, 2. See also: Anon., *The Love-Feast*, 47 and Anon., *Perfection*, 30.
[13] Also spelt 'Adalbert' or 'Adelbert'. This reference to 'Aldebert' was not identified in George, *Catalogue of Political and Personal Satires*, Vol. 5, 302-3.
[14] See: Anon., *The Temple of Imposture*, 12 and Thomas Mortimer, *The student's pocket dictionary; or, compendium of universal history, chronology, and biography. From the earliest accounts to the present time. With authorities. In two parts. Part I. Containing a compendium of universal history. Part II. Containing a compendium of biography*, London, 1777, no page, under 'IMP' for 'Impostors'

gain power'.[15] Indeed, the depiction of a trap in the upper section in *Perfection* (Fig.2 and 21) is 'priestcraft's trap', anchored as such through the embedded hypertextual reference 'd' which advised the reader-viewer to turn to page 36, line 10, via the key at the bottom of the image.

Unlike Hill's remark that Wesley could be 'a *Jew*, a *Papist*, a *Pagan*, or a *Turk*', there is no reference to Judaism in the images or poems.[16] As the three primary monotheistic faiths, Judaism, Christianity and Mahometanism were often referenced together in the codification of imposture. In the print *The Masquerade Dance* (London, 1771) (Fig.39), six costumed figures are depicted dancing in pairs to a devil playing a horn at a masquerade dance. They are dressed in the guises of religious figures, including a friar, Jew and Mahometan, perhaps suggesting that 'masquerading' was universal to all religions. Indeed, in the eighteenth-century publication the *Trait des trois imposteurs* (pub. 1719), Christ, Mahomet and Moses were considered to be equally corrupt and dishonest and religion was regarded as a construct for political motives and for the leaders' own gains.**[17]** This treatise had widespread circulation in the eighteenth century and editions were published in 1775 and 1777, suggesting the potential familiarity of this tract by the coders and decoders of the image, *The Temple of Imposture* (Fig.5).[18] Yet, with no references to Judaism and a selective use of Christianity in *The Temple of Imposture* (Fig.5), it is evident that the image, and the focal series to which it belonged, was not concerned with the

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[15] Johnson, *A Dictionary*, Vol. 2

[16] Hill, *Imposture Detected*, 4

[17] Justin A. I. Champion, 'Legislators, Impostors, and the politic origins of religion: English theories of "imposture" from Stubbe to Toland', in Silvia Berti, Françoise Charles-Daubert and Richard H. Popkin (Eds) *Heterodoxy, Spinozism, and Free Thought in Early-eighteenth-century Europe: studies on the Traité des trois imposteurs*, London, 1996, 333-356, 336-7

[18] John Christian Laursen, 'The Politics of a Publishing Event: the Marchand Milieu and "The Life and Spirit of Spinoza" of 1719, in Berti, Charles-Daubert and Popkin, *Heterodoxy, Spinozism, and Free Thought*, 273- 296, 276

wider contestation of organised religion. The absence of Judaism and Moses requires further attention, but can perhaps be accounted for due to its complex relationship with Christianity.[19] Pailin has noted that Judaism could not be 'treat[ed] in the same way as other non-Christian faiths', for it was 'unable to [be] dismiss[ed] […] as utterly worthless since, whatever the influences that [had] molded post-Biblical Judaism, in the Old Testament Christians accept the Jewish holy scriptures as the first part of their own'.[20] Voltaire also highlighted this disparity.[21]

Similarly, Christianity was only selectively disparaged.[22] The intertextual references to Revs Rowland Hill, Caleb Evans and Augustus Toplady (Fig. 16, 19 and 20), aligned the publications that are the foci of my study with these authors,[23] all of whom were religious figures, and there also are embedded Biblical quotes throughout the focal series of images.[24] Likewise, the publications did not attack 'Rational Dissent', thus certain dissenting religious identities based on reason were tolerated. Therefore, whilst the publications were anti-Methodist, they were not anti-religion in a general sense. Rather, a specific use of the imposture thesis was mobilised and was coded and decoded in relation to notions of reason and unreason, as I will explore. I

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[19] More research could be done in this area and my foci images could also be contrasted with anti-Semitic discourses in the eighteenth century.

[20] David A. Pailin, *Attitudes to Other Religions: Comparative Religion in Seventeenth and Eighteenth-Century Britain*, Manchester, 1984, 63-4

[21] Voltaire, 'Les Questions de Zapata', in *Recueil nécessaire. Avec L'Evangile De La Raison,* London, 1776, 174-198. See also: Pailin, *Attitudes to Other Religions*, 64-5

[22] Methodism and Catholicism.

[23] In the images *Perfection* (Fig.2)*, Sketches for Tabernacle-Frames* (Fig.3) and *Fanatical Conversion (A New World! A New World!* (Fig.6). See Chapter One, Part II *Intertextual Criticism of Wesley and London Methodism.*

[24] *The Temple of Imposture* (Fig.5): 'wise as serpents', Matthew 10:16, *Perfection* (Fig.2): 'Good will towards men', Luke 2:14, *Fanatical Conversion (A New World! A New World!)* (Fig.6)*:* 'Let those who have wives be as tho [*sic*] they had none', Corinthians 7:29, 'Milk without Money', Isaiah 55:1 and 'A Wheel within a Wheel', Ezekiel 1:1-28, along with the representation of the serpent and dove in *The Temple of Imposture* (Fig.5) and the wolf in sheep's clothing in *Perfection* (Fig.2). I am assuming that the audience would have known the Biblical source for these references.

will now examine meaning making around the images in relation to this specific selection of ancient, non-Western and Western religions and their leaders.

Ancient Religions

The frontispieces *The Temple of Imposture* (Fig.5) and *The Love-Feast* (Fig.4) mobilised discourses around the pre-Christian religions of the Druids and pagans, the latter being signified by Venus.[25] The image therefore referenced prototypes of false religion in both Celtic and Classical antiquity. Depicted in the lower section of *The Temple of Imposture* (Fig.5) is a closed book labeled 'Druid hymns'. There were competing discourses around the Druids which were capable of being mobilised by both coders and decoders of the image. The label 'Druid', in part, situated the image in relation to contemporary interest in the ancient world of the Britons.[26] In some images and publications the Druids were constructed as wise, rational, philosophers.[27] In contrast, the textual label 'Druid' in *The Temple of Imposture* (Fig.5) provoked a negative comparison to Wesley and Methodism, drawing on ideas codified in accounts such as John Toland's (1670-1722) earlier *Specimen of the Critical History of the Celtic Religion and Learning* (1702) and *A History of the Druids* (1726). Whilst Toland's portrayal of the Druids did vary, they were associated with 'barbarous tyranny' and constructed as holding religious beliefs that were tainted by magic and 'fraudulent superstition' that were used to deceive their followers.[28]

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[25] I use the term 'pagan' to refer to 'one not Christian', Johnson, *A Dictionary*, Vol. 2. In the poem *The Love-Feast*, this term is used to denote the Goddess Venus, 1, 38.

[26] See: Sam Smiles, *The Image of Antiquity: ancient Britain and the romantic imagination*, New Haven and London, 1994, 75-112.

[27] See: Smiles, *The Image of Antiquity*, 76-84, A.L. Owen, *The Famous Druids: A Survey of Three Centuries of English Literature on the Druids*, Oxford, 1962, 27-59.

[28] John Toland, 'A Specimen of the *Critical History of the Celtic Religion and Learning: containing an account of the Druids*', in John Toland, *A collection of several pieces of Mr. John Toland, now first publish'd from his original manuscripts: with some memoirs of his life and writings*, 2 vols, London, 1726, Vol. 1, 52

Such ideas were also present in contemporary publications. In one poem the Druids were 'the subtle priests with venom'd breath'[29] and in the poem *Alfred* (1778) they were 'blood-mantled Priests' with 'eyes of Madness' and 'deaf'ning yell'.[30] In *The Temple of Imposture* (Fig.5), 'Druid hymns' were aligned with Bedlam through the representation of the two hymnbooks in close proximity, the one depicted immediately below the other. Indeed, the accompanying poem read, 'for ever chanting *frantic Hymns*; such as thro' Caves, and Mosques, and Fields have rung, From Druid-Ages down to Wesley's sung'.[31] Thus, as well as signaling the continuation of an alleged historical precedent, Bedlam/Druid hymns were equated with Methodist hymns and the alleged commonality of unreason. Thus, these notions of religious unreason were also mapped onto Wesley's publishing output and the *Calm Address*. Furthermore, contemporary reference to the priesthood of the Celts could also be interpreted in relation to literary deception and residual discourses around the authenticity of Celtic epic poetry written by Ossian, published by James Macpherson (1736-1796) in the 1760s.[32] Samuel Johnson asserted that the poems were forgeries.[33] The label 'Druid' could therefore by decoded in relation to the *Calm Address* and viewed as an indirect attack on Wesley's alleged plagiarism of Johnson.

In addition, the label 'Druid' mobilised discourses around priestcraft. For Toland, 'the complete history of Priestcraft' was evidenced in the history of the Druids.[34] Toland remarked, 'no heathen priesthood ever came up to the perfection of the Druidical…as

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[29] Michael Woodhull, *Poems*, 1772, 30 quoted in Owen, 1962, 161
[30] Robert Holmes, *Alfred*, Oxford, 1778, 10
[31] Anon., *The Temple of Imposture*, 25. The reference to 'Fields' could also be interpreted as a reference to the Methodist practice of itinerant field preaching.
[32] James Macpherson, *The works of Ossian, the son of Fingal. In two volumes. Translated from the Galic language by James Macpherson. In six books; and several other poems*, Dublin, 2 Vols, 1765
[33] Samuel Johnson, *A Journey to the Western Islands of Scotland*, London 1775, 191-2
[34] Toland, 'A Specimen of the *Critical History of the Celtic Religion*', 8

having been much better calculated to beget ignorance, and an implicit disposition in the people, no less than to procure power and profit to the priests'.[35] Whilst Toland's target was the contemporary Christian Church, the use of the word 'Druid' served a didactic function in the image *The Temple of Imposture* (Fig.5).[36] The archetype of the Druidical past exposed the ancient techniques of priestcraft, like 'sophistry' and 'the art of managing the mob', which could be applied to the present, with the discourses satirically mapped onto Wesley and Methodism.[37] As I will explore, meaning making around the Jesuits was also understood in relation to priestcraft in the foci images.

In *The Love-Feast* (Fig.4), Wesley's alleged use of priestcraft to gain power and influence was also referenced by the symbol of the Roman goddess Venus Murcia.[38] Venus acted as a signifier of Wesley's alleged ambition for preferment, he is shown changing his views to be in line with another heathen religion.[39] The goddess Venus is about to crown him with a Bishop's headdress, having beaten off two competitors as the caption shows.[40] As I explored in Chapter One, this connoted Hill's assertion that

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[35] Huddleston, *A New Edition of Toland's History of the Druids*, London, 1814, quoted in A.L. Owen, *The Famous Druids: A Survey of Three Centuries of English Literature on the Druids*, Oxford, 1962, 117

[36] Owen, *The Famous Druids*, 117. Toland's history of the Druids can be situated in relation to contemporary anti-Clerical sentiment. Whilst earlier publications, I am assuming that the reader-viewer of *The Temple of Imposture* (Fig.5) would have been aware of these ideas around the Druids and priestcraft, tyranny and superstition. Smiles has shown that 'a crude outline [of Druidic religion] constituted the standard image of the Druid', *The Image of Antiquity*, 77 and that 'Toland's scepitcal [*sic*] views on Druidic mystification were not unique in the eighteenth century', *The Image of Antiquity*, 88.

[37] Toland, 'A Specimen of the *Critical History of the Celtic Religion*', 11-12

[38] Anon., *The Love-Feast*, 1. In the image, Venus is accompanied by one of her traditional attributes, Cupid, Hall, *Hall's Dictionary*, 87

[39] The title line above the image reads 'Reynardo's [Wesley's] consecration by the Goddess MURICA'.

[40] The two competitors, 'Romano' and 'Simonio', were evangelical clergymen William Romaine (1714- 1795) and Martin Madan (1726- 1790), see Samuel J. Rogal, *A biographical dictionary of eighteenth-century Methodism*, Vol. 5, Lewiston, 1998. Due to limits of space, my focus has been on meaning making around John Wesley only. However, there is scope for further research, particularly around Madan being accused of simony – the buying or selling of ecclesiastical privileges – in Aldwinkle, 1767-8. This could be related to those issues I outlined in Chapter One surrounding

Wesley had sought a Bishopric.[41] In addition, the interior of *The Love-Feast* (Fig.4) resembles that of a Georgian chapel and, as I explored in Chapter Two, the Foundery at Moorfields was the site in the capital where love-feasts took place.[42] Thus, *The Love-Feast* (Fig.4) can be interpreted as offering a view of the interior of the 'temple of imposture'. In addition, in the poem *The Love-Feast* Wesley is 'crowned' by Venus as Mahomet's successor.[43] Therefore, the poem and image *The Love-Feast* (Fig.4) indexically connoted the image *The Temple of Imposture* (Fig.5), which reads 'old light at Mecca / new light at Moorfields', thus generating another register of meaning.

Indeed, references to the Druids and Venus acted as historical precedents: a chain of imposture and priestcraft was constructed to the contemporary present. Wesley was constructed as drawing on ancient techniques or knelling before an ancient goddess. This was paralleled with contemporary concerns about both non-western and western religions and their leaders: Ignatius Loyola, Mahomet and the 'Brachman' [*sic*].

Contemporary Non-Western Religions

There were competing attitudes towards both Mahometanism and the Hindoo 'Brachman' [*sic*] in the eighteenth century. These were shaped by contemporary accounts of Mahomet's life and the Arab world that were published in England in the

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Wesley's *Calm Address*, Lord North and Erasmus. Indeed, in the image the figure in the open doorway holds a piece of paper which reads, 'Wanted an Advowson' - in ecclesiastical law this was the recommendation of a member of the Anglican clergy for a vacant benefice. Reference to 'Romaine' also appeared as a label on the globe in Hogarth's *Credulity, Superstition and Fanaticism* (Fig.8) see: Paulson, *Hogarth*, Vol. 3, 364.

[41] The first line of the caption beneath the image reads, 'Thine be the Diocese of all Moorfields'.

[42] M.D. George regards the interior as a Georgian chapel, George, *Catalogue of Political and Personal Satires*, Vol. 5, 303

[43] A commonly held assumption of Mahometanism was that the followers worshipped Venus, Pailin, *Attitudes to Other Religions*, 95.

late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries,[44] and publications on the Hindoos and 'Hindostan'[45] which proliferated from the 1760s.[46] Thus, residual and emergent areas of discourse around non-Western religions informed *The Temple of Imposture* (Fig.5).

Depicted in the upper centre of the image is an open book, the largest of those depicted, with the label 'Koran' on the left hand page. The reference to the 'Koran' could be read in relation to George Sale's English translation of the Koran, first published in 1734.[47] As a result of the text's widespread circulation, Sale had become synonymous with knowledge about Mahometanism.[48] Thus, Sale's *Koran* is likely to have been the Koran with which the encoders and decoders of *The Temple of Imposture* (Fig.5) were familiar. In recent historiography of Mahometanism in the eighteenth century, Ziad Elmsarsafy considers George Sale's translation of the Qur'an to be 'radically innovative'[49] because it was 'balanced and informative.'[50] Indeed, for Zachary Lockman, scholars like Sale had a less hostile approach towards Islam, which was viewed as 'a relatively rational and tolerant faith and [they] often depicted Muhammad as a just and wise lawgiver'.[51] For Alastair Hamilton, the spread of the ideas of authors like Sale's 'seems to have had an immediate effect […] the ground had been prepared for an objective treatment of the Prophet and his faith'.[52] However,

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[44] See: Ziad Elmarsafy, *The Enlightenment Qur'an: the politics of translation and the construction of Islam*, Oxford, 2009, 1-63.

[45] As India was referred to at this time as, well as Indostan.

[46] Pailin, *Attitudes to Other Religions*, 19. For some examples, see: P.J. Marshall, *The British Discovery of Hinduism in the Eighteenth Century*, London, 1970, 2.

[47] George Sale, *The Koran, commonly called the Alcoran of Mohammad, translated into English immediately from the original Arabic; with explanatory notes, taken from the most approved commentators. To which is prefixed a preliminary discourse*, London, 1734. This was accompanied by a 'Preliminary Discourse' which documented items in Islamic theology, history and law, 1-187.

[48] Elmarsafy, *The Enlightenment Qur'an*, 23, 35

[49] *Ibid.*, 14

[50] *Ibid.*, 23. See also, Maxime Rodinson, *Europe and the Mystique of Islam*, London, 1988, 47-8

[51] Zachary Lockman, *Contending Visions of the Middle East: the History and Politics of Orientalism*, Cambridge, 2004, 63

[52] Alastair Hamilton, 'Western Attitudes to Islam in the Enlightenment', in Martin Kramer (Ed), *Middle Eastern Lectures 3*, London, 1999, 83

these trends cannot be descriptive of all attitudes towards Mahomet and Mahometanism in the eighteenth century, these were complex cultural signifiers that could generate various meanings by coders and decoders of text and images and could be situated in competing discourses. Indeed, Sale's accompanying 'Preliminary Discourse' came under some criticism. Thomas Hearne commented,

> I think a bare translation had been sufficient. Nor can I see with what good design Mr. Sale hath published him with such glosses, unless it be to make people in love with this impostor. A bare translation would have sufficiently exposed the fictions and silly empty inventions of Mohammad, on purpose to delude the world…[53]

Similarly, the symbols used to signify Mahomet and Mahometanism in *The Temple of Imposture* (Fig.5) were dependent upon negative stereotypes, having been interpreted in relation to the publication title and accompanying poem which anchored the reading. Indeed, in the poem Mahomet is termed 'the *turban'd Tyrant*'.[54] Furthermore, in *The Temple of Imposture* (Fig.5) a depiction of a gridiron, an implement of torture by fire,[55] which is labeled 'Mahomet's gridiron' and a sword which the poem notes is 'well-flesh'd',[56] suggested that Mahometanism was a religion that was propagated by such means.[57] Therefore, the meanings generated in *The Temple of Imposture* (Fig.5) were coded and decoded in relation to the residual prominence of stereotypes put forward in publications like Humphrey Prideaux's

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[53] Quoted without citation in Elmarsafy, *The Enlightenment Qur'an*, 55
[54] Anon., *The Temple of Imposture*, 25
[55] The gridiron was also associated, iconographically, with the persecution and martyrdom of St Lawrence, Hall, *Hall's Dictionary*, 143
[56] Anon., *The Temple of Imposture*, 25
[57] Sale, 'Preliminary Discourse', 35

True Nature of Imposture, Fully Display'd in the Life of the Prophet Mahomet (1697) which codified Mahomet as the exemplar of religious imposture, as the title suggests.[58] Although an earlier publication, Pailin notes that it influenced successive accounts of Mahomet.[59] In Prideaux's conception, Mahomet was an opportunist ambitiously seeking political power[60] and was devious, scheming, tyrannical, debauched and avaricious. Prideaux noted, 'all these must belong to every *Imposture*, and all particularly did so to *Mahometism* [*sic*]'.[61] Similarly, in 1736 Voltaire wrote the play *Le fanatisme ou Mahomet le Prophete*.[62] As well as the availability of Voltaire's text in England, there was an English translation of the play (*Mahomet the Impostor A tragedy* by James Miller).[63] The plot was based on negative views of Mahomet's biography, focusing on the massacre of his opponents. Voltaire constructed Mahomet as the epitome of religious fanaticism and, like Prideaux, the prototype of religious imposture: he was represented as having an insatiable lust for power, taking advantage of the credulity of the 'masses' to manipulate them and cunningly playing on enthusiasm.[64] Miller's play was acted in London at the Theatre-Royal, Drury Lane in 1743-5 and 1766 and also in the Theatre-Royals Drury Lane and Covent Garden in 1778. Publication of the text remained high, particularly in the 1770s, when a new edition appeared in 1773, 1774, 1776, 1777 and 1778.[65] Thus, these specific ideas about Mahomet were culturally visible in the years immediately

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[58] The text was in its 9th edition by 1730.

[59] Pailin, *Attitudes to Other Religions*, 92

[60] Elmarsafy, *The Enlightenment Qur'an*, 20

[61] Humphrey Prideaux, *The True Nature of Imposture, Fully Display'd in the Life of the Prophet Mahomet*, London, 1723, v. These alleged traits of Mahomet's imposture were elaborated in the appended 'A Discourse for the Vindicating of Christianity from the Charge of Imposture, offer'd by way of a Letter, To the Consideration of the Deists of the Present Age', 129-132.

[62] This was a tragedy in five acts, first performed in Lille, France on 25 April 1741 and at the *Théâtre-Français* on 9 August 1742. The play was revived in 1751. See: Ronald W. Tobin, 'The Sources of Voltaire's "Mahomet"', *The French Review*, Vol. 34, No. 4, Feb 1961, 372-378, 372-3.

[63] James Miller, *Mahomet the impostor: a tragedy, adapted from the French of M. De Voltaire*, London, 1744.

[64] In later publications Voltaire changed his stance on Mahomet, see Elmarsafy, *The Enlightenment Qur'an*, 82-8.

[65] Editions also appeared in 1744, 1745, 1755, 1759 and 1766.

preceding the production of the focal series of images, impacting on the coding and decoding of *The Temple of Imposture* (Fig.5) in relation to Wesley.[66]

In the poem *The Temple of Imposture*, Mahomet declares 'Let *modern Saints my Light* with Envy see, And thrive by ev'ry *Fraud* they learn from *me*'.[67] In the verse, speaking to Wesley, the Prophet claims '*Terror*, and *Int'rest*, temper'd with *false Pride*, Will ever lead the *Multitude* aside; Make 'em, with Ease, *feign'd Inspiration's* Tools, And place 'em in *my Paradise of Fools*'.[68] As such, *The Temple of Imposture* (Fig.5) suggested apparent inter-religious similarities between Mahometanism and Methodism, Mahomet and Wesley.[69] In the image, Mahomet's alleged imposture in seventh-century Arabia, referenced through the textual label of Mecca, acted as an historical precedent for contemporary eighteenth-century concerns surrounding Wesley and Methodism based in Moorfields. Indeed, the textual labels on the ribbons from top to bottom read 'old light at Mecca' and then 'new light at Moorfields'.

Meaning making around Mahomet in the foci images was also situated in relation to Wesley's *Calm Address*. In *The Temple of Imposture* (Fig.5), the sword, with its blade

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[66] It should be noted that meaning making around Mahomet and Mahometanism was often situated in relation to Christianity to highlight concerns over inter-Christian sects, or defend Christianity by showing its alleged antithesis (like Prideaux), or to serve as a substitute for Christ. To some extent, these subtleties in the use of Mahomet and Mahometanism as signifiers would have been recognised by an English audience of Prideaux and Voltaire's texts. Nevertheless, these texts used, and continued to popularise, a precedent whereby Mahomet acted as a readily legible signifier of imposture and fanaticism which was mapped onto Wesley and Methodism in my foci images.

[67] Anon., *The Temple of Imposture*, 1778, 27

[68] *Ibid.*, 27

[69] Whilst in Hogarth's *Credulity, Superstition and Fanaticism* (Fig.8) a 'Turk' is depicted looking through the window onto the scene of the Methodist sermon, functioning as a religious comparison, the 'Turk' is satirically constructed as more rational than the Methodists – the figure is shocked by what he sees. In *The Temple of Imposture* (Fig.5), the use of Mahometanism as a signifier differed to that by Hogarth – rather than a generic follower, the focus is on the religious leader, Mahomet, and his alleged imposture and priestcraft.

curving upwards, shrouds the image of the Koran which is above it.[70] It is

emblazoned with the text 'Calm Address of both', thus aligning Wesley's publication,

the *Calm Address*, with the Koran. In some accounts, the Koran was considered to be

a fictitious construct of Mahomet's which was used to perpetuate his alleged

imposture by manipulating the masses.[71] In the publication *A Dissertation on False*

Religion (1757) it was 'nonsensical and ridiculous tales; of monstrous lies, respecting

the pretended revelations made to Mahomet'.[72] Similarly, in the poem *Good-Friday*

(1773) the Koran was 'fraught with Dreams and Lies'.[73] Thus, the alignment of the

two texts in *The Temple of Imposture* (Fig.5) functioned to undermine Wesley's

publication, and the Koran, and highlighted an alleged hidden intent behind the *Calm*

Address and Wesley's publishing output from the Foundery in Moorfields. This was

further reiterated by the symbol of the 'Monita Secreta' below, as I will discuss later.

Therefore, Wesley was constructed, through visual symbols and intertextual links, as

a contemporary Mahomet and all that the religious figure could signify in relation to

imposture, religious fanaticism and deception of the masses. However, Wesley was

constructed as worse; text and image in *The Temple of Imposture* (Fig.5) depict that

the Bedlam serpent, Wesley, is swallowing Mecca's dove.[74] Furthermore, the last two

lines of the accompanying poem satirically read, 'Let *F---d'ry* [Foundery] *Lights* and

Founders be *despis'd*, And *honest Mahomet* be *cannoniz'd*'.[75]

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[70] As I explored in Chapter One, the sword was visually equated with the daggers depicted in *Sketches for Tabernacle-Frames* (Fig.3) and the frontispiece *Perfection* (Fig.2 and 15) with the accompanying poem quote 'massacre mankind with a calm address', Chapter One, page 19.
[71] Prideaux, *True Nature of Imposture*, 127. See also: Pailin, *Attitudes to Other Religions*, 88-89
[72] Anon., *A Dissertation on False Religion*, 24
[73] Anon., *Good-Friday, a poem,* Bath, 1773, 32
[74] The dove had significance in Islam, Sale, 'Preliminary Discourse', 116. See also Anon., *The Temple of Imposture*, 22.
[75] Anon., *The Temple of Imposture*, 35

Indeed, Wesley's presence allegedly signalled, 'the wild *Brachman's* [*sic*] Superstition curst; Of all *Impostors* since the Flood the *worst*'.[76] Whilst not explicitly referenced in the frontispiece, the use of 'Brachman' [*sic*] in the rhyming couplet that anchored a reading of the image shows that negative attitudes towards the 'Hindoos' were also mobilised in order to establish a further parallel with Wesley's alleged imposture and to satirically highlight that he was comparatively worse.[77] Whilst for P. J. Marshall the Hindoo religion was not necessarily a negative construct,[78] the 'Brachman' [*sic*] were described in a footnote in the poem *The Temple of Imposture* as 'Indian Priests, amazingly knavish and superstitious'.[79] Indeed, Holwell, writing in 1766, noted 'all the modern writers represent the Hindoos [*sic*] as a race of stupid and gross Idolaters'.[80] Thus, the connotations of hypocrisy and unreason signalled by the use of the 'Brachman' [*sic*] as a signifier were also mapped onto Wesley and his religious mediation.

As I will now explore, signifiers of false religion, unreason and superstition were also coded and decoded in relation to the contemporary Western religious order, the Society of Jesus, and Catholicism per se. Like the examples of ancient and non-Western religious leaders, Ignatius Loyola provided a readily legible prototype which was coded in relation to Wesley's perceived temporal influence and paralleled religious imposture. This was situated in relation to, and was contingent upon, contemporary Anglo-French relations.

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[76] Ibid., 22

[77] For more information on eighteenth-century attitudes towards the Hindoos, see Marshall, *The British Discovery of Hinduism*. More research could be done in this area.

[78] Marshall, *The British Discovery of Hinduism*, 1- 3

[79] Anon., *The Temple of Imposture*, 31

[80] John Z. Holwell, *Interesting Historical Events Relative to the Provinces of Bengal and the Empire of Indostan*, London, second edition, 1766, Part I, 6. Johnson's *Dictionary* defined an 'Idolator' as 'one who pays divine honours to images; one who worships for God that which is not God', Vol. 1. Holwell's statement refers to the latter.

Contemporary Western Religion

In *The Temple of Imposture* (Fig.5), the open book in the bottom right register of the image that reads 'Ignat; Loyola Monita Secreta' on the left-hand page refers to Ignatius Loyola (1491-1556), the founder-leader of the religious order the Society of Jesus. 'Ignatius' is also referenced on the spine of the book at Wesley's feet in *Fanatical Conversion (A New World! A New World!)* (Fig.6 and 24). The reference to 'Monita Secreta' refers to the *Monita Secreta Societas Jesu*.[81] This was a publication that had been in circulation since the sixteenth century and went through at least three English editions in the eighteenth century.[82] It claimed to contain secret instructions of the Society of Jesus from the Father General to his deputies that had purportedly been written in order to help conceal Jesuit hypocrisy and increase their power, wealth, advancement and the influence of the Society.[83] Chapters included instructions on how to: advance the society through 'political schemes'[84] and preferment,[85] how to infiltrate by winning the 'favour of the nobility and superior clergy',[86] how to increase the revenue of the Society[87] by appealing to rich widows,[88] as well as the manner in which Jesuits 'ought to behave in public'[89] in order to hide their real intentions, including to 'outwardly feign a contempt of riches'.[90]

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[81] First published in Kraków in 1614 as *Privata monita Societatis Jesu* and thought to be written by the Jesuit Hieronymus Zahorowski, who had been discharged from the Society. See Sabina Pavone, 'Between History and Myth: The "Monita Secreta Societais Jesu', in John W. O'Malley, S.J., Gauvin Alexander Bailey, Steven J. Harris, T. Frank Kennedy, S.J. (Eds), *The Jesuits II: cultures, sciences, and the arts, 1540 – 1773*, Toronto, 2006, 50-65, 51-2.

[82] Heironim Zahorowski, *Secreta Monita Societas Jesu = The Secret Instructions of the Jesuits*, London, 1723 (Second edition London, 1746, Third edition London, 1759)

[83] Pavone, 'Between History and Myth', 50

[84] Zahorowski, *Secreta Monita Societas Jesu,* 1759, 137

[85] *Loc. cit.*

[86] *Ibid.*, 135

[87] *Ibid.*, 77

[88] *Ibid.*, 51 and 59

[89] *Ibid.*, 19

[90] *Ibid.*, 129

The publication highlighted the apparent disparity between outward, pious public appearance and actual motives. Therefore, through the mobilisation of the intertextual link of the *Monita Secreta*, *The Temple of Imposture* (Fig.5) tapped into specific anti-Jesuit discourses. What was allegedly 'known' about the Jesuits from the *Monita Secreta* was mapped onto Wesley and the Methodists.[91] As well as the *Monita Secreta*, the use of the labels 'Ignat Loyola' and 'Ignatius' aligned the founder of the Jesuits with the co-founder of the Methodists. In poem *The Temple of Imposture*, Ignatius Loyola is said to have 'rais'd [the] *Order* to *deceive* Mankind'.[92] In the text, Methodists are described as 'Ye Sons of Loyola'[93] because, '*He* [Wesley] on *Ignatius* piously improves; *His Arts* he [Wesley] follows, and *his Rules* he [Wesley] loves '.[94] The rules in question are those of the *Monita Secreta* which, in a later footnote, the author describes as the 'most *diabolical private Rules'*.[95] Like the representation of the Koran, the *Monita Secreta* is depicted as an open book suggesting not only secret content, but also that Wesley was making use of the text. This signalled a manifestation of Wesley's alleged priestcraft. Indeed, in *The Love-Feast*, Wesley is 'Drain'd as you are by *Priestcraft*'.[96]

The symbol of the *Monita Secreta* added a further layer of significance around Wesley's temporal and spiritual influences, particularly his alleged political

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[91] As a further register of meaning, the function of the foci images could have played a role in the wider signification of the Jesuits, their emblematic design connoting Jesuit pedagogy. Providing that the reader-viewer was aware of the Jesuit use of didactic religious emblems, the process of decoding the foci images would have led the decoder to draw parallels between anti-Jesuitism and anti-Methodism. In addition, the contrast between the grander scheme of erudition and the *Monita Secreta* highlighted hidden intent behind such practices, further undermining the Methodist Foundery's poor relief practices, as I explored in Chapter Two. For more information on the Jesuit use of emblems as teaching aids see: Kate Potteman, 'The Use of the Visual in Classical Jesuit Teaching and Education', *Paedagogica Historica*, 36:1, 178-196.
[92] Anon., *The Temple of Imposture*, 10-12
[93] Anon., *Perfection*, 21
[94] Anon., *The Temple of Imposture*, 31
[95] *Loc. cit.*
[96] Anon., *The Love-Feast*, 8

maneuvering and the positive reception and dissemination of the *Calm Address* by Lord North and his ministry in order to further the interests of Methodism.[97] This was under the public face of piety, as exemplified by the Foundery's poor relief practices. In the poem *Perfection*, the Foundery is described as 'a Kind of *Jesuitical College*',[98] concluding, 'to *Loyola* you [Wesley] owe this precious Art'.[99] Indeed, the idea that Wesley was taking up where the Jesuits left off is reiterated in the poem *The Love-Feast*, which asked, 'Else why are *Loyola's* detested Arts us'd now […] ?'[100] As well as mobilising anxieties around Wesley's publishing output and alleged hypocrisy, Wesley is likened to Ignatius Loyola in relation to unreason. In the poem *The Temple of Imposture* Ignatius was presented to the reader as folllows:

> In *Visions* there *new Systems* he conceiv'd,
>
> And what they taught religiously *believ'd*.
>
> Inspir'd by ev'ry Blast *Enthusiasts* steel,
>
> Proud of his *Errors*, and impell'd by *Zeal*,
>
> Lost to *right Reason*, to *Conviction* blind,
>
> Charm'd with *Theology* by *Craft* refin'd. [101]

Similarly, a footnote to the poem reads, '*Ignatius Loyola*, like *modern Enthusiasts*, had his *Visions* […] Here is a Proof that *Knaves* and *Madmen* may have *Calls*.'[102] Therefore, religious comparison with the Jesuits was also situated in relation to

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[97] As I discussed in Chapter One, these issues are also manifest in the frontispiece to *Perfection* (Fig.2) - the coat of arms was a signifier of this.
[98] Anon., *Perfection*, 19
[99] *Ibid*., 22
[100] Anon., *The Love-Feast*, 23
[101] Anon., *The Temple of Imposture*, 10-12
[102] *Ibid*., 11. See also: Evans, *A History of Modern Enthusiasm*, 75 in relation to the alleged fanaticism of Ignatius Loyola.

discourses around Wesley and enthusiasm, 'madness', the supernatural and false inspiration that I explored in Chapter Two.

As such, the images mobilised specific logocentric discourses around Wesley and Jesuitism. Publications such as *The Jesuit Detected* (1768) noted 'If the doctrine advanced by Mr. Wesley in his writings, […] doth not entitle him to the character of a Jesuit, I shall ask him pardon for calling him the *Jesuit Detected*'.[103] Sixteen comparative doctrinal similarities were made in order to show that Wesley was 'a real Jesuit, in the form, or under the cover or disguise of a Protestant'.[104] Specific attacks were also made later in reference to Wesley's *Calm Address*. In the pamphlet *Political Empiricism: A Letter to John Wesley* (1776), Wesley was accused of displaying 'Jesuitical delusions of priestcraft' which needed to be guarded against.[105] Similarly, Wesley was repeatedly referred to as a Jesuit in the publication *The Addresses for Blood and Devastation […]* (1776),[106] which declared 'Hail! Excellent sophist the true descendent of the Founder of the Jesuits',[107] the 'modern disciple of Loyola'.[108] In addition, on the authorship of the *Calm Address*, Patrick Bull, in his *A Wolf in Sheep's Cloathing* [*sic*] (1775), satirically noted, 'surely such an argument can only be calculated by a Jesuit, (who remembers that a Kingdom divided cannot stand)'.[109] Therefore, the intertextual link I explored in Chapter One in relation to Bull also mobilised discourses around Jesuitism and Methodism. In his negative comparison with Methodism, Bull notes, 'We all know that Jesuits are generally

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[103] Anon., *The Jesuit detected; Or The Church of Rome discover'd in the disguise of a Protestant*, London, 1768, advertisement page
[104] *Ibid.*, 9
[105] Anon., *Political Empiricism: A Letter to the Rev. Mr. John Wesley*, London, 1776, 32
[106] William Moore, *The Addresses for Blood and Devastation*, and the addressers exposed *[…]*, London, 1776, 35-41. Passages of the text were re-tasked in Theophilus Stephens, John Williams, and Charles Thompson, *The Fall of Britain*, 1777, X and XI, 55-66.
[107] *Ibid.*, 37
[108] *Ibid.*, 35
[109] Bull, *A Wolf in Sheep's Cloathing*, 13-14

bigots, with a great appearance of outward holiness'.[110] Indeed, for Bull, 'sophistical'

and 'Jesuitical' were 'synonimous [*sic*] terms'.[111] Thus, the label 'Jesuit' had specific

negative connotations that were capable of being mobilised in relation to Wesley and

Methodism.

Meanings relating to Jesuitism were also implicitly tied up with meanings about

Catholicism in general. Wesley is named 'Reynard' or 'Reynardo' in the embedded

caption explaining *Sketches for Tabernacle-Frames* (Fig.3), the title line of *The Love-

Feast* (Fig.4) and the explanation of the frontispiece *Fanatical Conversion (A New

World! A New World!)*. This anchored an interpretation of the symbols of both

Catholicism[112] and Jesuitism as anti-French, the French word for 'fox' being

'*renard*'.[113] Therefore, Wesley's representation with fox's head can be situated in a

broader xenophobia, as shown in the traditions of representing the French as foxes in

British prints and texts such as John Arbuthnot's *History of John Bull* (1712).[114]

As such, the coding and decoding of the focal series was informed by wider attitudes

towards Roman Catholicism and specific Anglo-French relations in the 1760s and

1770s. In anti-Methodist literature from the mid-1760s there is a noticeable trend

whereby Methodists were likened to Jesuits or Jesuits in disguise, rather than simply

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[110] *Ibid.*, 17

[111] *Ibid.*, 12

[112] As well as textual references in the poems there is a visual reference to Catholicism in the image *Sketches for Tabernacle-Frames* (Fig.3) with the portrait of the Catholic King James II.

[113] As I noted in Chapter One, Wesley's representation as an anthropomorphic fox and the use of the labels 'Reynard/o' were also capable of denoting the fable of *Reynard the Fox*, Chapter One, page 27.

[114] See: Jeremy Black, 'Ideology, history, xenophobia and the world of print in eighteenth-century England', in Jeremy Black and Jeremy Gregory (Eds), *Culture, Politics and Society in Britain, 1660-1800,* Manchester, 1991, 184-216, 203. Editions of Arbuthnot's *History of John Bull* appeared throughout the century, including in 1776. As I explored in Chapter Two, page 61, the cockerel in *Fanatical Conversion (A New World! A New World!)* (Fig.6) could also be understood as a signifier of France.

'papists'.[115] This shift can be seen as a reaction to changing news from abroad. The Jesuits acted as a contemporary politico-religious reference, pointing to the increased awareness of the Society after their suppression in France (1763-4, under Pope Clement XIII) and the general suppression of the Society by Papal edict in July 1773 (under Pope Clement XIV).[116] Furthermore, France was the 'greatest Catholic power'[117] and, as a long-standing enemy, this added a xenophobic element to discourses around Catholicism.[118] Colin Haydon has noted that anti-Catholic sentiment was strong throughout the century, but particularly so in 1778.[119] The Franco-American alliance in the American Revolution (1778), whereby the French formally allied with the Americans against the British and provided naval assistance, increased the potency of the threat of possible invasion of Britain.[120] Haydon has shown that anti-Catholicism provided 'a negative definition of what was good and acceptable, by showing its wicked, deviant antithesis'.[121] For this reason Haydon notes that whilst not being stable, uniform or monolithic,[122] 'anti-Catholicism could bind the nation together when ideological or political tensions were marked. Popery was held to endanger the constitutional and social fabric of the state'.[123] Indeed, the

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[115] Green, *Anti-Methodist Publications*, 90-136
[116] See: Christopher Hollis, *A History of the Jesuits*, London, 1968, 135-156. There is scope for research on the British position on allowing sanctuary to members of the Society of Jesus. Later, in 1794, a Jesuit College now known as Stonyhurst College, which was founded in 1593 to educate English children, moved to the Stonyhurst estate in Lancashire (having moved from St Omer to Bruges in 1762, and Liege in 1773), http://www.stonyhurst.ac.uk/thecollege.html.
[117] Stephen Conway, 'War and National Identity in the Mid-Eighteenth-Century British Isles', *The English Historical Review*, Vol. 116, No. 468, September 2001, 863-893, 886.
[118] Colin Haydon, *Anti-Catholicism in eighteenth-century England, c.1714-80: a political and social study*, Manchester, 1993, 48
[119] *Ibid.*, 50
[120] See: Dora Mae Clark, 'British Opinion of Franco-American Relations 1775-1795', *The William and Mary Quarterly*, Third Series, Vol. 4, No.3, July 1947, 305-316.
[121] Haydon, *Anti-Catholicism*, 253
[122] *Ibid.*, 50
[123] *Ibid.*, 253

foci images were produced at the time of the American Revolution and Wesley's *Calm Address* played a key discursive role in debates at home.[124]

Indeed, as well as an external threat, Catholicism was often regarded as a domestic threat. The Quebec Act (1774) had granted Catholics in the British colony of Quebec political representation. In Bull's pamphlet *A Wolf in Sheep's Cloathing* [*sic*] Wesley is satirically described as the 'Bishop of Quebec'.[125] Besides the ongoing anxieties around Jacobitism that I explored in Chapter One, in 1778 there was an attempt to relax some of the laws that restricted Catholics with the introduction of the Catholic Relief Act (1778).[126] For this reason, there were some fears that popery, viewed as superstitious and tyrannical, could be re-established in England.[127]

Haydon has shown the 'potency of myths concerning "Papists in disguise"' that featured in anti-Catholic literature.[128] Indeed, Jeremy Black has shown that it was relatively widely believed that, whilst 'sustained from abroad', the threat 'came from within'.[129] This notion was mapped onto Wesley as a result of anxiety regarding his temporal influences and the reception and dissemination of the *Calm Address*, which I outlined in Chapter One. Thus, as well as labels of Jacobite and Jesuit, Wesley was identified as a crypto-Papist. Indeed, the poem *Perfection* commanded Wesley to 'shew [*sic*] thy *popish* Face!', later remarking 'From this Time reign a *Pope* – 'tis said

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[124] For information on the American War and national identity, see: Linda Colley, *Britons: Forging the Nation, 1707-1837*, London, 2003, 142-5 and Stephen Conway, *The British Isles and the War of American Independence*, Oxford, 2000.

[125] Bull, *A Wolf in Sheep's Cloathing*, 22

[126] This led to outbursts of anti-Catholicism in 1778-80, resulting in the Gordon Riots in June 1780. For Haydon, Wesley's involvement in the Protestant Association after the Catholic Relief Act was motivated by his need to un-align himself with suggestions of popery, see Haydon, *Anti-Catholicism*, 63-4.

[127] Particularly as Catholicism had achieved gains before Protestant dissenters, see Conclusion page 94.

[128] Haydon, *Anti-Catholicism*, 224 and 46

[129] Black, 'Ideology, history, xenophobia', 185-6

– tis done – the *Vatican* adopts thee for a *Son*'.[130] As well as this, Wesley was also considered to operate like a Pope. A later line in the same poem describes Wesley as being '*Proud* as a *Pope*'.[131] This is significant in terms of the mediation of religious experience, the Pope acting as a signifier of arbitrary power.[132] Indeed, in *Imposture Detected* Hill satirically noted, 'all are against the church [*sic*], who testify against the errors and ungodliness of Pope JOHN'.[133] As I explored in Chapter One in relation to the symbols of Jacobitism in *Sketches for Tabernacle-Frames* (Fig.3 and 25), this referred to the notion of religious passive obedience and non-resistance, which were doctrines allegedly promoted in Wesley's *Calm Address*. Therefore, whilst the signifiers of Catholicism were mobilised to point to the threat Wesley posed to social order and the Nation,[134] the foci series of prints also belonged to the wider contestation of Methodist doctrine which was likened to Catholicism.[135]

Part II *Protestantism: Dissent and National Identity*

As I have shown, the mobilisation of the signifiers of ancient, contemporary non-Western and contemporary Western religions in the foci images highlighted shared, negative similarities of imposture and priestcraft between their leaders and Wesley. This strengthened the satiric critique of Wesley and Methodism in relation to discourses around Wesley's simultaneous temporal and spiritual influences. This was mapped onto eighteenth-century dissent, yet, religious comparison was complex, it

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[130] Anon., *Perfection*, 31
[131] Anon., *The Love-Feast*, 47, see also 42
[132] See Anon., *The Addresses for Blood and* Devastation, 7
[133] Hill, *Imposture Detected*, 21
[134] Anon., *A Dissertation on False Religion*, viii
[135] As well as Hogarth's *Credulity, Superstition and Fanaticism* (Fig.8) that I explored in Chapter Two, logocentric publications include: Lavington, *The Enthusiasm*, 2 Vols., Evans, *A History of Modern Enthusiasm*, Braithwaite, *Methodism, a Popish Idol*, London, 1769 and the slightly later Anon., *Methodism and Popery dissected and compared [...]*, London, 1779. These examples also added a further layer of meaning around Methodist enthusiasm that I discussed in Chapter Two. For more examples, see Green, *Anti-Methodist Publications*.

was dependant on, and impacted upon, contemporary concepts of national identity and xenophobia, as I will now explore further.

Whilst Methodism's difference to Anglicanism was emphasised in the focal series, the images were not directed at all dissenters. Indeed, the anti-Methodism propounded by the foci images hinged on unreason - Wesley was constructed in contradistinction to rational dissent. It is made clear that the publications were not aimed at 'the Body of *rational Dissenters* in general'[136] and Methodists were deplored for '*Artfully* endeavour[ing] to shelter themselves under the wing of *rational Dissention*',[137] 'merely for the Sake of *reputable Shelter*'.[138] In the poem *Sketches for Tabernacle-Frames*, '*justifiable Dissention*' is defined as that based on '*Reason* and *Scripture*' and which displays '*moral Honesty, Integrity* [and] *Truth*'.[139]

On Protestant dissent Linda Colley notes, 'these internal rivalries were abundant and serious. But they should not obscure what remained the predominant feature in the religious landscape, the gulf between Protestant and Catholic'.[140] Colley has shown 'the absolute centrality of Protestantism',[141] defined specifically as non-Catholic,[142] in relation to emergent notions of national identity in this period and as a counterpoint against which British identity could be defined and based. Using Colley's analysis,

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[136] Anon., *Sketches for Tabernacle-Frames*, Advertisement page

[137] Anon., *The Love-Feast,* dedication page

[138] Anon., *The Fanatic Saints*, advertisement page. The text on this page continues, 'that it may not be supposed that his *Satire* includes the respectable Body of *rational Dissenters*. He levels his Piece at those *Swarms of Fanatics* only'; 'rank *Fanaticism, slily* [*sic*] *engrafted* upon the *fair Stock* of *rational Dissention*'.

[139] Anon., *Sketches for Tabernacle-Frames*, advertisement page

[140] Linda Colley, 'Britishness and Otherness: an argument' in Michael O'Dea and Kevin Wheelan (Eds) *Nations and Nationalisms*, Studies on Voltaire and the eighteenth century, 335, 1995, 61- 77, 67. See also Colley, *Britons*, 53.

[141] *Ibid*., 67

[142] Johnson's *Dictionary* defines Protestant as: 'One of those who adhere to them, who, at the beginning of the reformation, protested against the errours [*sic*] of the church of Rome', Vol. 2.

issues of internal Protestant dissent became less problematic, identity being unified through the commonality of Protestantism and largely against Catholicism. However, the focal series of images is an example of how only a certain type of Protestantism, based on reason, could be mobilised in the formation of 'Britishness'; some internal Protestant divisions mattered precisely because of an awareness of the 'unreasoned' religious 'Other', real or imaginary, contemporary or historical, and not exclusively Catholic.[143] This also destabilises the notion of a fixed dissenting identity. Overall, in the series of images that are the foci for this thesis, Methodism was seen as a threat to social, political, religious and national stability for being unreasoned and, even more so, through being internal and Protestant. Indeed, this was perhaps particularly potent because Methodism had a complex relationship with Anglicanism; it was simultaneously regarded as inside and outside the established Church.[144] This could perpetuate fears that the movement had the potential to infiltrate and influence doctrine.[145]

Part III *Conclusion*

In this Chapter I have considered the discursive alignment of Wesley and Methodism with a specific selection of ancient and contemporary non-western and western religions, religious orders and their leaders. These religious leaders could be situated in logocentric areas of discourse around imposture and priestcraft. In order to satirically signal prototypes and parallels, the supposed traits of these leaders

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[143] Jeremy Black has noted that Colley 'ignored the challenge posed by dissenters', 'Confessional state or elect nation? Religion and identity in eighteenth-century England, in Tony Claydon and Ian McBride (Eds), *Protestantism and National Identity: Britain and Ireland, c.1650-c.1850*, 53- 74, 55.

[144] Jeremy Gregory, '"In the Church I will live and die": John Wesley, the Church of England, and Methodism', in William Gibson and Robert G. Ingram (Eds) *Religious Identities in Great Britain, 1660-1832*, Hants and Vermont, 2005, 147- 178, especially 177. Methodism did not officially break from the established Church until after Wesley's death.

[145] Haydon, *Anti-Catholicism*, 127

(Mahomet, Ignat[ius], Druid in the image, as well as 'Brachman' [*sic*] and 'Pope' in the verse) were mapped onto Wesley.[146] As such, Wesley was constructed as a contemporary manifestation of an historic religious type. In *The Love-Feast* Wesley is 'carry[ing] on *imposture's* chaste design'[147] and in *The Temple of Imposture* he is 'Born with a Genius fit for *Priestcraft's* Plan'.[148] Therefore, as the caption in the frontispiece *The Temple of Imposture* (Fig.5) declares, '*Thus modern Arts on Ancient Plans improve*'.

The images therefore had a didactic function, they showed that religion was capable of being corrupted and that Wesley was a contemporary exemplar of an impostor who used religion to exploit the masses for his own gain and who maintained this imposture through 'priestcraft'. However, the foci publications were not anti-religion. Wesley's was '*Fanatic Priestcraft*'.[149] Selective use of the imposture thesis, in relation to notions of unreason, was mobilised. Thus, specific logocentric debates around religious imposture and priestcraft were coded and decoded in relation to areas of anti-Methodist discourse that I explored in Chapters One and Two around Wesley's temporal and spiritual influences. These discourses were coded in relation to specific anxieties around eighteenth-century religious schismatics. This has shown the complexity of contemporary meaning making around dissent and the role of concepts of reason in the formation of national identity based on religion, as well as religious tolerance.[150] By mobilising discourses around false religion, Anglicanism was constructed as the 'true' religion in the foci images.

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[146] Anon., *The Temple of Imposture*, 22
[147] Anon., *The Love-Feast*, 13, see also 47
[148] Anon., *The Temple of Imposture*, 31
[149] Anon., *The Love-Feast*, 8
[150] As I will outline in the conclusion, there is scope for research here.

CONCLUSION

As I have shown, the seven images that were the foci of this thesis were coded to satirically harness the connotative potential of a range of symbols, visual and textual. In so doing the images acted as vehicles that were informed by, referenced and combined readily legible discourses around sovereignty and governance, unreason, the passions and religious enthusiasm, poor relief, gin and idleness, and religious imposture and priestcraft. These references were coded and decoded in relation to specific emergent anxieties around John Wesley's temporal and spiritual influence, his alleged duplicitous intent and London Methodism. Concerns surrounding the widespread dissemination and positive reception of Wesley's *Calm Address to Our American Colonies* (1775), the multifarious poor relief functions of the Foundery, the building of the City Road Chapel (1777-8) and Methodist religious enthusiasm and the love-feast were decoded in relation to imposture and priestcraft. Wesley was constructed as using ancient techniques in order to maintain his alleged imposture and achieve politico-religious power and influence.

As a result of their intertextuality, the images mediated, reconstituted, synthesised and transformed logocentric areas of discourse around Wesley and Methodism. I have demonstrated that meaning was relayed through the interdependence of word and image. Hypertext was employed in order to generate meaning pathways between image and accompanying poem. This was also achieved with the repetition of visual and textual symbols which allowed for intra-publication links and encouraged meaning making across the series. The images had a didactic function and, in part,

mobilised emblem and pedagogic book traditions – an area which warrants further research.[1]

How these images functioned and how the reader-viewer engaged with them was significant in meaning making. Bodies of knowledge were structured around Wesley and Methodism in a memorable way, inspiring the construction of new meanings in relation to what the reader-viewer already knew. The process of meaning making encouraged the reader-viewer to interpret anti-Methodist discourses in relation to each other and in reference to the wider socio-political and religious debates, transforming such areas of discourse. In addition, discourses around the Methodists' alleged 'unreason' were understood in contradistinction to the reason and logic required in the decoding of meaning. As Lawrence E. Klein and Anthony J. La Vopa have argued, claims about reason identified those

> Who could claim knowledge, who had cognitive authority, who could speak and write, and what kind of speech and writing were normative in the public world. When a public distinguished by its rationality was juxtaposed to a mob disfigured by the contagion of enthusiasm, the underlying point was to distinguish between legitimate and illegitimate ways of communicating and receiving ideas.[2]

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[1] For John Manning, emblematic meaning making was a process of 'remembering, recollecting, recuperating and reminding', Manning, *The Emblem*, 26-7. Indeed, for Karl Josef Höltgen 'an emblem was meant to convey knowledge and practical wisdom in a brief and compelling manner that would persuade the user and imprint itself on memory', Karl Josef Höltgen, 'Emblematic Title Pages and Frontispieces: The Case of Early Modern England', in Peter M. Daly (Ed), *Companion to Emblem Studies*, AMS studies in the emblem, no. 20, New York, c20008, 393- 406, 393.

[2] Lawrence E. Klein and Anthony J. La Vopa, 'Introduction', *Huntington Library Quarterly*, Vol. 60, No. 1/2, Enthusiasm and Enlightenment in Europe, 1650-1850, 1997, 1-5, 4

Therefore, how the images functioned was also contingent on, and stood in relation to, the discourses being mobilised around Wesley and Methodism.

Due to the parameters of my study, there is scope for further research. However, particular attention could be paid to notions of religious intolerance. In Chapter Three I showed that these publications were not anti-religion. The absence of references to Judaism and Moses in relation to religious imposture requires further inquiry in order to be accounted for fully. However, whilst selective, the images heavily engaged with negative discourses around certain religions and religious orders which were deemed 'false'. The reader-viewer was therefore buying into this degree of religious intolerance. Whilst likely to have been aware of discourses around tolerance,[3] including Voltaire's *Lettres Philosophiques* (1733-4) which praised England for its toleration,[4] the coders and decoders of the images were disinclined to engage with them in relation to Methodism.

Viewing Methodism as a Protestant dissenting sect, this suggested that the coders of the images were prescribing Anglicanism as the 'true' religion. As such, there is scope to situate these images in relation to wider discourses around Anglicanism and dissent; the publications highlighted the alleged disparity between these and Methodism, based on the capacity of reason. Whilst notions of 'rational' dissent were acceptable, statutes like The Test Act (1672), which included subscription to the Thirty-Nine Articles of Religion,[5] and the Clarendon Code,[6] limited the civil and

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[3] See: Charles F. Mullet, 'Some Essays on Toleration in Late Eighteenth Century England', *Church History*, Vol. 7, No.1, (March, 1938), 24-44

[4] Or, *Letters Concerning the English Nation.* Letters 1-7 concerned religion and dealt with Anglicans as well as dissenting sects, Voltaire, *Letters on England,* Trans. Leonard Tancock, London, 2005, 23-43

[5] This defined Anglican doctrine and adherence to which was a requirement to hold civil office.

religious liberties of dissenting religions. Methodism, in contrast, had a more complex relationship to the established Church - it had not formally broken away.[7] The images that have been this thesis' foci were produced in the 1770s when there were campaigns against the limitations of the Act of Toleration (1689) and demands for full civil rights for all dissenting sects.[8] Indeed, whilst unsuccessful, the Feathers Tavern Petition (1772) was an appeal to Parliament to abolish subscription to the Thirty-Nine Articles. Likewise, the Catholic Relief Act (1778) had granted limited relief to Catholics in Britain. Therefore, concerns over the political and legal status of Methodism may have impacted on the coders' and decoders' notions of toleration, perhaps indicating that universal toleration was problematic given the discourses around Wesley and Methodism that I explored in Chapters One and Two. Referents of non-Anglican religions were used to satirically reinforce this idea. As I suggested in Chapter Three, this was based on notions of unreason as well as priestcraft. However, more research could be done in relation to the foreignness and xenophobic aspects of the religious intolerance of these images. Contemporary relations between Britain and these nations could be explored. In addition, as well as inter-Protestant concerns over Wesley and Methodism, more research could be done into the extent to which the images were informed by an awareness of inter-Methodist doctrinal schisms, Wesley's Arminianism and Whitefield's Calvinism, which were connoted through the references to Wesley's doctrine of 'Perfection.'[9]

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[6] This comprised the Corporation Act (1661), the Act of Uniformity (1662), the Conventicle Act (1664) and the Five Mile Act (1665).

[7] See: Gregory, '"In the Church I will live and die"'. The image *Perfection* (Fig.2) contains a reference to the Book of Common Prayer - the accompanying line in the poem accuses Methodists of referring to Anglican Doctrine as 'Forms and Lies', 12. A line on page 34 of the same poem reads 'and tack one Item more to the Thirty-Nine' and page 29 references the 'Act of Charles' (the Conventicle Act, 1664, forbidding meetings for unauthorised worship of more than five people), noting that this was 'an act particularly obnoxious to these saints'. This generated meanings by the coders and decoders of the foci images around Methodism's alleged difference to Anglicanism.

[8] Mullet, 'Some Essays on Toleration', 25

[9] See: Watts, *The Dissenters*, Vol. 1, 428-434

Lastly, as I noted in the Introduction, there is scope for further investigation into why there were so few images produced in relation to Wesley and Methodism in the eighteenth century, particularly during periods when comparable logocentric publications were relatively common. Nevertheless, my research into these images has been important in showing that negative attitudes towards John Wesley and Methodism impacted on contemporary image making and the dissemination of thought about religious identities in the late eighteenth century.

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