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I

Reclaiming the Eccentric Parent: Methodist Reception of John Wesley's Interest in Medicine

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We had rather to sit at the feet of the venerable
Wesley as a divine, than as a teacher of physic.

So opined John Stamp in 1845 in the *Wesleyan Methodist Magazine*, after mentioning in a memoir of Charles Atmore some medical advice that Atmore had received from John Wesley.² Stamp was a leading minister in this largest branch of the British church, eventually serving as President of Conference. As such, we can expect that his sentiment was common among his peers. Yet his comment is likely to mystify readers in the early twenty-first century on several levels. To follow his contrast, we need first to recognize that 'divine' was the current term for a clergyman, while a 'teacher of physic' offered advice on medical treatments for specific ailments and on general practices for promoting health. At that point, many will wonder why anyone would have considered sitting at the feet of Wesley, the Anglican priest turned leader in the Methodist renewal movement, as a teacher of physic. By contrast, those who are aware of the prominence of medical advice in Wesley's writings might well wonder how this came to be considered eccentric so soon after his death. The present essay will summarize Wesley's emphasis on offering health advice and care, then explore in more detail how this emphasis was called into question and increasingly viewed with embarrassment or disdain, turning finally to a brief overview of the recovered appreciation among Wesley's heirs for this dimension of his ministry and its precedent for contemporary mission.

Centrality of Wesley's Ministry of Health Advice and Care

Recent scholarship has demonstrated that offering health advice and care was a central dimension of Wesley's ministry and of his model for the

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ministry of early Methodists.³ For those who find this surprising, it is helpful to recall that study of basic medicine had become part of the training of Anglican clergy candidates in the seventeenth century. In the small villages that dominated England's landscape the priest was often the most educated person in residence. Thus it was a common expectation for priests to be able to offer informed advice about treatment of ailments and promotion of health as part of their overall ministry.

In keeping with this expectation, we know from sources like the diary that Wesley began at Oxford of several medical treatises that he purchased and/or read between 1724 and 1732. Diary entries for 1736, when Wesley was serving as a missionary priest in Georgia, show continued reading of medical texts, including one by John Tennent that focused on medicinal herbs that were available in North America. Similar reading continued through Wesley's life and included consultation of the *Philosophical Transactions* of the Royal Society and the *Medical Transactions* of the Royal College of Physicians.

While Wesley's Oxford studies prepared him to offer basic medical advice, his active ministry overlapped a period when the Royal College of Physicians in London was making efforts to monitor certification of medical practitioners. Clergy joined apothecaries, barber-surgeons, and various 'quacks' as groups targeted for exclusion. Like most in the other groups, Wesley resisted the suggestion that he should refrain from offering medical guidance, leaving it to those certified by the College.⁴ But his motive for resisting was not to protect a source of income; it was grounded instead in his holistic understanding of salvation.

One of Wesley's deepest theological convictions was that the mediocrity of moral life and the ineffectiveness in social impact of Christians in eighteenth-century England could be traced to an inadequate understanding of salvation assumed broadly in the church. The root of this inadequacy, and the core of Wesley's alternative understanding, can be seen in his most pointed definition of salvation:

By salvation I mean, not barely (according to the vulgar notion) deliverance from hell, or going to heaven, but a present deliverance from sin, a restoration of the soul to its primitive health . . . the renewal of our souls after the image of God in righteousness and true holiness, in justice, mercy, and truth.⁵

The notion that Wesley was rejecting here reduces salvation to forgiveness of our guilt as sinners, which frees us from future condemnation. Wesley consistently encouraged his followers and contemporaries to seek

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the benefits of *truly holistic salvation*, where God's forgiveness of sin is interwoven with God's gracious healing of the damages that sin has wrought.⁶ The scope of the healing that Wesley invited all to expect is captured well in pastoral letters, like his reminder to Alexander Knox: 'It will be a double blessing if you give yourself up to the Great Physician, that He may heal soul and body together. And unquestionably this is His design. He wants to give you . . . both inward and outward health.'⁷

While most Christians shared the conviction that God would provide full healing of body and spirit at the resurrection, Wesley's emphasis on the degree to which *both* dimensions of divine healing can be experienced *in the present* was less common. This is evident concerning the spiritual dimension even within the Methodist revival, where the Calvinist branch of the movement rejected Wesley's emphasis on Christian perfection, insisting that we can hope for only limited transformation of our fallen spiritual nature in this life. The assumption that we should expect only limited expression in this life of God's ministry to our bodies was more widespread, but it is notable that resistance to suggestions that clergy include medical care as part of their ministry in the English church during the reign of James I (1603–25) also came from the most Calvinist voices in the church. These objectors urged that labour for the souls of their parishioners, by preaching and counselling, should fill the full time of the pastor.⁸ In contrast, the more Arminian 'high-church' voices, which gained in strength after 1625, elevated a model where, in addition to reverent leadership in defined times of regular worship, clergy were expected to spend a significant part of their time in ministries of good works – like offering medical advice and care – among the needy in their parish.⁹

As one who embraced the high-church Anglicanism of his upbringing, Wesley also embraced this holistic model of the pastoral office. When he accepted the offer to go to Georgia, one of his first concerns was to study physic 'properly' in preparation for his work as a parish priest.¹⁰ On returning from Georgia, Wesley was drawn into leading a widely scattered spiritual renewal movement, never to serve as a parish priest again. He brought his pastoral heart to this leadership role and was quick to discern the paucity of holistic care in most parishes as he travelled around England and Wales. In addition to preaching in every locale he travelled through, Wesley also frequently offered medical advice to those with ailments whom he encountered. But he could not rest content with this haphazard approach for meeting either the spiritual or physical needs of those who responded to his call to renewal. So Wesley began gathering the laity who embraced the renewal movement into local support networks

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(called 'societies'), and he began seeking a more systematic means of offering care for the sick within these networks.

The Dimensions of Wesley's Ministry of Health Advice and Care

As an initial foray in providing care for the sick, in 1741 Wesley selected members within each society in London, instructing them to check regularly on the sick in their group and offer assistance.¹¹ This office of 'visitor of the sick' was formalized for all of the societies connected with the Wesley brothers at the first annual conference held for the connection in 1744; those holding the office were charged to visit sick members in their area three times a week, to inquire into the state of their souls and their bodies, and to offer or procure advice for them in both regards.¹² This special office supplemented the more general expectation of *all* Methodists to visit the sick as one of their ways of 'doing good' to *all* persons.¹³

In 1745, at the second annual conference, the lay preachers who assisted Wesley in riding around the connection, providing pastoral oversight of the societies, were instructed to visit the sick regularly as well.¹⁴ The role envisioned for travelling lay preachers went beyond that of the local visitor of the sick; they were not just to *procure* medical advice, they were to be ready to *dispense* advice. Accordingly, the independent course of study for lay preachers (who generally lacked any university education) assigned at the 1745 annual conference included appropriate medical texts.¹⁵ Wesley was clearly trying to expand his reach in offering the holistic care of the pastoral office within the Methodist movement. From this point, the ideal was that his lay assistants would not only preach and offer spiritual direction, but also be able to offer medical and health advice routinely.¹⁶

At the same time, Wesley recognized that even the most studious lay preachers would have a limited range of medical knowledge, while the local visitors of the sick might have little at all. So the third prong in his strategy for more systematic health advice in the movement was to publish a distillation of his study in this area. The earliest venture in this regard was a small pamphlet that was also released in 1745 – a *Collection of Receipts* (or prescriptions) for some of the most common health ailments.¹⁷ This pamphlet sold for 2 pence, so that it could be accessible to the poor.¹⁸ The *Collection* was expanded in 1747 into the first edition of the *Primitive Physic*, which now sold for a shilling.¹⁹ While this work is still occasionally dismissed as consisting of folklore prescriptions, current scholarship is demonstrating that, through its 23 editions during his life, Wesley drew a significant number of his treatments from standard texts of

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medical advice, including such authors as Hermann Boerhaave, Kenelm Digby, Thomas Dover, John Huxham, Richard Mead, Lazarus Riverius, Thomas Short, Thomas Sydenham, and Thomas Willis.²⁰ This recognition suggests that *Primitive Physic* should be seen as a parallel to Wesley's 50-volume *Christian Library*. In both cases he was distilling the fruits of broad reading for the benefit of his Methodist people.

In late 1746 Wesley felt compelled to attempt an even broader foray into providing medical advice and care for those among whom he was ministering; he opened perhaps the first free dispensary in London, dedicated particularly to those with the most limited financial resources.²¹ As he described this decision later:

I was still in pain for many of the poor that were sick: there was so great expense, and so little profit . . . I saw the poor people pining away, and several families ruined, and that without remedy. At length I thought of a kind of desperate expedient. 'I will prepare, and give them physic myself' . . . I took into my assistance an apothecary, and an experienced surgeon; resolving at the same time not to go out of my depth, but to leave all difficult and complicated cases to such physicians as the patients should choose. I gave notice of this to the society; telling them that all who were ill of *chronical* distempers (for I did not care to venture upon *acute*) might, if they pleased, come to me at such a time; and I would give them the best advice I could, and the best medicines I had.²²

Within a few years Wesley found the expenses of running such a dispensary too great for his limited resources. But his decision to close it was not a retreat from concern to provide physic for the poor. Rather, this concern was channelled into frequent republication of the *Primitive Physic* at a price at which he hoped it could be afforded by every family.²³ He also published several other works related to maintaining or restoring health, including *A Letter to a Friend Concerning Tea* (1748); *The Desideratum, or Electricity Made Plain and Useful* (1760); *Thoughts on the Sin of Onan, chiefly extracted from [Tissot]* (1767); *Advices with Respect to Health, extracted from [Tissot]* (1769); 'Extract from [William] Cadogan on the Gout' (1774); and *An Estimate of the Manners of Present Times* (1782).²⁴

These various programmatic efforts demonstrate that provision of health advice and care was a central element of Wesley's ministry. He strove to help his followers see that participation in God's present saving work involved nurturing both their souls and bodies, and addressing both

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as they reached out to others in mission. The remaining point to develop in this section is that, just as Wesley's commitment to care for the body was grounded in his conviction of the holistic nature of salvation, his suggested manner of caring for the body sought holistic balance.

*The Balanced Character of Wesley's Health Advice and Care*²⁵

In the first place, Wesley refused to counterpose divine healing and medical healing. He was convinced of the possibility of miraculous healing, and highlighted apparent instances in his publications – partly to rebut deism.²⁶ But he rejected suggestions of the spiritual superiority of relying on divine healing alone. Even a brief perusal of Wesley's correspondence will show how quickly he encouraged medical treatments. Of course, he could characteristically add: 'as God is the sovereign disposer of all things . . . I earnestly advise every one, together with all other medicines, to use the medicine of medicines – prayer.'²⁷

A second characteristic of Wesley's health advice and care is its appreciation for points of interconnection between physical health and emotional/spiritual health. Drawing on figures like George Cheyne, over the course of his life Wesley began to counter the dualistic tendencies present in strands of both Christian tradition and Enlightenment culture.²⁸

Moving to a third dimension, Wesley's health advice was not limited to treatments for ailments; he placed strong emphasis upon measures like diet, exercise, and rest to prevent illness and promote well-being. If readers find this emphasis surprising, it is because the explosion of new knowledge and skills in surgical interventions and medications through the twentieth century tended to eclipse an earlier tradition that balanced such interventions with counselling people how to live in accordance with nature by proper diet and exercise, both to restore health and to retain it. Current emphasis on wellness and preventive medicine is best seen not as a new trajectory but as part of the recovery from this eclipse.

Turning to his specific prescriptions for ailments, Wesley's health advice is marked by strong preference for common plants and roots over chemical, exotic, and artificial compound medicines. On this point he was swimming against the stream of emerging professional medicine and is sometimes portrayed as a counter-champion of natural or 'alternative' medicine. But this contrast must not be overdrawn. It is true that Wesley offers some theological rationale for preferring the 'natural' cures that God has placed in creation. But he was also quick to cite current medical authorities for this preference. Moreover, while *Primitive Physic* focused on self-help advice, Wesley comments on several ailments that the best

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advice was to consult a good physician. This suggests an ideal of balancing natural and professional medical treatment.

This is not to deny that Wesley had concerns about ‘professional’ physicians in his time. In part, he worried that many unnecessarily protracted the cure of patients’ bodies in order to derive the maximum fee, which is why he stressed finding ‘honest’ or ‘God-fearing’ physicians. A deeper worry undergirded his resistance to restricting authority for offering medical advice to those approved by the Royal College of Physicians. In 1746, as Wesley was gearing up his initiatives in health care, there were only 80 fellows and licentiates on the College’s catalogue, a ratio of about 1 to 10,000 for London alone. Perhaps the most defining characteristic of Wesley’s efforts in health care was his concern to make informed medical advice available for *all* – particularly the poor and those scattered through rural England who had no access to this elite faculty of physicians. As he stressed in a postscript to the preface of *Primitive Physic*, he sought there ‘to set down cheap, safe, and easy medicines; easy to be known, easy to be procured, and easy to be applied by plain, unlettered men’.²⁹ Likewise, a key factor in his enthusiasm for the potential health benefits of electric shock was its broad availability and low cost (anticipating the spread of his inexpensive ‘electrifying machine’).³⁰

Dynamics in the Shifting View of Wesley’s Interest in Medicine

In light of the integral role that Wesley assigned to dispensing health advice and care in his ministry and in the initial mission of Methodism, how do we account for the reserve – even embarrassment – about this role among prominent members of the movement Wesley founded (like John Stamp) within a half century of his death?

By the mid-nineteenth century it was commonly assumed that systematic efforts to professionalize medicine in England were initiated in the early part of the eighteenth century, creating a setting of antagonism toward ‘amateur’ efforts like those of Wesley from the beginning. This assumption lies behind the surprise expressed in 1870 by Luke Tyerman, a Methodist biographer of Wesley, about the apparent lack of significant criticism of *Primitive Physic* over the first three decades of its publication.³¹ The assumption continued to appear in scholarly settings into the 1980s. But it has been challenged by more recent studies. It is now generally agreed that a dynamic interplay between ‘professional’ physicians and lay medical practitioners continued through most of the eighteenth century, with more stringent efforts at asserting a professional monopoly

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on medicine emerging only in the last quarter of the century.³² This revised account finds strong support in the example of the changing valuations of Wesley's efforts to provide medical care and advice.

Relative Acceptance through First Three Decades

There was little direct criticism of Wesley's various efforts to provide medical care and advice prior to the last quarter of his century (i.e., through the first three decades of these efforts). To be sure, Anglican opponents characterized the Methodists as 'young quacks in divinity' from the earliest years of the renewal movement.³³ But this was a use of the term in its general sense of 'pretending to knowledge that one does not have', and there is no specific criticism of offering medical advice in these attacks. Indeed, one would be surprised to find such criticism, as this was still an accepted role (even if not widely embraced) for Anglican clergy.³⁴

One of the particular accusations aimed at the Methodists was that they were fanatics or 'enthusiasts'. Nathaniel Lancaster framed this attack in his 1767 satirical poem *Methodism Triumphant*, through extended ridicule of the claim of Wesley and others to offer 'ancient remedies' for healing 'distempered souls'.³⁵ While forceful, Lancaster's ridicule was analogical, focusing on evangelistic practices rather than treatment of physical ills.

Moving a bit closer to our topic, a common evidence cited by Lancaster and others to prove the fanaticism of Methodists was their reliance on *miraculous* healing.³⁶ But this implied no necessary criticism of the practice of offering *medical care*. Indeed, William Warburton, a bishop and leading critic, mentioned Wesley's embrace of that practice in an (ironic) positive light, suggesting that Wesley took up these efforts merely to demonstrate that he placed more emphasis on 'works' than did George Whitefield – thereby distancing himself from Anglican criticism of Whitefield's preaching of 'free grace'. Warburton also proposed that Wesley drew upon his Oxford training in producing *Primitive Physic* (in principle, apparently, a positive venture) primarily to counter earlier statements that seemed to imply that he disdained human learning.³⁷

Developments moved even closer to explicit criticism of Wesley for offering medical advice in the early 1770s, in the context of debate between the Wesleyan and Calvinist Methodists. In 1771 John Fletcher published his *Second Check to Antinomianism*, in which he tried to defend Wesley against the charge of giving inconsistent *spiritual* advice by using the analogy of how a physician might dispense hot medicines to some patients and cool to others, depending on their condition.³⁸ Richard

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Hill, an adamant Calvinist Methodist, challenged the appropriateness of the analogy rather sharply: ‘Unless Mr. Fletcher can prove that the ability of the physician may be consistent with him sometimes administering a plentiful dose of hemlock or rats-bane, I fear we cannot allow Mr. Wesley any other title than that of an empiric, or quack doctor.’³⁹ In his reflections on Hill’s response, John Wesley singled out this quote as an example of the ungentlemanly tone of the work.⁴⁰ Responding in turn to Wesley, Hill made clear that he was not attacking Wesley for giving medical advice, he was simply playing with Fletcher’s analogy for Wesley’s spiritual advice. Then Hill extended the analogical critique in a long satirical poem about Wesley as a quack offering spiritual ‘nostrums’!⁴¹ Whatever the tone of this piece (Hill offered nothing more in this vein), it still did not breach the analogy to criticize Wesley for offering medical advice.

*Ulterior Motives in Initial Direct Attacks?*⁴²

The first clear instance of that breach came in early 1775, from the pen of Augustus Toplady, a more rancorous Calvinist critic of Wesley. In the preface of his response to Wesley’s tract *Thoughts upon Necessity*, Toplady drew a direct comparison between the dangers of Wesley’s ‘spiritual medicines’ and a ‘quack remedy’ that Wesley recommended in the *Primitive Physic* for gout (applying raw beef steak to the part affected). Toplady noted that Dr Edward Townshend, dean of Norwich cathedral, died of gout in 1765, even though he had followed this prescription. While Toplady admitted that he had no evidence Townshend had found the remedy in *Primitive Physic*, he insisted that this instance ‘demonstrates the unskillful temerity wherewith the compiler [Wesley] sets himself up as a physician of the body’.⁴³

While Toplady was obviously challenging Wesley’s qualifications for issuing medical advice, it is also obvious that this was not his primary concern – he invoked the issue in passing, in hopes that it would help discredit Wesley in their ongoing debate over predestination. As 1775 drew to a close, Wesley came under a more fierce attack for another prescription in *Primitive Physic*. He soon became convinced that in this case too the real goal was to discredit his stance on a different topic. I will sketch the running battle (highlighting some key phrases in **bold font**), then return to Wesley’s suggestion about the possible ulterior motive.

The onslaught began with a letter to the editor in *The Gazetteer and New Daily Advertiser* in London, published 25 December 1775, by a person using the pseudonym of ‘Antidote’.⁴⁴ The author mentions ‘happening’ upon the prescription in *Primitive Physic* for ‘one poisoned’ that read

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'give one or two drams of distilled verdigris'. He then exclaimed: 'I could scarce believe my eyesight for some time, nor can at present by any means account for the ignorance and presumption of a man who deals out as an antidote one of the most active poisons in nature, in such an enormous dose.' Antidote goes on to show that the actual dose recommended for use of this drug is one or two *grains* (a grain being about 1/60th of a dram), and exhorted Wesley to recall 'these *firebrands and death*, that you have scattered so plentifully through the land' (i.e., copies of the *Primitive Physic*), suggesting that otherwise he will bring it to the attention of the College of Physicians.

Wesley responded quickly with a letter thanking 'the gentleman', though wishing he had drawn this obvious 'mere blunder of the printer' to Wesley's attention in a more obliging manner.⁴⁵ Wesley insisted he had written 'grain' rather than 'dram'. He ended his letter by begging everyone that had a copy of *Primitive Physic* to insert a correction in their copy.

Wesley's response was attacked immediately by a writer using the pseudonym 'Fly-Flap' (i.e., fly swatter), who argued that instead of apologizing Wesley's letter was 'a most crafty piece of evasion, and only worthy of an unfeeling quack, regardless of, and sporting with the health and lives of his fellow creatures'.⁴⁶ The writer dismissed the suggestion that the wording could have resulted from a printer's error and challenged Wesley to show any edition of the work in which the error was not present.

In the same issue of *The Gazetteer* was a second, much longer, letter protesting against Wesley's 'despicable apology', under the pseudonym of 'Civis'.⁴⁷ The author argued that Wesley ought to have reviewed personally every edition of *Primitive Physic* issued, and contended that the only reason he did not was his 'thirst for gain'. He then added 'Or did more important avocations (**political ones perhaps**) render you totally forgetful of your duty in this particular?' Civis concluded by admonishing Wesley to publish the correction of the 'poisonous prescription' in papers throughout the kingdom and to revise *Primitive Physic* immediately.

Another letter signed 'Antidote' was published in the January 10 issue of *The Gazetteer*. This time the author said that he owned the 8th edition (1759) of *Primitive Physic*, which also contained the 'famous poisonous recipe', contradicting Wesley's 'artful' suggestion that the error had crept into only a few editions.⁴⁸

This was followed three days later by a letter from 'A Friend to Truth'.⁴⁹ This writer suggested that Wesley's confession of the 'fatal blunder' of his printer was a reaction that betrayed Wesley's 'usual levity' about such serious matters. He continued:

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How many thousands may have fallen by it is not easily estimated; but is hoped this, with **other fatal blunders and mistakes in politics**, will at last teach this Reverend Methodist Gentleman, Scholar, Christian, Physician, and **Politician**, to be more serious, and remember in his next *Calm Address* the adage of ‘*ne sutor ultra crepidam*’, that

One science only will one genius fit,

So vast is human knowledge, so narrow human wit.⁵⁰

He will therefore for the future [return] *to his pulpit and text*, as the cobbler should to his stall and *last* [i.e., ‘stay’], lest by his pamphlets, sermons, and prescriptions, he brings his other foot, and grey hair, with sorrow to the grave.

In the middle of January at least one other anonymous letter appeared in a London newspaper which opined: ‘Wesley may be a very good divine, but when he writes upon physic, he proves himself extremely weak and ignorant; and **when he writes upon politics**, he proves himself an artful knave.’⁵¹

Wesley’s answer to this flurry of attacks came in a letter to the editor of *Lloyd’s Evening Post*, published on 26 January 1776.⁵² He began his response with the observation: ‘The *Primitive Physic* might have escaped, had it not been for the *Calm Address*, but he⁵³ will shew no mercy to this poor tract, in order to be revenged on the other.’ He then sketched the process that led to the publication of the *Primitive Physic*, stressing that his only motive was to be of benefit to others. He rebutted several accusations – such as that he considered all physicians to be ignorant knaves, or that he rejected all Galenical medicines. Most of all, he challenged the tone of the letters and their many exaggerations, asking: ‘Who can account for these palpable, barefaced falsehoods, advanced without rhyme or reason? Only on this supposition; a **red hot American** will say any thing to blacken one that loves King George.’ Wesley closed with an invitation for those who had authentic concerns about prescriptions in *Primitive Physic*, and who were willing to share these in a calm and dispassionate manner, to be in touch.

After Wesley had written this reply, but before it appeared in print, another attack was published in *The Gazetteer*, this time signed ‘XXX’.⁵⁴ The writer opened: ‘I find that Mr. Wesley is too proud, too self-sufficient, and too much wrapt up in his present supposed state of self-importance, to vouchsafe either **Mr. Caleb Evans**, or any other correspondent, any thing in the shape of an answer.’ He then proposed that the real reason for the ‘blundering prescription’ was that Wesley mistook a ‘dram’ for a ‘grain’, because he did not recognize that apothecaries use a unique type

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of Troy weights. Broadening the charge, he suggested ‘People who . . . generally *run as they read*, and fling books aside as soon as they fancy themselves possessed of what they were *prepossessed* in favour of *before*, are perpetually falling into great errors. Mr. Wesley’s whole progress in life stands as a proof that he is one of that species of readers.’ XXX closed by again challenging Wesley to point to a single edition of *Primitive Physic* without the error.

The next day, *The Gazetteer* carried yet another letter, from ‘Antidote’, with the heading ‘O thou Man of God, there is death in thy pot’ (2 Kings 4:40, revised).⁵⁵ The writer first claimed that intervening letters (since the first) under that pseudonym were by another author, but went on to say that he considered Wesley’s reply to date unsatisfactory and evasive (Wesley’s longer answer did not appear in print until the following day). He then bluntly dismissed the suggestion that the use of ‘drams’ in the prescription was a printer’s error. More pointedly, drawing on the analogy of 2 Kings 4:38–41, Antidote charged that Wesley had raised a false alarm that there was a dearth of physic in the land, and then ostentatiously produced his great pot of *Primitive Physic*; which actually was a deadly mix, leaving the people now in need of a ‘holy hand to cast in the healing meal, that there may be no harm in the pot!’ The writer closed with the suggestion that Wesley’s wisest course of action would be to stop offering medical advice.

Wesley replied to these final volleys over his prescription for ‘one poisoned’ in a letter published on 31 January in *The Gazetteer*.⁵⁶ He opened with a sarcastic entreaty to continue publishing their letters – since it was helping more people become aware of *Primitive Physic*. He next denied that he had given public answers to Caleb Evans, Antidote, and the others. Then Wesley turned to XXX’s characterization of him as one who ‘reads as he runs’. While admitting that he read while journeying, since his time at home was usually spent in writing, Wesley insisted that his study of Scripture was methodical and pled for some latitude given his age (72).

Having sketched the running battle, it is time to note a few details. The suggested dosage of ‘one or two drams’ appeared in the 2nd edition of *Primitive Physic* (ca. 1750), which was the first to contain this remedy; the prescription remained unchanged through the 16th edition (1774), current during the debate; hence there was no edition to which Wesley could point that did not contain the error. There is also no way to verify Wesley’s suggestion that his original manuscript was correct, but misread by the printer. What can be verified is that Wesley revised the dosage to ‘one or two grains’ in the next edition of *Primitive Physic*, published in late 1776, as encouraged by his critics.

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Turning to motives attributed by some of the critics, the suggestion (by 'Antidote') that Wesley exaggerated the dearth of physicians in order to create a market for *Primitive Physic* is ludicrous, particularly given his focus on the poor and those in the scattered villages. It is equally unconvincing to suggest that Wesley was motivated to publish by desire for financial gain; the *Primitive Physic* was still selling for only £1, while William Buchan had recently issued his *Domestic Medicine* at £6!⁵⁷ Overall, there is little reason to doubt that Wesley's chief motive was to share his (limited) knowledge of medical matters with those in need.

Reversing the table, what about the ulterior motive Wesley attributed to his attackers? He was suggesting that they had latched onto this minor mistake in *Primitive Physic* and caricatured it, not because of a deep interest in the health of his readers but as another tool in their attempt to discredit his public stand in support of King George against the rebellion of the American colonists. Some background will help put this suggestion in context. From the beginning of their disputes with the British government about taxation and representation, through to mid-1775, Wesley had shown public sympathy for the stance of the American colonists. Then Samuel Johnson's tract *Taxation no Tyranny* (and the colonists' declaration of independence in July) changed his mind. In September 1775 Wesley published *A Calm Address to our American Colonies* (which digested Johnson's tract, without acknowledgement), publicly adopting the government's side in the dispute. Released when excitement over the colonies was at a fever pitch, Wesley's 'turncoat' *Calm Address* caused a furore. The next three months witnessed numerous critical letters to the editor in London magazines (particularly those with Whig connections) and no less than sixteen tracts published against Wesley.⁵⁸ Caleb Evans, a dissenting preacher and Whig, took the lead in attacking Wesley, seeking to discredit the *Calm Address* by exposing it as 'plagiarized' from Johnson (who could be dismissed as a pensioner – or paid propagandist – of the government).

In light of this background, the reader might review the **bold text** in the sketch of the debate above, noting the frequent allusions to *Calm Address*, Caleb Evans, and Wesley's political ambitions. It should also be noted that nearly all of the letters appeared in *The Gazetteer and New Daily Advertiser*, which remained a strong supporter of the American cause after the war began, reflecting its largely mercantile readership. Wesley's *Calm Address* had been a prime target for *The Gazetteer*, which included a couple of Caleb Evans's final letters attacking Wesley just prior to 'Antidote's' opening volley in the 'poisonous recipe' debate.⁵⁹ Another letter praising Caleb Evans for unmasking Wesley as a liar was published

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in the midst of the running debate.⁶⁰ One can well understand how Wesley could suspect that the primary motivation for attacking his prescription for ‘one poisoned’ was not medical but political – to *poison the (ink) well* of his *Calm Address*.

Targeted in Broadened Appeals for Professional Specialization

Whatever its original motive, the attack upon Wesley’s ‘poisonous recipe’ played out just as a broadened basis for enforcing specialized training and certification of medical practitioners was taking form. In 1773 John Coakley Lettson, a Quaker physician and philanthropist, founded The Medical Society of London – the first *general* medical society of note in England.⁶¹ Unlike the earlier Royal College of Physicians, it invited surgeons and apothecaries into membership as well. This act of inclusion, by drawing the line at these two groups, was also a major step in consolidating and intensifying efforts to define the boundaries of ‘professional’ medicine.

The ‘poisonous recipe’ debate helped to make Wesley a target in these intensified efforts. Actually, the initial debate was largely ignored by broader London society, with few of the letters in *The Gazetteer* being picked up and reprinted in other newspapers (as was commonly done with prominent topics). But it did draw the attention of William Hawes, a London apothecary, who published an advertisement in *The Gazetteer* on 3 February 1776 – three days after Wesley’s last letter – announcing a book he was preparing that would analyze all of the prescriptions in *Primitive Physic*, exposing their many follies and dangers.⁶² Hawes specifically thanked Antidote for his ‘humane and sensible letter’ pointing out the dangerous prescription for counteracting poison, which Hawes credited with convincing him of the need for this book.

Hawes, thereby, appeared on the scene as the ‘holy hand to cast in the healing meal’ that Antidote had called for a week earlier. Indeed, it is hard not to view Antidote’s call as an intentional teaser, setting up Hawes’s announcement. The possibility should even be considered that Hawes himself was ‘Antidote’. We know that Hawes was an elder in Abraham Rees’s Presbyterian Church of St Thomas in Southwark. Like most dissenting ministers, Rees was a Whig and strong supporter of the colonists in their revolt. From comments in the preface of Hawes’s published *Examination of the Revd. Mr. John Wesley’s Primitive Physick* it is clear that he shared this political stance. He speaks disparagingly of Wesley’s character and conduct as a politician, specifically endorsing Caleb Evans’s attack upon Wesley.⁶³

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Divergence from Wesley on the most burning political issue of the day may help explain the tone of Hawes's book, which a review in *The Gentleman's Magazine* characterized as filled with 'sourness and rancour'.⁶⁴ But disdain for Wesley – as a minister – having the audacity to offer medical advice is also quite evident. This is all the more noticeable because there was little in *Primitive Physic* that merited contemporary criticism. The majority of Wesley's suggested cures were commonplace, taken from standard authorities. He was actually more cautious than most concerning some of the questionable treatments of the time like bleeding and purging. As Deborah Madden has argued, the result is that Hawes's *Examination* became a 'petty, hair-splitting exercise' that only occasionally rose above 'sectarian, political, and even *ad hominem* denunciation of Wesley's text'.⁶⁵

Wesley's initial response to Hawes's publication was a brief letter in *Lloyd's Evening Post* in mid-July, thanking him for publicity that increased the demand for *Primitive Physic*.⁶⁶ Hawes replied immediately to this cynical dismissal with his own public letter, which compared Wesley to the 'most mercenary quack that ever disgraced a stage in Moorfields' and ranked him among 'the most base and unworthy of mankind'.⁶⁷

Within a week Wesley published a more serious response to Hawes.⁶⁸ He made clear his belief that Hawes was motivated to attack *Primitive Physic* by his strong disagreement with Wesley's *Calm Address*. He rejected the suggestion that he lacked basic medical knowledge, stressing the numerous medical sources he had consulted. Wesley then worked through Hawes's *Examination*, answering several specific criticisms. He ended the letter by thanking Hawes for drawing some problematic prescriptions to his attention and noted that he was preparing a new edition of *Primitive Physic* that addressed these cases.⁶⁹

Hawes's answer to this letter appeared two weeks later.⁷⁰ He rejected the suggestion that disagreement with Wesley's political stance motivated him to do the *Examination*. He rebuffed Wesley's assumption that he should have recognized the sources of the remedies, noting that Wesley typically does not cite his sources – in keeping with his 'character as a plagiarist'! Hawes contended that Wesley should have responded sooner in correcting the dangerous remedies, charging that the reason he did not call in the earlier unsold copies was fear of financial loss. He closed by suggesting that instead of issuing a revised copy, Wesley should simply cease publishing medical advice.

While the initiating tempest in *The Gazetteer* had not been broadly noticed, Hawes's *Examination* was reviewed in several London journals. Some of the reviews echoed the tone of the book, with one calling for

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Wesley to be hanged!⁷¹ Others expressed appreciation for the medical insights of Hawes's volume, if sometimes questioning its tone.⁷² Most concurred with the *Critical Review* that this case proved the need for respecting professional specialization:

Had Mr. Wesley prudently restricted himself within the limits of his profession, by elucidating the principles of *primitive religion*, he might have edified his readers much more, without either endangering their temporal welfare, or exposing his own opinions to the imputation of medical ignorance, of which he is so clearly convicted in this examination.⁷³

As a formal expression of this sentiment, the recently formed Medical Society of London issued Hawes, the apothecary, public thanks for his efforts to restore 'true medical knowledge'.⁷⁴

Fodder for Public Caricature and Ridicule

In principle, admonitions to restrict himself to his pulpit (in the words of 'Civis') need imply no deprecation of Wesley in his appropriate professional field. But these public criticisms of Wesley's efforts in medical care quickly became fodder not only for challenging his political tracts but also for those who differed with Wesley on theological issues – whether Anglicans wary of his dissenting tendencies or Calvinists scornful of his Arminian and perfectionist stance.

A letter in *The Gazetteer* in early July 1776 by 'Public Applause' was perhaps the first to weave together this threefold attack:

There has, I doubt not, always been impious divines, seditious quacks, and ignorant and profligate politicians, who have each committed horrid mischiefs in their different professions. But I never till this era found all these enormities united in *one* person, who attempted to poison the soul by religious doctrines, the body individual by quackism, and the body politic by a Jesuitical and daring attempt to vindicate the violent measures of government to tax three millions of unrepresented free-born Englishmen.⁷⁵

This conjoined ridicule was echoed soon after by a satirical broadsheet poem penned by 'A Detester of Hypocrisy' titled *To that Fanatical, Political, Physical Enthusiast, Patriot and Physician, the Reverend Mr. W[esle]y* [reprinted in the Appendix to this chapter].

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Such attacks soon became big business. Between December 1777 and early 1779 a series of six booklet-size poetic satires aimed (in varying degrees) at Wesley were published by John Bew, who had just set up the first mass-market publishing concern in London.⁷⁶ The anonymous series was almost certainly the work of William Combe, a professional satirist. The chief focus of Combe's satire is Wesley's affirmation of Christian perfection, which Combe considered to be fanatical.⁷⁷ Combe attacked the doctrine directly in the first two booklets. He then dedicated the third volley, *Sketches for Tabernacle Frames*, to Richard Hill (Calvinist doctrinal critic), Caleb Evans (political critic), and William Hawes (medical critic) – whom he honored for having proven that Wesley was 'a *fanatical* preacher, a ministerial scribbler, and a quack doctor'⁷⁸ – and used their conjoined authority as the base for satirizing Wesley's teaching and practice in general. In *Fanatical Conversion*, the final and most biting satire, Combe drew a parallel between Wesley's 'quack' medical advice and his 'fanatical' pastoral guidance of the Wesleyan Methodist movement:

I answer, 'John's priest, wizard, and physician:
Starv'd bodies with apt nostrums he controuls,
and with worse physic stupefies their souls.' . . .
Who causes the disease and sells the cure . . .
Thus Ambo-dexter like, John raises wealth
A quack in sickness and a pest in health.⁷⁹

Reactionary Retreat from Formal Medical Care

The growing professional critique and popular satire of his efforts in medical care put Wesley in a bind. Continuing these efforts in public structural forms threatened to undercut the spiritual and theological leadership that he and the lay preachers were providing the movement. So Wesley opted for retreat. When the next edition of the 'Large Minutes' (the official guide for Methodist practice) was released in 1780, it had been carefully pruned of 1) all references to the local 'visitor of the sick', 2) the instruction for lay preachers to visit the sick regularly as they travelled the circuit, and 3) even a suggestion that the lay preachers spend their time between sessions of annual conference in visiting the sick.⁸⁰

These tacit moves to discontinue *public structural* efforts in caring for the sick should not be seen as a decline in Wesley's concern for the sick, or in his expectation that Methodists would embody this concern in their ministry to others. The balance of focus just shifted toward informal and individual expressions of care. Wesley continued to publish *Primitive*

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Physic for personal use.⁸¹ Likewise, offering care to the sick remained a highlighted item in the *General Rules* list of expectations for individual Methodists.⁸² Indeed, Wesley reinforced this expectation in a sermon published in 1786 that extolled visiting the sick as a ‘plain duty’ for *all* that are in health.⁸³

With these tacit moves Wesley bowed to the emerging specialization that has permeated modern Western cultures. The sub-dividing of professional fields was both a source and the inevitable result of the explosion of knowledge over the last two centuries. While it has had many benefits, it has also tended to foster disciplinary insularity and reductionist approaches to issues. As such, it has threatened the *balance* that characterized Wesley’s approach (at its best) to issues of health. As the Methodist experience in North America has particularly illustrated, specialized expertise can spawn populist reaction. One expression of this reaction is to reject human efforts, relying on God alone for healing.⁸⁴ Another form rejects only ‘professional’ medicine, in favour of natural or alternative cures. Modern specialized approaches to issues of health have often undervalued the dynamic connection between physical and spiritual well-being. They have also encouraged a tendency to view health as something bestowed by modern medical intervention, losing sight of the foundational role of life-long practices to promote well-being. Finally, the high cost of specialized medicine limits the access of the poor to adequate care.

Methodists have been shaped by and have struggled with these dynamics over the last two centuries.⁸⁵ In their struggle, an increasing number have overcome their inherited embarrassment about – or resulting lack of exposure to – the precedent of their founder.

Reclaiming the Eccentric Parent

Echoes of Hawes’s professional disdain and the resulting satirical attacks upon Wesley’s efforts in medicine continued to reverberate for some time. When Robert Southey, a prominent British author, published his generally sympathetic biography of Wesley in 1820, he judged the *Primitive Physic* as revealing a ‘lamentable want of judgement and perilous rashness’.⁸⁶ An essay (apparently) by a physician published on both sides of the Atlantic in 1906 contended that *Primitive Physic* could only strike modern readers as evidence of a hiatus in Wesley’s faculties, which was ‘natural and inevitable in a theologian of that day, and not unfamiliar even in some of the theological intellects of the present!’⁸⁷ Similar judgements appear in some historical studies up to the mid-twentieth century.⁸⁸

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As a result, many of Wesley's ecclesial descendants view his medical interests as eccentric, if they are aware of them at all.⁸⁹

From Bemused Interest to Rehabilitated Hero

But there also has appeared a growing counter voice to these echoes, rehabilitating this dimension of Wesley's ministry. In 1846, the year after John Stamp had expressed reserve about Wesley's medical advice, Thomas Marriott published an article in the same British Methodist magazine noting that it was the centenary of Wesley's opening a health clinic.⁹⁰ While Marriott did not explicitly rebut Stamp, there was an appreciative tone to his survey of Wesley's various efforts in providing medical care. His became the first in a string of publications that have looked with more favour upon the *Primitive Physic* and upon Wesley's medical endeavours more generally (see the Select Bibliography).

The majority of these publications are brief and fall in the vein of surprised/bemused interest on (re)discovering this dimension of Wesley's work. By no means are they all by Methodists or other descendants of the Wesleyan revival. The earliest examples in North America come from the pen of John Plummer, a Quaker physician in Richmond, Indiana. As this suggests, many in this vein come from medical practitioners of various types. Their general tone can be illustrated by the conclusion of a 1902 essay in the *British Medical Journal* about the *Primitive Physic*:

Such are a few of the quaint ideas and practices dealt within this old book of popular medicine. It is only fair, however, to note the fact that the author's strong common sense guarded him from many of the more absurd and disgusting prescriptions of his day.⁹¹

Some make this point a bit stronger, contending that 'Wesley's treatment of diseases was at least as reconcilable with common sense as that of the contemporary regular practitioner, much more so in most cases'.⁹² A few studies slide over into panegyric, championing Wesley as an exemplary amateur physician.⁹³

Increasing Historical Sophistication

The string of publications on Wesley and medicine has been laced with occasional scholarly studies (more frequent in recent years) that explain and evaluate Wesley's general practice and specific prescriptions in their historical context. While noting the limitations and tensions of his efforts,

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these studies concur in judging *Primitive Physic* as better than most of the popular medical works of the age.⁹⁴

Seeking a Champion of Complementary and Alternative Medicines

Some of the publications in the string are less inclined to portray Wesley as an ‘amateur’ traditional physician. Often written by practitioners and enthusiasts of complementary and alternative medicine, these studies tout Wesley as the forerunner and champion of their cause.⁹⁵ A particular focus in this vein has been Wesley’s advocacy of electrical shock therapy.⁹⁶ However, some studies of this topic are more concerned with exposition of Wesley’s equipment and methods in their historical and political context.⁹⁷

Valuing the Precedent for Integrative Balance in Health Care

A recurrent theme in recent studies is appreciation for the precedent Wesley provides in countering the insular and reductionist tendencies of modern specialization – seeking balanced and integrative models of health and healing.⁹⁸ A couple of specific topics within this general theme that have received attention are Wesley on diet⁹⁹ and Wesley’s mature emphases about the nature and treatment of mental illness.¹⁰⁰

Reclaiming a Mentor for Holistic Salvation and Mission

In recent studies by Wesley’s ecclesial descendants one final characteristic is evident – an interest in Wesley as a resource for overcoming the anaemic ‘spiritualized’ models of salvation and mission that abound in our present setting. With all deference to John Stamp, they are ready to sit for a time at Wesley’s feet as a mentor in both ‘divinity’ and ‘physic’, to gain from him a deepened appreciation for God’s mission of healing soul and body together and for our call to participate in that mission.¹⁰¹ One thing they are sure to glean from an engagement with the whole of Wesley’s precedent is that this participation needs to include some concrete structural expressions, with a particular concern for the poor.¹⁰²

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Notes

1 I have had the fortune of collaborating for several years with James G. Donat in research on Wesley's endeavours in medicine, each of us sharing our findings with the other. It would be hard to recall in this essay every source that was first drawn to my attention by Donat, but there are several – and I am thankful.

2 John S. Stamp, footnote to 'Memoir of the Rev. Charles Atmore,' *Wesleyan Methodist Magazine* 68 (1845), p. 10.

3 Randy Maddox, 'John Wesley on Holistic Health and Healing,' *Methodist History* 46 (2007), pp. 4–33 (also available online at <http://www.divinity.duke.edu/docs/faculty/maddox/wesley/>) surveys the dimensions of Wesley's concern for health and healing, summarizing recent scholarship. The present section distils parts of that essay and readers are directed to the original for detailed documentation. They should consult as well Deborah Madden, 'A Cheap, Safe and Natural Medicine': *Religion, Medicine and Culture in John Wesley's Primitive Physic*, *Clio Medica* 83, Amsterdam and New York, Rodopi, 2007, which provides a more extensive exposition.

4 Note his rejection of this explicit suggestion in Letter to 'John Smith' (25 March 1747), *Works*, vol. 26, p. 236.

5 *Farther Appeal to Men of Reason and Religion*, Pt I, §3, *Works*, vol. 11, p. 106.

6 For an elaboration of the various dimensions of Wesley's holistic understanding of salvation, see Randy L. Maddox, 'Celebrating the Whole Wesley,' *Methodist History* 43:2 (2005), pp. 74–89 available online at <<http://www.divinity.duke.edu/docs/faculty/maddox/wesley/>>.

7 Letter to Alexander Knox (26 October 1778), in *Letters* (Telford), vol. 6, p. 327.

8 Cf. David Harley, 'John Hart of Northampton and the Calvinist Critique of Priest-Physicians,' *Medical History* 42 (1998), pp. 362–86. This is not to say that all Calvinist-leaning clergy downplayed the role of offering medical advice, only that those who did downplay this role were more likely to be Calvinist.

9 An excellent 'Arminian' example of emphasizing medical care as part of the pastoral task is Gilbert Burnet, *A Discourse of the Pastoral Care*, London, Richard Chiswell, 1692, pp. 183, 194–201 (a book that Wesley read in October 1729).

10 See *Plain Account of the People Called Methodists*, §XII.2, *Works*, vol. 9, p. 275.

11 *Journal* (7 May 1741), *Works* vol. 19, pp. 193–4.

12 See *Plain Account of the People Called Methodists*, §XI, *Works* vol. 9, pp. 274–5; and 'Minutes' (29 June 1744), Q. 9, in *John Bennet's Copy of the Minutes of the Conferences of 1744, 1745, 1747, and 1748*, London, Charles Kelley, 1896, p. 17. Note also the slight forerunner to this step, in 1743, when Wesley instructed class leaders to visit each member of their class once a week and inform the parish minister of any who were sick; in *The Nature, Design, and General Rules of the United Societies*, §3, *Works* vol. 9, p. 70.

13 See *Nature, Design, and General Rules of the United Societies* (1743), §5, *Works* vol. 9, p. 72.

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14 See 'Minutes' (3 August 1745), Q. 3, in *John Bennet's . . . Minutes*, p. 27. Already suggested in 'Minutes' (29 June 1744), Q. 3, A. 12, in *John Bennet's . . . Minutes*, p. 16.

15 'Minutes' (3 August 1745), Q. 13, in *John Bennet's . . . Minutes*, p. 28.

16 Note in this regard that the letter that John and Charles Wesley sent on 25 June 1751 to James Wheatley, a Methodist itinerant who had been caught in sexual impropriety, instructed him to desist not only from preaching but also from practising physic (see *Works* vol. 26, p. 465).

17 *Collection of Receipts for the Use of the Poor*, Bristol, Farley, and Newcastle, Gooding, 1745.

18 Methods of calculating changing value vary widely; by one common method, 2 pence in 1745 would be equivalent to about £1.20 today. See <<http://www.measuringworth.com/ppoweruk>>.

19 *Primitive Physick*, London, Strahan, 1747. On the same model, this would be the equivalent of about £6 today. Note: the title was spelled *Physick* in the earlier editions, being changed to *Physic* with the 20th edn in 1781; I will use consistently the final spelling.

20 See particularly James G. Donat, 'Empirical Medicine in the 18th Century: The Rev. John Wesley's Search for Remedies that Work', *Methodist History* 44 (2006), pp. 216–26, Madden, 'A Cheap, Safe and Natural Medicine', and Chapter 3, 'Pastor and Physician', by Madden in this volume. The *Primitive Physic* will be included in Vol. 17 of Wesley's *Works* (edited by James Donat), noting the sources for the various prescriptions where these can be established.

21 Cf. *Journal* (4 December 1746), *Works*, vol. 20, p. 150.

22 *Plain Account of the People Called Methodists*, §XII.1–3, *Works*, vol. 9, pp. 275–6. See also Wesley's *Journal* (4 December 1746), *Works* vol. 20, pp. 150–1.

23 Note his desire for a copy of the *Primitive Physic* to be in every 'house' or 'family' in Letter to the Societies at Bristol (1764), *Letters* (Telford), vol. 4, p. 272; Letter to Christopher Hopper (20 November 1769), *Letters* (Telford), vol. 5, p. 161; and Letter to Joseph Taylor (9 Sept. 1782), *Letters* (Telford), vol. 7, p. 139. Cf. 'Large Minutes,' Q. 42, in *Works* (Jackson), vol. 8, p. 319.

24 These will all be included in Vol. 17 of Wesley's *Works*. For analysis of the two extracts from Tissot, see Donat, 'The Rev. John Wesley's Extractions from Dr. Tissot: A Methodist *Imprimatur*', *History of Science* 39 (2001), pp. 285–98.

25 The following points are elaborated and documented in Maddox, 'John Wesley on Holistic Health and Healing', pp. 9–27.

26 Chapter 6 in this volume, 'Health of Soul and Health of Body', by Robert Webster develops this point.

27 *Advice with Respect to Health*, Preface, §9, *Works* (Jackson), vol. 14, p. 258.

28 For reflections on both the promise and limitations of Wesley in this regard, see Chapter 4, 'A Necessary Relationship', by Laura Bartels Felleman, Chapter 2, 'A Wesleyan Theology of Environmental Stewardship', by Margaret Flowers, and Chapter 3, 'Pastor and Physician', by Madden in this volume.

29 *Primitive Physic*, Preface, Postscript, §2, *Works* (Jackson), vol. 14, p. 316.

30 For more on this, see Chapter 5 in this volume, 'This Curious and Important Subject', by Linda Schwab.

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³¹ Luke Tyerman, *The Life and Times of the Rev. John Wesley*, New York, Harper, 1872, vol. 1, p. 564.

³² See the summary of recent scholarship, with application to Wesley, in Madden, 'Contemporary Reaction to John Wesley's *Primitive Physic*: Or, the Case of Dr. William Hawes Examined', *Social History of Medicine* 17 (2004), pp. 365–78, esp. pp. 366–7.

³³ One of the earliest examples is Tristram Land, *A Letter to the Rev. Mr. Whitefield, Designed to Correct His Mistaken Account of Regeneration*, London, J. Roberts, 1739, p. 5.

³⁴ Cf. W. M. Jacob, *The Clerical Profession in the Long Eighteenth Century, 1680–1840*, New York, Oxford University Press, 2007, pp. 226–7.

³⁵ Nathaniel Lancaster, *Methodism Triumphant*, London, Wilkie et al., 1767, pp. 26, 62.

³⁶ Cf. Lancaster, *Methodism Triumphant*, p. 51; and William Warburton, *The Doctrine of Grace, or The Office and Operations of the Holy Spirit vindicated from the Insults of Infidelity, and the Abuses of Fanaticism*, London, A. Millar, 1763, pp. 138–9.

³⁷ Warburton, *Doctrine of Grace*, pp. 251–2.

³⁸ John William Fletcher, *A Second Check to Antinomianism; occasioned by a Late Narrative*, London, New Chapel, 1771, pp. 22–3.

³⁹ Richard Hill, *A Review of all the Doctrines Taught by the Rev. Mr. John Wesley; Containing a Full and Particular Answer to a Book Entitled 'A Second Check to Antinomianism'*, London, Dilly, 1772, p. 29.

⁴⁰ Wesley, *Some Remarks on Mr. Hill's 'Review . . .'*, §3, *Works* (Jackson), vol. 10, p. 376.

⁴¹ See Richard Hill, *Logica Wesleiensis; or The Farrago Double Distilled. With an Heroic Poem in Praise of Mr. John Wesley*, London, Dilly, 1773, pp. 44–51.

⁴² For the convenience of those interested, a file collecting full-text copies of the letters and reviews summarized in this and the two subsequent sections of the essay has been posted at <<http://www.divinity.duke.edu/wesleyan/texts/index.html>>

⁴³ Augustus Montague Toplady, *The Scheme of Christian and Philosophical Necessity Asserted; in opposition to Mr. John Wesley's Tract on that Subject*, London, Vallance & Simmons, 1775, pp. vi–viii.

⁴⁴ Antidote, 'To the Rev. John Wesley,' *The Gazetteer and New Daily Advertiser* (25 December 1775), p. 1; also printed in the *London Chronicle* (23–26 December 1775), p. 612. The former magazine will hereafter be referred to simply as *The Gazetteer*.

⁴⁵ John Wesley, 'To the Printer of the Gazetteer (28 Dec. 1775),' *The Gazetteer* (1 January 1776), p. 2; also published in *Lloyd's Evening Post* (29 December 1775–1 January 1776), p. 4.

⁴⁶ Fly-Flap, 'To the Rev. Mr. Wesley (1 Jan. 1776),' *The Gazetteer* (4 January 1776), p. 2.

⁴⁷ Civis, 'To the Rev. Mr. Wesley (2 Jan. 1776),' *The Gazetteer* (4 January 1776), pp. 1–2.

⁴⁸ Antidote, 'To the Rev. Mr. John Wesley,' *The Gazetteer* (10 January 1776), p. 2.

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49 A Friend to Truth, 'For the Gazetteer (2 Jan. 1776),' *The Gazetteer* (13 January 1776), p. 2.

50 Alexander Pope, 'Essay on Criticism,' lines 60–61. The Latin proverb is roughly translated 'cobbler, stick to your trade'.

51 Quoted by Wesley in his response that follows; the original has not yet been located.

52 John Wesley, 'To the Editor of *Lloyd's Evening Post*', *Lloyd's Evening Post* (26–29 January 1776), p. 102.

53 Wesley assumed there was a single author behind most of the anonymous letters (see *ibid.*).

54 XXX, 'To the Printer of the *Gazetteer*', *The Gazetteer* (24 January 1776), pp. 1–2.

55 Antidote, 'To the Rev. John Wesley, A.M.', *The Gazetteer* (25 January 1776), p. 2.

56 John Wesley, 'To the Printer of the *Gazetteer*', *The Gazetteer* (31 January 1776), p. 2; also in *Letters* (Telford), vol. 6, pp. 202–3. Wesley focuses his reply on the letter by XXX; it is unclear if he had seen the last letter by 'Antidote.'

57 William Buchan, *Domestic Medicine*, Edinburgh, Balfour, Auld, & Smellie, 1769. This was the main 'competitor' to *Primitive Physic*, reaching a 10th edn by 1788.

58 A good summary can be found in Donald Henry Kirkham, 'Pamphlet Opposition to the Rise of Methodism' (Duke University PhD thesis, 1973), pp. 290–314.

59 See Caleb Evans, 'To John Wesley', *The Gazetteer* (7 December 1775), p. 2; and Caleb Evans, 'To John Wesley', *The Gazetteer* (23 December 1775), p. 2. The second letter was in the issue immediately preceding Antidote's letter (since the intervening day was a Sunday). John Wesley's reply to Evans's first letter was published in *The Gazetteer* (13 December 1775), p. 1.

60 W. S. (Bristol, 8 January 1776), 'To the Printer of the *Gazetteer*', *The Gazetteer* (20 January 1776), p. 2.

61 See Penelope Hunting, *The Medical Society of London, 1773–2003*, London, Medical Society of London, 2003.

62 *The Gazetteer* (3 February 1776), p. 1.

63 See William Hawes, *An Examination of the Revd. Mr. John Wesley's Primitive Physick*, London, J. Dodsley, 1776, pp. iii–iv.

64 *Gentleman's Magazine*, 46 (1776), p. 227.

65 Madden, 'Contemporary Reaction to John Wesley's *Primitive Physic*: Or, the Case of Dr. William Hawes Examined', pp. 368, 369. Much of this article is distilled in Madden 'A *Cheap, Safe and Natural Medicine*', pp. 129–41.

66 John Wesley, 'To Mr. Hawes, Apothecary and Critic (20 July 1776)', *Lloyd's Evening Post* (19–22 July 1776), p. 79; also in *Letters* (Telford), vol. 6, pp. 225–6.

67 William Hawes, 'To Mr. John Wesley (24 July 1776)', *Lloyd's Evening Post* (24–26 July 1776), p. 95; also printed in *The Gazetteer* (25 July 1776), pp. 1–2. For a similar response, see Talus, 'To the Rev. Mr. John Wesley', *London Chronicle* (3–6 August 1776), p. 127.

68 John Wesley, 'To the Editor (27 July 1776)', *Lloyd's Evening Post* (31 July–2 August 1776), p. 113. A slightly more complete version appeared in *The Gazetteer*

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(2 August 1776), p. 2; and *London Chronicle* (1–3 August 1776), p. 117.

69 This 17th edn, published in late 1776, contained a number of deletions and corrections in response to Hawes's critique. Vol. 17 of *Works* will detail the changes.

70 W. Hawes, 'To the Printer', *Lloyd's Evening Post* (7–9 August 1776), p. 140; also printed in *The Gazetteer* (8 August 1776), p. 2.

71 The suggestion of hanging comes at the end of the review in the acerbic *London Review Of English And Foreign Literature* 3 (1776), pp. 412–13. Milder reflections of Hawes's disdain for Wesley are evident in the reviews in *London Magazine: Or, Gentleman's Monthly Intelligencer* 45 (1776), pp. 381–3; and *Monthly Review* 54 (1776), pp. 419–20.

72 Cf. *Gentleman's Magazine* 46 (1776), pp. 226–7; and *London Chronicle* (25–28 May 1776), p. 1.

73 *Critical Review* 41 (1776), p. 406.

74 Cited in Public Applause, 'To Mr. Hawes, Author of *An Examination of Mr. Wesley's Primitive Physick*', *The Gazetteer* (7 July 1776), pp. 1–2. Hawes apparently was not a member of the Medical Society; however, Dr Thomas Cogan, his partner in 1774 in launching the Society for the Recovery of Persons Apparently Drowned (later the Royal Humane Society) did hold membership.

75 Public Applause, 'To Mr. Hawes, Author of *An Examination of Mr. Wesley's Primitive Physick*', *The Gazetteer* (7 July 1776), p. 1.

76 The booklets were 36–58 pages in length and appeared in the following order: *The Saints: a Satire*, London, J. Bew, 1778 (actually December 1777); *Perfection: a Poetical Epistle calmly addressed to the greatest Hypocrite in England* (1778); *Sketches for Tabernacle-Frames* (1778); *The Love Feast* (1778); *The Temple of Imposture* (1778); and *Fanatical Conversion; or Methodism Displayed. A Satire illustrated and verified by notes from J. Wesley's fanatical Journals* (1779). All are commonly attributed to William Combe (1742–1843).

77 Note that when *The Saints* was issued in a second edition it was retitled *The Fanatic Saints*, London, John Bew, 1778, to show that the author was attacking only folk like Wesley who taught perfection, not 'rational dissenters' (see p. [6]; and same claim in *Sketches*, p. [7]).

78 See the author's note, [Combe], *Sketches*, p. 10. The dedication is on p. [8].

79 [Combe], *Fanatical Conversion*, pp. 28–9.

80 This can be seen most easily in *Minutes of the Methodist Conferences, from the First, held in London, by the Late Rev. John Wesley, A.M., in the Year 1744*, vol. 1, London, John Mason, 1862, where the editions of the Large Minutes are placed in parallel columns. The office of 'visitor of the sick' made it into the Large Minutes only in the form of an instruction for class leaders to inform them of any sick members; this reference, present from the earliest edition through 1770, is missing by 1772, with the larger expectation of class leaders reporting on who is sick disappearing in 1780ff (see pp. 454–5). The charge for the lay preachers to visit the sick is present through 1772, but missing in 1780ff (pp. 552–3). The same applies to the suggestion of visiting the sick during annual conference (pp. 444–5). These changes were drawn to my attention by James Donat.

81 *Primitive Physic* reached a 23rd edn in Britain by 1791, the year of Wesley's death. It continued to be reprinted every 3–4 years up to the middle of the nineteenth century in Britain, though in decreasing sponsorship by the Wesleyan Methodist Church.

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82 *General Rules*, §5, *Works*, vol. 9, p. 72, remained unchanged through Wesley's life.

83 Sermon 98, 'On Visiting the Sick', *Works*, vol. 3, pp. 385–97; esp. §4, p. 386.

84 These tensions have been experienced most pointedly in the Holiness and Pentecostal wings of the broad Wesleyan family. Cf. Nancy A. Hardesty, *Faith Cure: Divine Healing in the Holiness and Pentecostal Movements*, Peabody, MA, Hendrickson, 2003; and Kimberly Ervin Alexander, 'Three Hundred Years of Holiness and Healing', *Asbury Theological Journal* 58:2 (2003), pp. 57–77.

85 For reflections on this history see Elmer Brooks Holifield, *Health and Medicine in the Methodist Tradition*, New York, Crossroad, 1986; Harold Y. Vanderpool, 'The Wesleyan Methodist Tradition' in Ronald Numbers and Darrel Amundson eds., *Caring and Curing: Health and Medicine in the Western Religious Traditions*, New York, Macmillan, 1986, pp. 317–53; and (on the British side) Mark Clement, 'Sifting Science: Methodism and Natural Knowledge in Britain, 1815–70', University of Oxford DPhil thesis, 1996, pp. 155–219.

86 Robert Southey, *Life of Wesley; and the Rise and Progress of Methodism*, London, Longman et al., 1820, vol. 2, p. 347.

87 Burton G. Thomas, 'John Wesley on the Art of Healing', *The British Medical Journal* (28 April 1906), pp. 987–88. The published name is probably a pseudonym.

88 E.g., John Harold Plumb, *England in the Eighteenth Century*, Baltimore, Penguin, 1950, p. 96; and Lester S. King, *The Medical World of the Eighteenth Century*, Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1958, pp. 34–9.

89 See, for example, the description of *Primitive Physic* as 'a strange mix of old wives' tales and recent insights' in John Munsey Turner, *John Wesley: The Evangelical Revival and the Rise of Methodism in England*, Peterborough, Epworth, 2002, pp. 41–2.

90 Thomas Marriott, 'Methodism in Former Days: Medicine and Medical Advice', *Wesleyan Methodist Magazine* 69 (1846), pp. 359–64. Marriott was the minister currently assigned to Wesley's Chapel in London.

91 Anonymous, 'A Medical Tract by John Wesley', *British Medical Journal* (29 March 1902), pp. 799–800, p. 800.

92 William Renwick Riddell, 'Wesley's System of Medicine', *New York Journal of Medicine* 99 (1914), pp. 64–8, p. 68. For quite similar evaluation, see Vaughn Nash, 'The Illustrious Quack', *New Statesman and Nation*, n.s., 1931, vol. 2, pp. 252–3.

93 The most developed example is A. Wesley Hill, *John Wesley Among the Physicians*, London, Epworth, 1958.

94 See especially William C. Cross, 'Wesley and Medicine: *Primitive Physic* and Its Critics', *Wesleyan Methodist Magazine* 137 (1914), pp. 613–18; George Dock, 'The *Primitive Physick* of Rev. John Wesley', *Journal of the American Medical Association* 64 (1915), pp. 629–38; G. S. Rousseau, 'John Wesley's *Primitive Physic* (1747)', *Harvard Library Bulletin* 16 (1968), pp. 242–56; Clifford Wayne Callaway, 'John Wesley's *Primitive Physick*: An Essay in Appreciation', *Proceedings of the Mayo Clinic* 49 (1974), pp. 318–24; S. J. Rogal, 'Pills for the Poor: John Wesley's *Primitive Physick*', *Yale Journal of Biology and Medicine* 51 (1978), pp. 81–90; Eunice Bonow Bardell, '*Primitive Physick*: John Wesley's Receipts', *Pharmacy in History* 21 (1979), pp. 111–21; John Cule, 'The

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Rev. John Wesley, M.A. (Oxon.), 1703–1791; ‘The Naked Empiricist’ and Orthodox Medicine’, *Journal of the History of Medicine and Allied Sciences* 45 (1990), pp. 41–63; Madden, ‘Experience and the Common Interest of Mankind: The Enlightened Empiricism of John Wesley’s *Primitive Physick*’, *British Journal for Eighteenth-Century Studies* 26 (2003), pp. 41–53; and James G. Donat, ‘Empirical Medicine in the 18th Century: The Rev. John Wesley’s Search for Remedies that Work’, *Methodist History* 44 (2006), pp. 216–26. Madden, ‘A Cheap, Safe and Natural Medicine’ is the most extended study in this vein.

95 Early suggestions in this vein appear in Charles E. Dodsley, ‘John Wesley as Physician’, *Pharmaceutical Journal and Pharmacist* 104 (1920), pp. 26–7 and Hilda M. Coley, ‘John Wesley Prescribes for Bodily Ailments’, *Bookman* (London) 85 (1934), pp. 446–7. The most forceful recent examples would be J. G. Gadsby, *Rev. John Wesley M.A.: Holistic Healing, Electrotherapy and Complementary Medicine*, Loughborough, Leicestershire, Teamprint, 1996 and Gadsby and Francis Dewhurst, ‘John Wesley’s Contribution to the Evolution of Alternative and Holistic Medicine’, *Epworth Review* 26:1 (1999), pp. 95–104. M. Hughes, ‘The Holistic Way: John Wesley’s Practical Piety as a Resource for Integrated Healthcare’, *Journal of Religion and Health*, forthcoming 2008 and accessible on line at <<http://www.springerlink.com/content/yt4h0647165861x5/fulltext.pdf>> seeks to integrate this emphasis with traditional medicine.

96 Note the description of Wesley as the ‘god-father of electrotherapy’ in W. Turrell, ‘Three Electrotherapists of the Eighteenth Century: John Wesley, Jean Paul Marat, and James Graham’, *Annals of Medical History* 3 (1921), pp. 361–7, p. 367. Other expositions in this vein include Turrell, *John Wesley: Physician and Electrotherapist*, Oxford, Blackwell, 1938; Richard Hunter, ‘A Brief Review of the Use of Electricity in Psychiatry with Special Reference to John Wesley’, *The British Journal of Physical Medicine* 20:5 (1957), pp. 98–100; Max W. Woodward, ‘Wesley’s Electric Machine’, *Nursing Mirror* 114 (27 July 1962), pp. x, xvi; Dennis Stillings, ‘John Wesley: Electrotherapist’, *Medical Instrumentation* 8 (1974), p. 66; D. S. H. Cannon, ‘John Wesley: A Pioneer in the Use of Electricity in Medicine’, *WHS Cumbria Branch Journal* 30 (Autumn 1992), pp. 12–15; and Gadsby, *Rev. John Wesley M.A.: Holistic Healing, Electrotherapy and Complementary Medicine*.

97 E.g., Francis Schiller, ‘Reverend Wesley, Doctor Marat, and the Electric Fire’, *Clio Medica* 15 (1981), pp. 159–76; Rogal, ‘Electricity: John Wesley’s ‘Curious and Important Subject’, *Eighteenth Century Life* 13 (1989), pp. 78–90; Ruth Richardson, ‘John Wesley’s Ethereal Fire’, *The Lancet* 358 (2001), p. 932; and Willem D. Hackmann, *John Wesley and His Electrical Machine*, London, John Wesley’s House and The Museum of Methodism, 2003. Paola Bertucci, ‘Revealing Sparks: John Wesley and the Religious Utility of Electrical Healing’, *British Journal for the History of Science* 39 (2006), pp. 341–62 offers a debatable account of the social agendas that propelled Wesley’s interest in public demonstrations of electrical healing. H. Newton Malony, ‘John Wesley’s *Primitive Physick*: an 18th Century Health Psychology’, *Journal of Health Psychology* 1 (1996), pp. 147–59 remains the best overview of Wesley’s interest in the healing benefits of electrical shock.

98 See particularly Philip Wesley Ott, ‘John Wesley on Mind and Body: Toward an Understanding of Health as Wholeness’, *Methodist History* 27 (1989),

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pp. 61–72 and Ott, ‘John Wesley on Health as Wholeness’, *Journal of Religion and Health* 30 (1991), pp. 43–57; Madden, ‘Medicine and Moral Reform: The Place of Practical Piety in John Wesley’s Art of Physic’, *Church History* 73 (2004), pp. 741–5; Maddox, ‘John Wesley on Holistic Health and Healing’; and Hughes, ‘The Holistic Way: John Wesley’s Practical Piety as a Resource for Integrated Healthcare’.

99 William Stroup, ‘Meat, Ethics, and the Case of John Wesley’, in Regina Hewitt and Pat Rogers eds, *Orthodoxy and Heresy in Eighteenth-Century Society*, Lewisburg, PA, Bucknell University Press, 2002, pp. 267–80; and Charles Wallace, ‘Eating and Drinking with John Wesley: The Logic of His Practice’, *Bulletin of the John Rylands University Library* 85:2–3 (2003), pp. 137–55.

100 Malony, ‘John Wesley’s *Primitive Physick*: an 18th Century Health Psychology’, Joe Gorman, ‘John Wesley and Depression in an Age of Melancholy’, *Wesleyan Theological Journal* 34:2 (1999), pp. 196–221; Paul Laffey, ‘John Wesley on Insanity’, *History of Psychiatry* 12 (2001), pp. 467–79; and Donat, ‘John Wesley on the Estimation and Cure of Nervous Disorders’, in Harry Whitaker, C. U. M. Smith and Stanley Finger eds, *Brain, Mind and Medicine: Essays in Eighteenth-Century Neuroscience*, New York, Springer-Verlag, 2007, pp. 285–300.

101 See particularly John A. Newton, ‘Health and Healing in the Wesleys’, *Methodist Recorder* (1988); R. Jeffrey Hiatt, ‘John Wesley and Healing: Developing a Wesleyan Missiology’, *Asbury Theological Journal* 59 (2004), pp. 89–109; and Maddox, ‘John Wesley on Holistic Health and Healing’.

102 Parish nursing programs would be one example. For a more ambitious proposal, in conversation with Wesley, see Leslie Bryan Williams, ‘Religious-Based Managed Care: A Wesleyan Paradigm for Reforming Health Care’, University of Southern California PhD thesis, 1998.

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Appendix

*To that Fanatical, Political, Physical
Enthusiast, Patriot, and Physician,
the Reverend Mr. W[esle]y.¹*

As in some country town we often find
The draper, mercer, and the laceman join'd,
So, great monopolist, are found in thee,
Myst'ries more weighty, and in number three.
Hail, holy mountebank! from whose weak stage
Enthusiasm whines, who lately us'd to rage.²
Hail, great successor of the frantic mission!

¹ [This is a broadsheet, published in 1776 (August or later), with no printer named. At least one copy survives, in the British Library: © British Library Board. All Rights Reserved (shelfmark 1876.e.9.8). The footnotes that follow are original to the broadsheet unless material appears in square brackets.]

² Whoever has heard the deceased saint [Whitefield], and his present successor, will easily perceive the contrast between the bellowing vociferations of the squinting professor, and the drawing languor of this lank-hair'd retailer of perdition.

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Hail to thee, scurvy, pious politician!
 Who stand'st with Satan's fav'rites on a level,
 And gratis get'st diploma from the Devil.³
 Thrice do we hail thee by thy new addition,
 Pois'ner in print, and primitive Physician.⁴
 How often hast thou fill'd the ears and eyes
 Of gaping crowds with horror and surprise?
 How oft, with hypocritic frenzy meet,
 Snuffled damnation in the publick street?
 Each list'ner call'd half devil and half beast;
 Nor till thy saintship well was pelted, ceas'd.
 O, matchless impudence! and close combin'd
 With ignorance, to sport with humankind!
 Forever cursed be that fatal day
 When first you learnt that trade – to preach and pray.
 Fathers and mothers, widows, wives, till death,
 May rue the minute when you drew your breath.
 How many idle vagrants hast thou made,⁵
 Who else had liv'd upon a wholesome trade;
 Who now their industry shall use no more,
 But to mislead a mob and swell thy store?
 For ever cursed be that fatal day
 When first in politics you went astray,⁶
 When such a wretched fool, so low a thing,
 In print presum'd to dictate to his king;
 Then many a wretch in peace had slumber'd well,
 And only fear'd thy visionary hell.
 But doubly cursed be that dreadful day
 When to the press thy pamphlet made its way.
 That anticlimax, what could make thee tread,

³ For who but the devil could so harden a man's heart that it should permit him to publish and rejoice in the sale of a performance evidently calculated to put a few shillings into the pocket of the diabolical author at the expense of the healths, and perhaps the lives, of his fellow-creatures?

⁴ Mr. Hawes has proved, in his very ingenious *Examination of the Primitive Physick* just published, that some of Mr. W's prescriptions would absolutely kill those who were so weak as to make use of them.

⁵ [This is a reference to Wesley's itinerating lay preachers.]

⁶ The writer alludes to the *Calm Address* and other political matters lately published by Mr. W.

RECLAIMING THE ECCENTRIC PARENT

Forsake the heart to tamper with the head?⁷
 Art thou so dead to shame, so callous grown
 To all disgrace, the brethren's or thy own?
 In vain thy predecessor tried to botch
 That vile – adventure of the lady's watch.⁸
 Given for sale to sooth a widow's woe,
 And found within the *holy* man's bureau.
 Hast thou so soon forgot the forty pounds
 Laid by against th' exciseman went his rounds?
 The squinting wretch in vain a husband shunn'd,
 And what from Ruth he squeez'd, Tom made refund.
 Hast thou so soon forgot thy own reproach,
 When late you whin'd and canted for a coach?
 All your long service in the faith you told,
 And represented you was weak and old;
 Strok'd your lank hair, which then more flaccid hung,
 And faith and spirit trembled on your tongue;
 Trembled for fear thy most audacious talk
 Should not prevail, and thou be forc'd to walk.
 And wilt thou now, as impudent as base,
 Attempt to give the Faculty disgrace;⁹
 Men of long practice, eminence, and knowledge,

⁷ On reflection it does not seem strange that he should prefer the body to the soul, for by his publication he has plainly evinced that where his own temporal interest comes in competition with the life of others, he prefers the former. Had the whole question been confined to others, it is most likely he cares for neither.

⁸ This story [about Whitefield] is too well known to need a comment, as also the story of the frail brother who was detected at Bath in a crim. con. [i.e., 'criminal conversation', or adultery; a reference to James Wheatley] and, for the honour of the holy fraternity, ordered to decamp, which he did without beat of drum. The story of the forty pounds, the present apostle's great affection for a chariot, his whinings to obtain it, and the number of disciples he lost by it, are all to public in the neighbourhood of the saints to need further explanation.

⁹ Mr. W., in the preface of his *Primitive Physic*, speaks of physicians and apothecaries in the most illiberal and unmanly terms, as such language seemed necessary to promote the sale of his venomous and ignorant pamphlet. But happily Mr. Hawes has opened the eyes of the public, and is the only gentleman of the Faculty that stood forth to support himself and brethren. He has undeniably proved the rashness, folly, and wickedness of this divine empyric, in attempting to impose upon the public the most horrid truth, which he calls a *rational* and *easy* method of curing most diseases. He might have said in some cases also certain, for the operation of some of the prescriptions would have been that never-failing and decisive exhibition called *death*.

RANDY L. MADDOX

Train'd up to physic, members of a college?
 Does not thy canting give enough of wealth,
 But must thou likewise prey upon our health?
 Poison the principles with doctrine vile,
 With drams of verdigrease our bowels spoil;¹⁰
 And like the satyr, as in fable told,
 From the same breath at once blow hot and cold?¹¹
 Thank heaven thou shall not, for there still remain
 Who can and will thy wicked course restrain.
 Art thou in vice, by practice, grown so bold,
 To thank opponents that thy poison sold,¹²
 So wrapt in av'rice, lost to sober sense,
 To sell the peoples lives for eighteen pence?¹³
 Thank heav'n thou canst not, while there lives a Hawes,
 And learned Pringle stamps him with applause.¹⁴

A Detester of Hypocrisy

¹⁰ One of his vile prescriptions is *a dram or two* of verdigrease; another, *six grains* of opium for a dose. – The writer most earnestly requests every one who has the misfortune to be possessed of Mr. W's book to read Mr. Hawes's answer, as their health, nay even their lives, are much interested in this inquiry. He also submits it to the Faculty, whether it is expedient that an humble address be presented to his Majesty, through the hands of his physicians, setting forth the fatal consequences which may ensue from this pamphlet, and earnestly requesting, as he tenders the lives of his loving subjects, and to deter others from the like offense, that the *Primitive Physic* be publicly burnt by the hands of the common hangman.

¹¹ Mr. W. prescribes *cold water, hot water, tar water, and flint water* for the choleric. – Mr. Hawes says this unaccountable professor prescribes hot and cold remedies in the same breath. See his *Examination*, p. 32.

¹² Mr. W., July 24th, in *Lloyd's Evening Post*, very wickedly addressed Mr. Hawes, thanking him for his publication, as it increased the sale of his pamphlet. Mr Hawes answered this address July 26th in the same paper with that spirit and good sense which does him great honour.

¹³ [The revised 17th edn of *Primitive Physick* rose in cost to 18 pence.]

¹⁴ The writer is well assured that Sir John Pringle [President of the Royal Society, and Physician-in-ordinary to the King] has spoke in the highest terms of Mr. Hawes's *Examination of Mr. Wesley's Primitive Physic*. But as the shafts of ridicule have often succeeded beyond more solid opposition, we have endeavoured to attack him from that quarter. There are few misfortunes without some alleviations; let us hope that this publication of Mr. W., replete with evil, will in the end have a contrary effect. Mr. Hawes has checked its course. Let us indulge ourselves in the agreeable expectations, that the many corroborating proofs of the Doctor's possessing a mischievous head and wicked heart may open the eyes of some worthy person now misled by him, to the utter destruction of those three professions he now unwarrantably exercises – politics, quackery, and fanaticism.