

Theology on the Web.org.uk

Making Biblical Scholarship Accessible

This document was supplied for free educational purposes. Unless it is in the public domain, it may not be sold for profit or hosted on a webserver without the permission of the copyright holder.

If you find it of help to you and would like to support the ministry of Theology on the Web, please consider using the links below:



Buy me a coffee

<https://www.buymeacoffee.com/theology>



PATREON

<https://patreon.com/theologyontheweb>

PayPal

<https://paypal.me/robbradshaw>

A table of contents for the *Proceedings of the Wesley Historical Society* can be found here:

https://biblicalstudies.org.uk/articles_whs_01.php

Proceedings

OF THE

Wesley Historical Society

Editor: REV. JOHN C. BOWMER, M.A., B.D., Ph.D.

Volume XXXIX

October 1973

CAPTAIN THOMAS WEBB RETURNS To John Street Church, New York

ON Sunday, 3rd June 1973, Captain Thomas Webb returned to John Street United Methodist church, New York, in the form of two physical trophies closely tied in to the concluding years of his life. The first was the memorial tablet which had been mounted in Portland Chapel, Bristol, soon after his death. The other was the original pastel portrait executed by Lewis Vaslet a few years before the Captain's decease.¹

During his last years Thomas Webb lived in Bristol. He and his wife were very active in Methodist affairs—members of the society at John Wesley's chapel in the heart of the city—"The New Room in the Horsefair".² They appear to have resided in or near Portland Avenue, in the south-western sector of the city. The Captain became convinced that a strong new society should be organized in the vicinity, and that a chapel could be provided for their worship. He gave himself sedulously to the project, securing an excellent site and erecting a chapel in Portland Place, although he himself could no longer make the financial contribution that his heart could have wished.³

Captain Webb died on 20th December 1796, and was buried in Portland Chapel—in a vault below the recess in the sanctuary where stood the communion table. Mrs. Webb died early in January 1820, and she too was buried in the selfsame vault.⁴

¹ For data on Lewis Vaslet, see footnote 9 on page 59.

² Archives of the New Room, Bristol. Mrs. Webb had been Miss Grace Gilbert, sister of Nathaniel Gilbert, planter on Antigua, who established Methodism in the Caribbean.

³ Archives of Portland Chapel, Bristol. Extant letters of Captain and Mrs. Webb and other records indicate the difficulties of their closing years, living in circumstances which were, at times, near to penury.

⁴ Bristol Municipal Records under dates 10th and 12th January 1820 present formal approval for the interment of Mrs. Webb in the vault with her husband at Portland Chapel.

As already reported in *Proceedings*, the closure and projected demolition of the chapel gave great concern to Methodist historians on both sides of the Atlantic, and upon identification of the remains, permission was readily given by the Home Office for their re-burial in the forecourt of the New Room, Bristol. The solemn service was held on Monday, 22nd May 1972.⁵ Represented by Dr. John N. Ness, jun., the United Methodist Church Commission on Archives and History designated the re-burial site as "United Methodist Historical Site Number 19", to be marked by the Commission's official plaque.⁶ It was the writer's privilege to stand as a delegate of John Street church at this service.

Soon after Thomas Webb's death a notable memorial tablet was placed on the wall of Portland Chapel directly over the communion table, where it remained across the years. The inscription reads:

SACRED TO THE MEMORY OF THOMAS WEBB, ESQ.
LIEUTENANT IN THE 48TH REG. OF FOOT
WHO DIED THE 20TH DEC. 1796, AGED 72.
AND WHOSE REMAINS ARE INTERRED IN THE RECESS.
AS A SOLDIER
HE WAS BRAVE—ACTIVE—COURAGEOUS
AND LOST AN EYE AT THE SIEGE OF LOUISBURG, 1758.
WHEN AFTER ENLISTED UNDER THE BANNER OF CHRIST
AS A CHRISTIAN
HE WAS FAITHFUL—ZEALOUS—SUCCESSFUL
BOTH IN GREAT BRITAIN AND AMERICA
IN THE LATTER HE FOUNDED
THE FIRST METHODIST CHURCHES
AND WAS
THE PRINCIPAL INSTRUMENT
IN ERECTING THIS
CHAPEL.⁷

⁵ For an account of the service, see *Proceedings*, xxxviii, p. 130.

⁶ The designation is reported in *Methodist History*, July 1972, p. 57—the quarterly publication of the Commission on Archives and History of the United Methodist Church.

⁷ On the text of the tablet, it may be useful to record the following notes: (i) Thomas Webb had enlisted as a common soldier in the 48th Regiment of foot. He rose slowly through the ranks, finally receiving commission as Lieutenant. He served with valour in several engagements of the Seven Years' War, being twice wounded while on hazardous duty. When his regiment was posted to return to England, he was offered captaincy. He declined the promotion, electing to remain in America, and accordingly retiring with the rank of Lieutenant. He was, however, given the title of Captain (without commission) in honour of his wounds and distinguished service. (ii) The Rev. E. Ralph Bates, formerly Warden of the New Room, Bristol, has conducted extensive researches into the life of Thomas Webb. At the Public Record Office, and in other material, he finds that Webb suffered the loss of his eye at Montmorency in the siege of Quebec, 31st August 1759, and not at Louisburg, Cape Breton Island, where he was wounded in the arm. A note in the archives of John Street church cites military records preserved at Montreal as confirming the eye-wound at Montmorency. (iii) Among the American Methodist churches in whose origin Thomas Webb played a significant part there may be mentioned: John Street, New York; St. George's, Philadelphia; Middle Village, Queens Borough, New York; Bridge Street African Methodist Episcopal, Brooklyn; and the societies that eventually became churches at Trenton and New Brunswick, New Jersey.

When Portland Chapel was due to close in 1971, the trustees were posed with the problem of caring for the numerous trophies in the chapel, including the Webb memorial tablet. They offered the tablet to John Street church, in recognition of the fact that Captain Webb had stood in the same basic relationship in securing the properties and erecting the houses of worship at both Portland, Bristol and John Street, New York. The Administrative Board of John Street church authorized the writer, when in Bristol in May 1972, to inspect the tablet and complete the arrangements for its packing and shipment to New York. In due time the memorial tablet was received at John Street church, where it has been mounted in the sanctuary. The service of dedication took place on Sunday morning, 3rd June 1973. A bronze plaque has been placed with the tablet, recording that it is the gift from Portland Chapel, Bristol.⁸

Some years before his death, Mrs. Webb commissioned Lewis Vaslet to draw a pastel portrait of the Captain, representing him in the act of preaching.⁹ He is in uniform as an army officer, standing beside a table upon which rests an open Bible. His left hand points to a passage of scripture; the right hand is held over his heart. The right eye-socket is covered by the dark green patch, held in place by the black ribbon-band, that were characteristic of him. Soon after his decease, Mrs. Webb agreed that Vaslet might make a drawing from the portrait in order that an engraving might be prepared. The prints were to be sold by G. Whitfield, book steward at City Road, London. At a later date a copy of this engraving was made in America. All the representations of Thomas Webb, included in many Methodist historical writings, derive from these engravings.

Mrs. Webb retained the portrait, bequeathing it to her nephew, Surgeon General Chake of the British army, who resided at Evesham in Worcestershire.¹⁰ The portrait descended from person to person in Mrs. Webb's family. After having been shipped to Australia and returned to England, in 1884 it came into the possession of the Rev. Alfred G. Harrison (great-great-great-nephew of Mrs. Webb), a member of the West Wisconsin Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church. In 1913, Mr. Harrison sold it to Dr. Ezra S. Tipple, President of Drew Theological Seminary, Madison, New Jersey, for inclusion in his notable collection of British and American Methodistica. By the terms of Dr. Tipple's will, the entire collection came to Drew, where the portrait is now displayed in the Tipple Room of

⁸ The tablet is mounted on the right-hand wall of the John Street church sanctuary, about midway forward towards the pulpit. The church is at No. 44, John Street, New York, and is open to visitors during the normal business hours each weekday, and on Sundays from 10 a.m. to 1 p.m.

⁹ Lewis Vaslet was a well-known portraitist of the late eighteenth century. He resided in Bath, and appears to have been acquainted with John Wesley, who notes several visits to the Vaslets at their Bath residence (see Diary entries given in the Standard edition of the *Journal*, vii, pp. 435, 475; viii, p. 15). See also John Telford: *Sayings and Portraits of John Wesley*, p. 191.

¹⁰ For a detailed description of the portrait, see the writer's article, "The Portrait of Captain Thomas Webb", in *Methodist History*, July 1972, pp. 53 ff.

the Rose Memorial Library. The authorities at Drew very graciously permitted John Street church to borrow the portrait for the occasion of the dedication of the Webb memorial tablet.

Very early in the 1800s a stained-glass panel, representing the portrait, was incorporated into one of the windows at Portland Chapel. This panel has been removed, and is now preserved in the Asbury Room at the New Room, Bristol. It is tastefully mounted, with appropriate illumination, so that the Captain's likeness glows in this room, specifically dedicated to the heroic founders of American Methodism. Several differences in small detail appear between the original pastel, the engravings, and the window-panel.

Utterly basic as was Thomas Webb's relationship to the establishment of the first properties and early societies in America, the richest service that he gave to these societies lay in his preaching. All who heard him were warmed by the ardour of his faith and deeply moved by his vital witness to the Saviour's grace. His supreme contribution was not so much in establishing the physical property as in the way he built the living fabric of the Church, "the body of Christ". His own words testify to his convictions. Writing to a close friend and co-worker at St. George's church, Philadelphia, Daniel Montgomery, under date 25th March 1771, Thomas Webb declares: "Indeed, without Sinners are convinced and converted the most elaborate preaching is not worth a rush."¹¹ Joseph Pilmoor, himself a noted preacher, in his *Journal* refers to Webb's preaching a full score of times:

His preaching is always attended with wonderful power, and many are greatly blessed under his ministry. He has the great Seal of God's approbation to his Commission, and that is far more than all the human authority under heaven.¹²

Thus, historic John Street church, New York, took Captain Thomas Webb again to its heart, memorializing him in the dignified tablet from Portland Chapel, Bristol, and rejoicing in the light of his portrait. We could hear his undying testimony to the saving grace of his Lord, and we carry the glow of his faith renewed in our lives. He was one of God's rare soldiers and ministers. His spirit lives in the churches he loved and served. ARTHUR BRUCE MOSS.

[The Rev. Arthur Bruce Moss is Pastor Emeritus of John Street United Methodist church, New York.]

¹¹ The Thomas Webb file, Manuscript Section, Rose Memorial Library, Drew University, Madison, New Jersey.

¹² *The Journal of Joseph Pilmoor, Methodist Itinerant, 1769-1774* (ed. F. E. Maser and H. T. Maag) (Historical Society of the Philadelphia Conference of the United Methodist Church, Philadelphia, 1969).

We have received *Nine Public Lectures on Important Subjects in Religion*, by Count von Zinzendorf (1746), translated and edited by George W. Forell. (University of Iowa Press, Iowa City, Iowa, USA, pp. 138, \$6.95.)

THE ANNUAL MEETING AND LECTURE

SUNDERLAND ST. JOHN'S was a well-chosen venue for this year's Annual Meeting and Lecture. About thirty members and friends enjoyed a tea provided by Mr. and Mrs. Rowland C. Swift and prepared by the ladies of the church. Among our guests was Mr. F. O. Bretherton, a member and patron of the Wesley Historical Society and a son of the late Rev. F. F. Bretherton, who was for many years our General Secretary. Our thanks to our hosts were expressed by the Rev. Edwin Thompson, the chairman of our North-East Branch.

Business Meeting

The President (the Rev. Dr. Maldwyn L. Edwards) opened the meeting with prayer, and standing tribute was paid to the fifteen members who had died during the year, among whom was Alderman Horace Hird of Bradford, who served the Society as Exhibitions Secretary for some years and was an occasional contributor on Wesleyana and other antiquarian subjects to the pages of these *Proceedings*.

The annual reports, presented in person or by communication, were received and considered by the meeting. The balance sheet showed an excess of income over expenditure on the current year's accounts of £311 63p., which was a not unhealthy sign, but the auditor had issued a warning about the ultimate effect of "considerable arrears of unpaid subscriptions outstanding". The Registrar spoke of the difficulty not only in collecting these debts, but of assessing the position in regard to members who had died and whose relatives had not notified the Society and had indeed continued to receive the *Proceedings*. Dr. Bowmer informed the meeting that owing to the state of emergency at Wesley's Chapel, the Society's library was at present packed in boxes at the Archives Centre, and normal working would be resumed as soon as possible. Mr. Taberer announced the appearance of our latest occasional publication, *James Rouquet and his part in Early Methodism* (the work of Mr. A. B. Sackett), and mentioned the need for a new edition of *John Wesley and Methodism: A Guide for Schools*.

The meeting warmly commended Mr. Geoffrey Milburn of the North-East Branch on the excellent Exhibition he had prepared at the Newcastle upon Tyne City Library and Art Gallery, which was regarded as a great credit to the Society.

The reports received from the branches showed that much was being done throughout the country both to study and to record the local history of Methodism.

The accounts for the year ended 31st December 1972 are printed on page 96.

The Annual Lecture

Mr. Frank O. Bretherton, who presided, introduced the lecturer, Mr. Frederick Jeffery of the Methodist College, Belfast, as a former member of St. John's, the church in which the lecture was being delivered. Mr. Jeffery's own reminiscences of St. John's, which he prefixed to the lecture, were of considerable interest, not only to those who knew the church. This is not the place to outline his masterly lecture on "Methodism in the Irish Religious Situation", but the interest created by the subject was reflected by the steady sale of the printed version of the lecture which was available at the close of the meeting.

THOMAS SHAW.

METHODISM IN THE LEICESTERSHIRE AND SOUTH DERBYSHIRE COALFIELD IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

GENERATIONS of historians have been interested in the spread of Methodism among the working class during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, and in the influence which it exerted on their economic, social and political attitudes, conditions and expectations. Even so, much work remains to be done, particularly at the local level, and this article attempts a preliminary examination of the relationship between Methodism and the mining population of the Leicestershire and South Derbyshire coalfield in the nineteenth century.

A general impression of the strength of Methodism among the mining population in the mid-nineteenth century can be gathered from the returns of the 1851 Religious Census which are analysed in the following table:

ASHBY REGISTRATION DISTRICT RETURNS OF THE RELIGIOUS
CENSUS, 1851¹

Denominations.	Number of Places of Worship of each Denomination.	Number of Sittings provided.	Number attending Evening Service, 31st March 1851	Percentage attending Places of Worship of each Denomination.	Percentage of Sittings to total Sittings provided.	Percentage Attendance to Number of Sittings for Evening Service, 31st March 1851.	Percentage of Attenders at Evening Service on 31st March 1851 to Adult Population, i.e. 15 years and over (16,114).
Church of England ...	33	10,081	1,287	21.9	51	13	8
All Methodist ...	37	5,655	2,834	48.2	29	50	18
Baptist ...	13	2,934	1,507	25.7	15	51	10
Roman Catholic ...	2	289	158	2.7	1.5	55	1
Others ...	2	655	88	1.5	3.5	13	
TOTALS ...	87	19,614	5,874	100	100		37

In the Ashby registration district Methodists had more places of worship than any other religious group, and the fact that they provided only 29 per cent of the available seats as compared with the Church of England's 51 per cent does not detract from the importance of Methodism, since only 13 per cent of the sittings provided by the Church of England were occupied on the census evening, compared with a 50 per cent occupation of Methodist sittings.

¹ This district contained many occupational groups, though mining families formed a very important element in the community, since miners comprised about one-sixth of the occupied male population.

Indeed, the Methodist chapels, which were half full on the census evening, compared favourably in this respect with the places of worship of any other religious group. The importance of Methodism in the district is emphasized still further when the returns of the actual number of adults attending the services of the various religious bodies is considered, for 48.3 per cent of the worshippers that evening went to Methodist chapels, as compared with 21.9 per cent who went to Anglican churches and 25.7 per cent who supported their rival nonconformist body, the Baptists. These figures must, of course, be viewed in context of the number of adults absent from a place of worship of any description—some 63 per cent—but even when religious absenteeism is taken into account, it is still significant that nearly 20 per cent of the adult population of the district attended a Methodist chapel on the census evening.

The number of Methodists per head of the population was almost certainly higher in the colliery areas themselves, since, to quote from Inglis, "in mining villages the success of Methodism was often striking",² and one colliery manager informed the inquiry into the state of the coalfield of 1842 that "most of the people attend public worship . . . of which there are many Methodists and Ranters".³ It is also interesting to observe that one Methodist sect, the Wesleyan Reform Union, which had its origins in the mid-nineteenth-century expulsions and secessions from Wesleyan Methodism—it was actually formed in 1859 and had its first annual conference the following year⁴—had one of its strongholds in the coalfield.⁵ Wesleyan Reform chapels erected to serve the needs of the colliery population were:

<i>Name of chapel</i>	<i>Colliery population served</i>
Moira	Moira
Griffydham	Swannington-Coleorton area
Whitwick (superseded by New Swannington, 1901)	Whitwick and Snibstone
Ellistown	Ellistown
Ibstock	Ibstock
Batram Road	South Leicester and Bagworth

The extent to which these chapels were predominantly "miners' chapels" can be judged from an examination of the occupations of their trustees. Of the 61 trustees found on the various deeds of the

² K. S. Inglis: *Churches and the Working Class in Victorian England* (London, 1963), p. 10.

³ Royal Commission on the Employment of Women and Children in Mines, 1843. Appendix to 1st Report. Evidence of Dr. Mitchell, p. 100.

⁴ W. H. Jones: *History of the Wesleyan Reform Union* (London, 1952), pp. 11, 50. This sect differed from the Wesleyans not on matters of doctrine, but because of its belief in a form of government in which each church had the right to administer its own affairs without outside interference from an annual conference or other central administration.

⁵ The Leicestershire coalfield also acted as a centre for the diffusion of the sect, as miners migrating to other colliery areas (from Ellistown to Hucknall, in the Nottinghamshire coalfield, for example,) took their religion with them, and established chapels in their new places of abode.

Moira, Griffydam and Swannington chapels, for instance, 30 were miners—retail traders and craftsmen comprising over half the remainder.⁶ That the "hard core" of the Wesleyan Reform chapels consisted of mining families can be deduced from other sources, such as the addresses of those members attending additional classes held at the Moira chapel. These were on Sunday afternoons and Tuesday evenings, and of their average attendance in 1895, for example, of 21 and 26 respectively, 21 and 23 resided in property belonging to the Moira Colliery Company.⁷

It is perhaps easier to demonstrate that Methodism was strong among the mining population than to explain why this was so. One popular explanation which is advanced is that "miners lived close to death",⁸ and presumably had to be prepared to meet their Maker at any time. It is certainly true that the miner's occupation, and perhaps his nature, made him susceptible to influences of this kind, since he had always held superstitions about the dangerous character of his work, to which he paid heed. At Coleorton, for instance, there was an old superstition called "The Seven Whistlers": if ever seven shrill whistles were heard, not a single miner would go to work, for the whistles were said to foreshadow an accident at the colliery.⁹ The nature of mining communities themselves, being composed of a relatively small number of families engaged in the same occupation, and in which close personal relationships were highly developed, has been seen as being conducive to the acceptance of Methodism by miners. This idea that "there was something about the relationships of a mining community"¹⁰ which accounted for the success of Methodism doubtless has some validity, and it is noticeable in this connexion that sixteen mining families at Moira contributed 56 per cent of the boys' and 69 per cent of the girls' attendance at the Moira Wesleyan Reform Sunday School during the years 1860 to 1864.¹¹ It can be conjectured also that Methodism's democratic form of church government (this is particularly true of the "Primitives" and the Wesleyan Reform Union), in which lay members played a large part, made Methodism, rather than Anglicanism or some other form of nonconformism, most acceptable to the miners, who were, by tradition, one of the most articulate sections of the working class.

Certainly conditions were very different from those at the Church of England, where, it was generally believed, "both attenders and ministers had contempt for the poor". It was also believed that the working class, for their part, "did not feel at home" at the parish church, which they tended to regard as a middle-class institution.¹²

⁶ The following deeds were examined: Moira (1855 and 1878), Griffydam (1854), and New Swannington (1901).

⁷ Moira Wesleyan Reform chapel records: Membership Record Book.

⁸ Inglis, *op. cit.*, p. 10.

⁹ A. E. Eagar: *Coleorton and Beaumonts* (Leicester, 1949), p. 26.

¹⁰ Inglis, *op. cit.*, p. 12.

¹¹ Moira Wesleyan Reform chapel: Sunday School Attendance Register.

¹² Inglis, *op. cit.*, pp. 19-20.

The chapel, by contrast, became the centre of the convert's life—a place where he felt at home and where he could give expression to his emotions: it was not just a place where the believer went to receive instruction on Methodist dogma from either minister or lay preacher. The chapel embodied many things other than direct instruction in religious dogma.¹³ The fellowship of the class meeting, sewing groups, money-raising activities and social functions of all kinds were as much a part of Methodism as religious teaching,¹⁴ and in the mining community of the nineteenth century, where life was so closely circumscribed by the pit and the range of available leisure pursuits was so severely restricted, this side of Methodist activity must bulk large in any explanation of the appeal which Methodism exerted.¹⁵

Methodism exerted a significant influence not only upon the social and spiritual life of the Leicestershire and South Derbyshire miners, but upon their economic and political activities too. In this coalfield, as in others, there was a close connexion between the Methodists and the emergence and development of mining trade unionism, since it was from among the ranks of professed Methodists that the most prominent trade unionists appeared.¹⁶ As early as June 1817,

¹³ Compare these arguments with that of Dr. Robert Currie: "A Micro-Theory of Methodist Growth" (*Proceedings*, xxxvi, pp. 55-73). He argues that Methodism was strong in areas where Anglicanism was weak, and that this was "not because of the mental characteristics of the population of such areas but because in these areas communities can be gathered and chapels built without persecution or disruption from squire or parson" (p. 69). But this theory hardly helps to explain the adherence of miners to Methodism (and probably to other dissenting sects to a larger extent) in the coalfield where Anglicanism was reasonably strong too. (See the table on page 63.)

¹⁴ See Appendix. This theme is also critically examined in the following recent studies: J. D. Walsh: "Methodism at the end of the eighteenth century" in *A History of the Methodist Church in Great Britain*, I (London, 1965), pp. 310-15; R. Currie: *Methodism Divided: A Study in the Sociology of Ecumenicalism* (London, 1968), pp. 44-84.

¹⁵ This is not to deny that the intimate social and religious relationship of the Methodist chapel was probably not to everyone's taste. Doubtless there were frustrated Methodists who were appalled by their fellows' "ignorance, their hatred of those who differed from them, their intolerance and their scandalous mountebank tricks in the pulpit" (E. P. Thompson: *The Making of the English Working Class* (London, 1968 edn.), p. 918).

¹⁶ See, for example, J. E. Williams: *The Derbyshire Miners* (London, 1962), pp. 76-9, 119-21, and E. J. Hobsbawm: *Primitive Rebels* (Manchester, 1959), pp. 130 ff. Also, it appears that it was from the breakaway Methodist sects—particularly the PMS, MNC and WRU—that the majority of the trade union leaders emerged. Perhaps it is relevant to observe in this context that Hobsbawm ("Methodism and the Threat of Revolution in Britain" in *Labouring Men* (London, 1963), p. 31) and Thompson (op. cit., p. 386) argue that although the Wesleyan Methodist leadership was a reactionary body wishing to maintain Methodism as a barrier against radicalism and promote "subordination and industry in the lesser orders of society" (Thompson, p. 386), this aim was not attained. Thompson (p. 430) attributes this failure to the fact that "the authoritarian doctrines of Methodism at times bred a libertarian antithesis" which expressed itself in such things as working-class Methodist activity in trade unions. Perhaps, too, the importance of Primitive Methodism among mining union leaders has been exaggerated by historians. (See *Proceedings*, xxxvii, pp. 91-2.)

a South Derbyshire magistrate, Thomas Beaumont, informed the Home Office that an application had been made to him

from several respectable gentlemen relating to the expediency of suppressing certain religious meetings which have recently been held by a religious sect, who call themselves (and not inapplicable) Ranters. These meetings are held in the open air, in the streets and the lanes of the villages, or Commons or other wastes, and are attended by thousands of the lower orders of the people, and lately are so much increased that we cannot but be apprehensive of the consequences.¹⁷

Beaumont asked for authority to suppress the meetings and prosecute anyone found attending them, since the meetings formed a working-class body which might be easily directed into other channels than the strictly religious.

The three leaders of the major industrial dispute which occurred in the Leicestershire coalfield in 1842—Robert Howe, Samuel Smith and James Walker—were all described as Primitive Methodist preachers.¹⁸ The local leaders of a similar dispute two years later included the same Robert Howe, another PM preacher named James Mason, and James Bowers, who was categorized, in the derogatory phrase of a newspaper correspondent, as “an irresponsable Ranter”.¹⁹

A number of the leaders of a strike in South Derbyshire in 1842 were reported as Methodists who associated themselves with the Chartists;²⁰ whilst the chief leader and organizer of the abortive attempt to form a permanent union in South Derbyshire in 1867-8, William Brown, was a staunch New Connexion Methodist who used the Primitive Methodist chapel as a base during the campaign.²¹ At least three of Brown's associates—John Aden, Jonas Hooper and Joseph Lee—were Methodists also, and had been responsible for recruiting Brown for their campaign to establish a union.²²

The prominence of Methodist leadership shows itself clearly in the way in which the mass meetings, held to maintain morale and solidarity among the members, were conducted. During the 1842 dispute in Leicestershire, for instance, a mass meeting held on Swannington Common was preceded and concluded by the singing of hymns and the offering of prayers, and it was reported that the three Primitive Methodist leaders prayed for the Queen, the nobility, and the masters—“whose hearts they implored Heaven to soften”.²³ William Brown's mass meetings were noted for being conducted “like a Methodist revival meeting” and “partly religious in character”.²⁴

¹⁷ Quoted in R. F. Wearnouth: *Methodism and the Working Class Movements of England, 1800-50* (London, 1947), pp. 167-8.

¹⁸ *Leicester Journal*, 19th August 1842.

¹⁹ *Leicester Chronicle*, 13th April 1844.

²⁰ *Derby Courier*, 17th February 1842.

²¹ Royal Commission on Trade Unions and Other Associations, 1867-8. Evidence of W. Brown, Q. 16406-40. ²² *Ilkeston Pioneer*, 10th January 1867.

²³ *Leicester Journal*, 19th August 1842.

²⁴ *Nottingham Review*, 26th April 1867, quoted by A. R. Griffin: “Methodism and Trade Unionism in the Nottinghamshire-Derbyshire Coalfield, 1844-90” (*Proceedings*, xxxvii, p. 4).

J. T. Woodhouse, the famous South Derbyshire mining and civil engineer, was questioned before the Royal Commission on Trade Unions of 1867-8 on this point, and he stated that he had been informed that Brown "preached" before the meetings in a "quasi-religious manner", or, to be more precise,

He took a text and preached the same as itinerant preachers do, but in so doing I have no doubt he appealed to their feelings, and working people are very excitable, and when their feelings were up they would say "Let us join the union."²⁵

The leaders made a point of quoting religious analogies to substantiate their arguments, and by all accounts they had a rich store of these—from "The rich cannot pass through the Kingdom of God" (to condemn the greed of the owners) to "Oppression will make a wise man mad" (a rallying-cry for action and solidarity);²⁶ and meetings were punctuated by prayers and concluded with the Doxology during the South Derbyshire struggle of 1867-8.²⁷ The singing of hymns, too, was so much a part of mass meetings that a special "miners' hymn-book", containing those most appropriate to the cause, was provided for the members, at least during the South Derbyshire lockout of 1867-8.²⁸ Preaching techniques were certainly used by the leaders to whip up enthusiasm and support for the union cause, but this appeal for solidarity was tempered with one to avoid violence and respect law and order—although there was no guarantee, of course, that, once the members' passions had been aroused, hasty action, such as attacking blacklegs, would not occur. This did in fact happen during most of the disputes, despite the leaders' pleas for pacifism.²⁹

Membership of the local Methodist chapel was conducive to the emergence of working-class leaders, not only of trade unions but of other bodies also, such as co-operative and friendly societies and political organizations. Membership gave a person the opportunity to exercise his moral and mental powers, to assume responsibility, and to occupy official positions such as class-leader, local preacher,

²⁵ Royal Commission on Trade Unions . . . Evidence of J. T. Woodhouse, Q. 11909.

²⁶ *Leicester Journal*, 19th August 1842; *Leicester Chronicle*, 13th April 1844.

²⁷ *Ilkeston Pioneer*, 23rd May 1867.

²⁸ *ibid.*, 9th January 1868. For further details of "preaching" techniques used by Brown and other trade union leaders, see A. R. Griffin's article already referred to (*Proceedings*, xxxvii, pp. 3-8).

²⁹ Certain speeches delivered by various trade union leaders are full of paradox, containing phrases which seem calculated to whip up their audiences into a frenzied rage against all opposition, and yet urging the same audiences not to break the law. One wonders, indeed, whether the pleas for pacifism were always genuine or merely included to appease the authorities and the reading public. What were the real motives, for instance, behind such a speech as that delivered by Jonas Hooper at a mass meeting held at Church Gresley at the beginning of August 1867, in which he is reported to have urged that the strikers should cut the ropes of the colliery winding engines while blacklegs were being wound in the shaft, when the meeting itself passed a resolution to the effect that those present would conduct their affairs in a peaceful manner? (*Ilkeston Pioneer*, 8th August 1867.)

and trustee.⁸⁰ The Methodist organization gave the miner who possessed sufficient aptitude, intelligence and will-power from an early age what would today be called leadership training, together with an outlet through which to test his ability. The leaders who emerged from the Methodist chapel had been taught the two essential elements of leadership at that time—"the method of organizing men and the art of public speaking";⁸¹ and it is interesting to speculate how many of the leaders who issued out of the ranks of Methodism would have failed to attain their full potential without the training which being a member of the Methodist community provided; for there was certainly no equivalent organization among the mining population in the early nineteenth century for fostering the qualities of leadership which the Methodist lay official came to possess. Moreover, trade union leaders learned from the Methodist chapel, according to Dr. Wearmouth, the virtues and advantages of "conscientiousness, sobriety, industry and regularity of conduct", to which might perhaps be added patience and moderation; and because of this they became a force to be reckoned with, and since they stood out as "men of character" they were respected by their fellows, and were the obvious choice for election into positions of trust and responsibility in the trade union movement.⁸²

It was from among the Methodist miners, too, that colliery checkweighmen (men employed by the miners to ensure that they were not cheated by the owners) were frequently drawn—no doubt again a natural choice, since they would have been considered to be responsible and trustworthy, and not open to bribery and corruption. The colliery checkweighman, in fact, generally became the spokesman of the men at each colliery, and their representative at union committee meetings; and the occupancy of this position appears to have become regarded as part of the apprenticeship of a top official of the union. Levi Lovett, the first president and later second agent of the permanent Leicestershire Miners' Association founded in 1888, is a representative case. He first gained recognition as a Methodist local preacher, and his honesty and integrity were fully appreciated when he was elected to the position of colliery checkweighman at Snibstone in 1885 (he had previously declined offers of the same post at both Ibstock and Swannington collieries), and was chosen shortly afterwards as the "chairman of the district meetings being held for the purpose of organising the Leicestershire miners", which culminated in the Association's foundation.⁸³

⁸⁰ Wearmouth, *op. cit.*, p. 7.

⁸¹ *ibid.*, p. 186.

⁸² *ibid.*, p. 186. See also Hobsbawm, *op. cit.*, pp. 129-30.

⁸³ W. Hallam: *Miners' Leaders* (London, 1894), p. 104. Lovett was also by 1885 the secretary of the Leicestershire branch of the Oddfellows' Friendly Society and the Poor Law overseer for Swannington parish. It is interesting to compare Lovett's career with that of the first agent of the South Derbyshire Miners' Association (founded 1889), William Buckley. He served the same apprenticeship as working miner and then checkweighman before becoming agent of a union which he had largely helped to create, but differed from Lovett in that he was an active member with the Baptists.

Some Methodists became leaders of a different sort when they chose to join the ranks of the colliery officials, and in this respect Methodists stood a good chance of promotion, being usually regarded by the colliery owners as sober and conscientious workmen and probably somewhat better educated than the average.⁸⁴ William Bridgett is such a case, for he started work as a boy miner, and by the time of his retirement in 1871 was the under-manager of Bagworth colliery. He was an active member of Bagworth Methodist chapel, and was a trustee and a member of the choir.⁸⁵

Methodism not only gave potential leaders an opportunity to discover their full capabilities, but also fulfilled the function of providing one of the rudiments of elementary education—the ability to read. This educational function of Methodism has been considered in greater detail elsewhere,⁸⁶ and it would be inappropriate to repeat the arguments here, but perhaps it ought to be noticed in the present context that although it is easy to exaggerate the education provided by the Methodists, since it was mainly reading that was taught, and the attendance among the members was far from satisfactory, the historian must be careful not to go to the other extreme and argue that it was useless.⁸⁷ It is true that Sunday-school lessons were confined to the reading of the Scriptures, but this almost certainly encouraged at least some of the more intelligent leaders to indulge their newly-acquired talent in other directions.

As far as attendance is concerned, too, the picture is perhaps not so dismal as is sometimes implied. We look, for instance, at the attendance records of the Moira Wesleyan Reform Sunday School for 1860 to 1864⁸⁸ (see table on next page). Most of the children seem to have attended between 50 and 75 per cent of the classes, and there was a small number who attended more regularly even than this.

⁸⁴ Colliery-owners such as Whetstone and Stenson (Whitwick) and the Stephensons (Snibstone) contributed towards the erection and upkeep of Methodist chapels and schools (F. White: *Directory of Leicestershire*, 1846 edn., p. 565), presumably in the well-founded belief that Methodist teaching propounded the virtues of honesty, conscientiousness and sobriety, although whether they expected that the Methodists would turn themselves into their own "slave-drivers", as E. P. Thompson would have us believe, is a matter for conjecture. (Thompson, *op. cit.*, p. 393.) There is no evidence that this did occur, though Methodists may have been more hard-working than the average miner (and would have earned more thereby), for, as Thompson remarks elsewhere (p. 409), much of the strict Methodist teaching must have seemed like "mumbo-jumbo . . . when set beside the daily experience of weavers or miners".

⁸⁵ *Leicester Chronicle*, 16th December 1871.

⁸⁶ In the author's unpublished Ph.D. thesis, "The Economic and Social Development of the Leicestershire and South Derbyshire Coalfield, 1550-1914" (Nottingham University, 1969), pp. 537-601.

⁸⁷ Williams (*op. cit.*, p. 69), for instance, is highly critical of the role played by Sunday schools in the provision of education for miners' children, and concludes that they did not receive "any real benefit from attendance at these schools".

⁸⁸ Moira Wesleyan Reform Sunday School Attendance Register, 1860-4.

70 PROCEEDINGS OF THE WESLEY HISTORICAL SOCIETY
 MOIRA WESLEYAN REFORM SUNDAY SCHOOL AVERAGE ATTENDANCE
 1860-4

Class No	Number in Class	Number of times attending & Percentage attendance by scholars							
		0-25	Per cent	26-50	Per cent	51-75	Per cent	76-100	Per cent
BOYS 1	18	1	5	4	22	11	62	2	11
„ 2	15	1	7	3	20	10	66	2	17
„ 3	29	2	7	8	28	13	44	6	21
„ 4	9	—	—	3	33	5	56	1	11
„ 5	12	—	—	2	17	10	83	—	—
GIRLS 1	14	1	7	5	36	6	43	2	14
„ 2	9	1	11	3	34	4	44	1	11
„ 3	27	1	4	6	23	15	54	5	19
„ 4	7	1	14	1	14	1	14	4	58
„ 5	15	1	7	8	53	6	40	—	—

Methodists were noted for taking a pride in their homes and their personal appearance, and it is perhaps hardly surprising that they have become associated with movements aimed at improving the moral conduct and outlook of the miners. It is well known that in the early years of the nineteenth century Methodism made a contribution to the gradual change of attitude towards the continued practice of certain "vicious amusements", such as cock-fighting and bear-baiting;³⁹ but its influence did not end there, for Methodist chapels continued to be connected with societies whose object was the moral and social regeneration of the whole community. Most immediately practicable was the support given to the various temperance societies which appeared, among which probably the most influential were the Band of Hope (founded in the 1860s) and the Blue Ribbon Army (from the 1880s). These organizations pledged their members to total abstinence (rather than the partial abstinence of so many Methodists) in the belief that even moderate drinking of alcoholic beverages was immoral; they actively supported movements whose aim was the complete closure of public houses, and held tea-meetings to compete with the public house for the miner's body if not for his soul. Both these movements claimed a large "reclaimed" membership among the population as a whole,⁴⁰ and as far as Moira is concerned, the Band of Hope which met at the Wesleyan Reform chapel there had, in 1902 for instance, 158 members, although the chapel membership was only about 100.⁴¹

In the mid-1870s, when crisis in the East threatened to embroil the country in another war with Russia, the Wesleyan Reformers gave their support to a movement of an entirely different nature—the Working Men's Peace Association. A meeting was held at the

³⁹ Thompson, *op. cit.*, pp. 447-8, for example; G. Himmelfarb: *Victorian Minds* (London, 1968 edn.), p. 282; and the author's own thesis, *op. cit.*, pp. 477-80.

⁴⁰ *Leicester Chronicle*, 25th March 1881. For a recent discussion of the role of temperance societies in Victorian England, see B. Harrison: "Religion and Recreation in Nineteenth Century England" in *Past and Present*, 1967, p. 98 ff.

⁴¹ Moira Wesleyan Reform chapel records: Membership Book, 1900-2.

Griffydam chapel in November 1877 at which several papers on war and the principles of peace were read and discussed, and during the course of which it was remarked, not for the first or the last time, that if those who started the wars had to fight them out themselves something would have been organised a long time ago by which international disputes would be settled by conciliation rather than by the sword.⁴³

The following February, petitions were sent by the Leicestershire Wesleyan Reform chapels to their members of Parliament, calling on them to dissociate themselves from any measure of intervention in the Eastern question, and to espouse the cause of settlement by arbitration.⁴⁸

The Methodist chapel was as much a social as a religious institution, and could at times become a political one. Any study laying undue emphasis on one particular function is likely to present a distorted picture of the way of life of the miner—indeed of the working classes in general—during the nineteenth century.⁴⁴ Methodism only proved so durable in the coalfield because it provided an outlet for the exercise of the community's social and mental inclinations as well as for its own purely spiritual powers. COLIN P. GRIFFIN.

[Dr. Colin P. Griffin, B.A. is Lecturer in Economic and Social History at the Trent Polytechnic, Nottingham.]

⁴³ *Leicester Chronicle*, 17th November 1877. ⁴⁸ *ibid.*, 2nd February 1878.

⁴⁴ Thompson in his recent important study of Methodism is prone to over-emphasize the religious and moral influence of Methodism on working-class behaviour during the period 1780-1830, but he clearly saw his study as a "severe corrective" to works like L. F. Church: *The Early Methodist People* (London, 1948), in which, according to Thompson (p. 416), "the fellowship of Methodists . . . has been emphasised to the point where all other characteristics of the Church have been forgotten".

APPENDIX

Religious and Social Activities at the New Swannington Wesleyan Reform Union chapel, circa 1901

(Recalled by Mrs. Bayliss, of New Swannington, Leicestershire, in a personal communication to the author.)

Primarily Religious Activities

1. A preaching service was held each Sunday evening, and Sunday-school classes in the afternoon.
2. Week-evenings were taken up with a variety of meetings, such as Bible-study, prayer meetings, choir practices and the Christian Endeavour [in those days a widely-supported interdenominational organization—in Methodism often ranking as a society class—and in many places still flourishing today].
3. Evangelistic missionaries visited the chapel occasionally, and held largely-attended meetings.
4. The chapel leader and principal local preacher "used to get lads together at the pit gates at Whitwick and Coalville in an effort to convert them".

5. The chapel, in common with the five other places in the circuit, would sometimes be visited by a mission band formed by the local preachers themselves, such visits adding an element of variety to the services.

6. There were the usual seasonal "special occasions"—the chapel anniversary, the Sunday-school anniversary, the harvest festival, and the annual visit of a missionary from the "foreign field", the recital of whose experiences excited widespread interest.

7. The Band of Hope temperance society met at the chapel. The weekly meeting was both a religious and a social occasion, and consisted partly of prayers, hymns, and pledges "to abstain from all intoxicating liquors", and partly of poetry recitations and songs. People of all denominations came to the Band of Hope.

Primarily Social Activities

1. The chapel was regarded by many of its members as a second home.
2. There were entertainments and social pursuits, which included roller-skating, dancing, concerts, poetry- and reading-groups, sketches and charades.
3. Members visited each other's houses and applied themselves to needlework, and bazaars were held to raise money for chapel funds.
4. Inter-circuit activities took place despite transport difficulties. For instance, it was not unknown for the choir to visit another chapel travelling in a manure-cart borrowed from a local farmer!
5. Chapel outings were held during the summer, horses and carts being hired to take the members and their families to beauty-spots such as Woodhouse Eaves or the Leicester Abbey Park.
6. Female members used to meet once a week at the chapel during the daytime for "social fellowship".
7. A garden party was held on the afternoon of the Sunday-school anniversary.

We gratefully acknowledge the following periodicals, which have come to hand since the publication of the list in our last issue. Some of these are received on a reciprocal basis with our own *Proceedings*.

The Baptist Quarterly, July and October 1973.

The Journal of the Friends' Historical Society, 1972.

The Journal of the South Australian Methodist Historical Society, October 1972—together with their publication *The Life and Times of Dr. William George Torr*.

The Wesleyan Theological Journal (the bulletin of the Wesleyan Theological Society, Kansas City, USA), Vol. 8, Spring 1973.

The Local Historian, Vol. 10, No. 7.

Methodist History, July 1973.

We have received offprints of three articles by Professor W. R. Ward of Durham: "The Legacy of John Wesley: the Pastoral Office in Britain and America" (from Lucy Sutherland's *Festschrift*, "Statesmen, Scholars and Merchants" (Oxford University Press); "The Religion of the People and the Problem of Control, 1790-1830" (from *Studies in Church History*, vol. 8 (Cambridge, 1971)); and "The French Revolution and the English Churches" (from *Miscellanea Historiæ Ecclesiasticæ*, IV).

THE STORY OF THE LEEDS “NON-CONS”

Formation of the “Wesleyan Protestant Methodists”

[This contribution represents Part IV of the Rev. John T. Hughes's survey of the Leeds Organ dispute, and concludes the series. Previous articles appeared in *Proceedings*, xxxv, pp. 81-7, 122-4, and xxxvii, pp. 133-9.—EDITOR.]

IN the period when the Leeds seceders claimed to be awaiting the result of their appeal to the 1828 Conference against the permission granted by the 1827 Conference to install the organ at Brunswick chapel, they were involved in acts which foreshadowed separation. They held their own services, and opened chapels in March and April—the “Stone Chapel” and Caroline Street. There were about a dozen preaching-places; “a regular Plan for the preachers in the circuit” was provided; and a class ticket was distributed in December 1827.

At the 1828 Conference, Daniel Isaac spoke forcibly in condemnation of several aspects of the 1827 proceedings. He did not think the complainants intended to make a division. Their opposition was at the dictate of conscience. “Upon both of these points his charity was soon obliged to give up the ghost.” Richard Watson, who had been invited with Jabez Bunting to the Special District Meeting as an “official adviser”, but had not attended, asked for the sanction to erect an organ to be suspended until the Conference of 1829. The views of Isaac and Watson were shared by many in the Conference, but the concluding speech of Bunting settled the issue.

He maintained that the action of the dissidents was “an insurrection against the pastoral office”, but admitted that he was influenced by the politics of some of their leaders. A resolution was adopted confirming the official action, and a second which said:

It is the judgment of the Conference that the Special District Meeting held in Leeds, was both indispensably necessary, and in the most EXTRAORDINARY EMERGENCY, CONSTITUTIONAL ALSO.

These resolutions, and the special Conference “Vote of Thanks to all the Ministers involved in the Controversy”, incensed the dissidents. On 27th August 1828, at a meeting of

Trustees, Stewards, Local Preachers, Leaders and Members *lately* belonging to the Methodist Societies in Leeds, [it was UNANIMOUSLY RESOLVED . . . to] Form themselves into a distinct community . . . retaining the doctrines and form of worship, and influenced by the motives of the original founder of Methodism, the Rev. John Wesley, under the denominaton of the WESLEYAN PROTESTANT METHODISTS.

It is an open question whether any decision of the Conference would have altered the course of secession. The character and

completeness of the "Rules of the Society", presented to the first Yearly Meeting by the Committee of Management in September 1829, and adopted in a revised form in 1830, clearly reveal the long-term design of the dissidents. Provision was made for the usual Methodist meetings and classes, but in constitution and duties there were innovations which led an apostate Protestant Methodist to declare: "The system of Protestant Methodism, taken as a whole, is one of the most singular systems that ever assumed a Methodist designation."

THE LEADERS' MEETING was composed of elders, preachers, leaders, society and poor stewards, and trustees.

ELDERS were elected for one year at the December Quarterly Meeting, and were eligible for immediate re-election. The Leeds circuit found seven to be an adequate number. They were, in general, to be aged persons, and had to be preachers. They were responsible for the preachers' plans and the fulfilment of appointments. They renewed the tickets at the quarterly visitation of the classes, and dealt with personal disputes among the members of society.

PRESIDING ELDER. This official was appointed by the Circuit Quarterly Meeting from among the elders; he was chairman of the Quarterly, Preachers' and Leaders' Meetings. Before any action in important matters, such as discipline, could be initiated, application had to be made to the presiding elder, who made all arrangements for the Leaders' Meeting to hear the case, if a hearing became necessary. Where there was no Leaders' Meeting, he could, at the request of the leader, attend the accused person's class, thereby constituting it a competent tribunal. There was a right of appeal to the Circuit Quarterly Meeting, whose decision was final.

ELDER-LEADERS. These were class-leaders who were not preachers. Elected by the Circuit Quarterly Meeting, they were responsible for general discipline in their classes, gave advice to the elders, and invited their assistance if required. Serious cases of immorality and breach of rule were to be referred to tribunals specified under the head "Exclusion of Members". Where there was no elected elder, the elder-leaders were authorized to take charge, and preside at meetings. They assisted in the distribution of the bread and wine at the Lord's Supper.

MISSIONARIES. Attitude to the ministerial office was exemplified in the following rule:

No ordination shall take place in our connexion, nor shall gowns or bands be used among us; nor shall the title of reverend be used at all. And if any brother shall break this rule, he thereby excludes himself from the Connexion.

In 1818, the Wesleyan Conference had granted permission for the title "Reverend" to be used by travelling preachers: the Protestant Methodists substituted for the travelling preachers "missionaries"

who were appointed to the home work. They were "employed", i.e. they received salaries from the general treasurer of the Missionary Committee. Only preachers fully-accredited on the plan, and approved by the Local Preachers' and Circuit Quarterly Meetings could be employed. Where expenses were incurred, missionaries could be appointed only on application from the Circuit or Leaders' Meeting.

They had the status of elder in the circuits to which they were appointed, but although they shared in the duties and privileges, as they were not stationary they were not eligible for the office of presiding elder, so could not preside at meetings. Their labours were under the strict direction of the elders. Not more than three, to be appointed by the Missionary Committee, could attend the Yearly Meeting.

THE YEARLY MEETING was fully representative of the six circuits existing in 1829, with a total membership of 2,480—which had increased to eleven circuits with 3,977 members in 1830. The presiding elders were ex-officio members; one preacher from each circuit was elected by the Preachers' Meeting, and one member, not a local preacher, by each Circuit Quarterly Meeting. Circuits exceeding 1,000 members could appoint two additional preachers and two other persons by the same rule.

THE CIRCUIT QUARTERLY MEETING was composed of all the preachers belonging to the circuit, with the stewards, leaders, and trustees (as long as these latter remained members of society). But only the preachers on full plan were allowed to vote. The meeting was empowered to hear any appeals against decisions of subordinate jurisdictions, and could deal with matters relating to improper appropriation of funds in the circuit. Inquiry had to be made into the spiritual state of the societies, and at the December meeting there was the election of the elders. No change or alteration in the mode of worship could be allowed, except by the authority of the Yearly Meeting.

THE ORDINANCES. It was considered desirable that the Lord's Supper should be received in the Established Church—especially if at the hands of a pious minister. Where a majority of stewards, leaders and trustees desired, the sacraments could be administered to members in their own chapels; but if some members wished to continue attendance at the Anglican celebrations, they could do so without being required to receive the Lord's Supper from their own preachers. The elders, or such preachers as were appointed by them, were required to administer the ordinances, but no person was to be appointed who had not been an accredited preacher for at least four years.

A piquant note is given to the whole controversy in the concluding paragraph of the Address of the 1830 Yearly Meeting to the Societies: "We would particularly urge upon you the necessity and

importance of rigidly observing the Rules of our Connexion . . ." It could be only a hope, for there was no authority in the Yearly Meeting to intervene in the circuits and societies. Its powers were nominal and advisory. For example, it could adopt a resolution declaring that "Missionaries ought to be employed by us", but had no power to appoint where expenses were involved, except upon application from the circuits and societies concerned. It could adopt changes in the rules, but only after revision and emendation in the Circuit Quarterly Meetings.

Protestant Methodism was an experiment in local independence, polity and constitution, and "employed laymen", which survived for only seven or eight years. When the Wesleyan Methodist Association, which emerged from the dispute concerning a plan to train candidates for the ministry, plus later claims for representation in Conference and more freedom in the circuits, held its first Annual Assembly in Manchester in 1836, James Sigston and Matthew Johnson, leaders in the Protestant Methodists, were among the delegates from Leeds. Johnson was appointed Secretary of the Assembly, with (the Rev.) Dr. Samuel Warren, leader of the opposition to the Theological Institution, as President.

A large measure of liberty as to particular rules of church government and management of internal affairs was retained. . . . "without the interference of any Yearly Meeting". On the question of ministry, it should be "as each [society] might think it proper to adopt". At the first Assembly, there were five "stationed preachers" present. It was

RESOLVED—That in any official document or public announcement of the Wesleyan Association, or of the respective Societies, it is inexpedient that the term "Reverend", should be used in connexion with the name of any Preacher in the Association.

This was far removed from the rule and penalty of the Protestant Methodists. In 1840 there were 39 "Preachers in Full Connexion" and 36 in the various stages of qualification, with an indiscriminating terminology of "Itinerant Preachers" and "Itinerant Ministers".

Home missionaries were still employed, but the general attitude toward the ministry was expressed in the repeated exhortation:

Taking into consideration the great and beneficial results of an Itinerant Ministry, [the Assembly] feels it a duty strongly to recommend to such circuits in the Wesleyan Association as have not yet already adopted the system, to avail themselves as early as convenient of its advantages.

JOHN T. HUGHES.

Two articles of interest to Methodist historians have recently appeared in contemporary journals. In the *Journal of the Society of Archivists*, iv, p. 200, Dr. C. Edwin Welch, one of our members, writes on "The Early Methodists and their Records", and in the *Proceedings of the Huguenot Society of London*, xxii, there is a contribution by Irene Scouloudi, entitled "Two Chalices formerly belonging to West Street Chapel".

“A SPECIES OF MADNESS”

The Effect of John Wesley’s Early Preaching

PARADOXICALLY, it was when writing to reassure “Men of Reason and Religion” that Wesley boldly claimed: “It is my endeavour to drive all I can, into what you may term [a] species of madness . . . and which I term *repentance* or *conviction*”; and he went on to describe the symptoms of this madness:

While the word of God was preached, some persons have dropped down as dead; some have been, as it were, in strong convulsions; some roared aloud, though not with an articulate voice; and others spoke the anguish of their souls.

These were, said Wesley, “extraordinary circumstances which have attended this conviction in some instances”, and sometimes people became so delirious that they seemed to have come to the verge of complete insanity.¹

In his *Journal* Wesley wrote of these occurrences, and one example may be given. In June 1739 he visited Wapping.

While I was earnestly inviting all sinners to “enter into the holiest” by this “new and living way” many of those that heard began to call upon God with strong cries and tears. Some sunk down, and there remained no strength in them; others exceedingly trembled and quaked; some were torn with a kind of convulsive motion in every part of their bodies, and that so violently that often four or five persons could not hold one of them. . . . Twenty-six of those who had been thus affected (most of whom, during the prayers which were made for them, were in a moment filled with peace and joy) promised to call upon me the next day.²

Wesley called these “extraordinary circumstances”. The later Methodist historian, Luke Tyerman, described them as “among the most remarkable in church history; they are curious and mysterious”,³ and, in spite of various attempts to explain these happenings, they retain something of their mystery still. Our aim in this article is to try to show why they should have occurred.

Wesley himself said that they were “easily accounted for, either on principles of reason or Scripture”. His scriptural explanation was that, just as in the Gospels evil spirits would sometimes “tear those who are coming to Christ”, so now it is the devil who struggles within those who have begun to be convinced by the evangelical message, to prevent them from becoming believers.⁴ Again and again in the *Journal* this explanation is either stated or implied. A woman screamed out—it was because “the enemy began to tear her”;⁵ a man was apparently mad—he was “strangely torn by the devil”.⁶ It was the devil, therefore, or evil spirits, who caused these

¹ *Works* (1744 edn.), viii, pp. 129 ff.

² *Journal*, ii, pp. 221 f.; also see entries for the period 18th April to 4th December 1739. For examples of delirium, see 23rd to 28th October.

³ *The Life and Times of the Rev. John Wesley, M.A.* (1871), i, p. 268.

⁴ *Works*, viii, pp. 130 f.; cf. Mark ix. 20 ff.

⁵ *Journal*, ii, p. 271.

⁶ *ibid.*, ii, p. 291; cf. ii, pp. 190 f., 298 f., 300 f.

extraordinary outbursts, and when healing and calm were given in answer to the prayers of those present (sometimes after hours of intercession),⁷ this was the work of God—and again echoes of the Gospels are noticeable when Wesley says that this was by the “finger” or “hand” or “Spirit of God”.⁸ Here were, in fact, healing miracles performed by God, which were comparable with those performed by Jesus when He drove out evil spirits from demented people.

Others at the time were not convinced by this explanation. It was readily enough agreed that conversion was brought about by the hand of God, but Charles Wesley and George Whitefield considered that if the devil was involved at all this was not because his intervention was part of the process of repentance as such, but because he was causing these outbursts so as to discredit the Methodist movement;⁹ and Charles Wesley found that very often people were simply feigning these symptoms in order to attract attention to themselves.¹⁰

However, John Wesley had another explanation to offer, this time on “principles of reason”. We return to his *Farther Appeal to Men of Reason and Religion*:

For, how easy it is to suppose, that a strong, lively and sudden apprehension of the heinousness of sin, the wrath of God, and the bitter pains of eternal death, should affect the body as well as the soul, during the present laws of vital union, should interrupt or disturb the ordinary circulations, and put nature out of its course! Yea, we may question, whether, while this union subsists, it be possible for the mind to be affected, in so violent a degree, without some or other of those bodily symptoms following.¹¹

Now, it is this clue which has been followed up by those writers who have attempted to explain these strange events. When people fell insensible or cried out, this was the result of extreme fear—fear of hell and the wrath of God—provoked by the vivid and impassioned preaching of Wesley and his colleagues.

Such a view was put forward in 1820 by Robert Southey in his *Life of Wesley*:

A powerful doctrine preached with passionate sincerity, with fervid zeal, and with vehement eloquence, produced a powerful effect upon weak minds, ardent feelings, and disordered fancies. These are passions which are as infectious as the plague, and fear itself is not more so than fanaticism. When once these bodily affections were declared to be the work of grace, the process of regeneration, the throes of the new birth, a free license [sic] was proclaimed for every kind of extravagance. . . . It was not long before men, women, and children began to act the demoniac as well as the convert. Wesley had seen many hysterical fits, and many fits of epilepsy, but none that were like these, and he confirmed the patients in their belief that they were torn of Satan. . . .

⁷ *ibid.*, ii, p. 324.

⁸ *ibid.*, ii, pp. 180, 182, 184, 186 f., etc. cf. Luke xi. 20; Matthew xii. 28.

⁹ Charles Wesley's *Journal*, i, pp. 243, 314. For Whitefield, see Tyerman, *op. cit.*, i, p. 258. cf. *Journal*, ii, pp. 230 f. (Ralph Erskine).

¹⁰ Charles Wesley's *Journal*, i, pp. 247, 314.

¹¹ *Works*, viii, p. 131.

The fanaticism which he had excited in others was now reacting upon himself.¹²

More recently a similar analysis has been presented in greater detail by William Sargant in his book *Battle for the Mind* (1957). Various points are made by Dr. Sargant with which we are not directly concerned,¹³ but of immediate interest is his account of Wesley's preaching technique :

First of all, Wesley would create high emotional tension in his potential converts. He found it easy to convince large audiences of that period that a failure to achieve salvation would necessarily condemn them to hell fire for ever and ever. The immediate acceptance of an escape from such a ghastly fate was then very strongly urged on the ground that anybody who left the meeting "unchanged" and met with a sudden fatal accident before he had accepted this salvation, would pass straight into the fiery furnace . . . Fear of everlasting hell . . . affected the nervous system of his hearers very much as fear of death by drowning did Pavlov's dogs in the Leningrad floods.¹⁴

The symptoms reported by Wesley seem to be those of hysteria, which are described as follows :

Positive clinical features in the motor sphere consist of tremors, explosive utterances, spasm of ocular muscles, abnormal gaits and fits. These fits may vary from simply falling to the ground as in syncope, to bizarre attacks with wild movements of arms and legs. . . . [There is] increased violence of the movements when restraint is applied. . . . The psychological symptoms consist of fugues in which the memory is lost, twilight states in which consciousness appears impaired, stupor in which the patient lies motionless showing no reaction to the environment and pseudo-dementia in which the patient behaves as though insane.¹⁵

All this agrees exactly with the symptoms which Wesley described in such detail, and the conclusion to which we seem to be pointed is that, by preaching up the agonies of hell in a fervent way, John Wesley frightened the more susceptible of his hearers so severely that they became hysterical.

However, the evidence does not support this conclusion. Over the years since Southey's book was published, several writers have sprung to Wesley's defence, pointing out, rightly, that he had not been a heated preacher, and that he did not deal frequently with the subject of hell in his sermons.¹⁶ He was, in fact, less dramatic and

¹² Southey, *op. cit.* (1899 edn.), pp. 132 f.

¹³ It is claimed, for instance, that a basic similarity exists between the psychiatric treatment of neurotic patients, "brain-washing", and Wesley's conversion method. This has been opposed by I. Ramage (*Battle for the Free Mind*, 1967). However, Mr. Ramage's own suggestion—that the symptoms noticed in Wesley's hearers were those of *release* due to his preaching the love of God—hardly fits the facts. Mr. Ramage seems to confuse the distress which led up to the new birth with the joy of release that followed it.

¹⁴ Sargant, *op. cit.*, p. 78.

¹⁵ S. Davidson: *The Principles and Practice of Medicine* (6th edn., 1962), pp. 1074 f.

¹⁶ On Wesley's preaching of hell, see article by Dr. D. Dunn Wilson in *Proceedings*, xxxiv, pp. 12 ff.—EDITOR.

more calmly logical as an orator than either his brother Charles or George Whitefield had been, and yet under their preaching these convulsions were far less frequent.¹⁷

Further, we cannot explain these hysterical reactions on the ground of *fear* alone. To become hysterical, people must feel not only threatened but also to some extent trapped or helpless in the face of that threat. For these reasons, therefore, we must look again to find a more cogent explanation for these occurrences. If John Wesley did not preach hell-fire in a terrifying manner, what was it about his preaching particularly which made people hysterical?

We suggest that Wesley himself provided the clue when he said (in the quotation with which this article opened) that it was his endeavour to drive people into a madness "which I term *repentance* or *conviction*". The hysterical attacks, he said, "attended this conviction in some instances"—and, we suggest, when Wesley's understanding of "conviction" or "repentance" is made clear, the hysteria of some of his hearers will be fully explained.

In an earlier article¹⁸ it has been shown how different the early Methodist doctrine of faith was from our own current ideas. Modern teaching is that faith is *exercised* by the subject (helped, of course, by God's grace); the early Methodist doctrine was that faith is a gift from God, for which men or women "under conviction" have to wait, aware only of their helplessness. We say today that faith is a human act—that people can voluntarily *believe* in God. The Wesleys said that all men can do is to *plead with God to give them faith*, which is His gift, given in His own time.

This explains the distress which normally preceded and led up to the release of the new birth. Having been made aware of their sin (being "repentant" or "under conviction"), people could not then simply believe and so find peace with God: they were taught rather that they were now helpless—they must plead with God to work a miracle within them by giving them saving faith so that they could find peace. Let a passage from one of George Whitefield's sermons express this doctrine, which was generally held by all the Methodist preachers in the eighteenth century. Whitefield is offering Christ to his hearers,

if you will but believe on him. If you say, you cannot believe, you say right; for faith, as well as every other blessing, is the gift of God: but then wait upon God, and who knows but he may have mercy on thee? . . . Beg of God to give you faith; and, if the Lord give you that, you will by it receive Christ, with his righteousness, and his all.¹⁹

This message, and the "groaning" for the new birth which it induced, were commonplace in early Methodism.²⁰ But what was there

¹⁷ I. Taylor: *Wesley, and Methodism* (1851), pp. 36 f.; J. Wedgwood: *John Wesley* (1870), pp. 203 f.; Tyerman, *op. cit.*, i, pp. 263, 5; Ramage, *op. cit.*, pp. 120 ff.

¹⁸ *Proceedings*, xxxviii, pp. 46 ff., 65 ff.

¹⁹ R. Philip: *The Life and Times of the Rev. George Whitefield* (1837), pp. 580, 583.

²⁰ See *Works*, viii, pp. 4 ff.

about John Wesley's exposition of this doctrine which drove his hearers in particular to feel so acutely desperate that they became hysterical? We believe it was this: he taught penitent people that, in spite of their longing to be reconciled to God, *they were nevertheless still damned until faith was given them*. It was this that so intensified the feeling of helplessness and anxiety of those who were under conviction that some of them fell down as if dead, or cried out, or became delirious.

The evidence for this is to be found in Wesley's *Journal and Sermons*. In his *Journal* he described his own searching for faith in the months leading up to his conversion in 1738. Wesley was striving desperately to please God and to receive the gift of faith, and yet he said of himself:

my whole heart is "altogether corrupt and abominable"; and consequently my whole life . . . "alienated" as I am from the life of God, I am "a child of wrath", an heir of hell.²¹

It was in this way that Wesley taught other people to think of themselves. In his sermon on "The Almost Christian" he described a life which (as his own had been), whilst lacking saving faith was yet totally devoted to pleasing and serving God; and then he concludes that the so-called faith of this man is but "dead and devilish"; that if this man were to die without receiving the gift of faith "good it were for him that he had never been born".²² Even as late as the Conference of 1744, Wesley coldly stated that a man could not go to heaven unless his repentance had been crowned with the gift of faith.²³

It is thus scarcely surprising that people should have been driven into a state of hysteria. First, having been made aware of their sin, they resolved to turn to God, and so were told to ask for faith. They were now under conviction and, helpless, unable to do anything other except call on God in His own time to give them faith by a miracle, they groaned for this gift. And then John Wesley dispassionately and logically assured them that until that gift was received they were still guilty, still under the wrath of God; that should they die now they would go to hell in spite of their desire for faith, and there was nothing they could do about it. It is to be expected that there would be some whose temperament could not withstand this assault, so that they became hysterical, and, since they had been told that they were children of hell, it is understandable that when such people became delirious they should cry out that they belonged to the devil.

On one occasion Wesley questioned some of those who had earlier shown these symptoms, and the account they gave of their feelings at the time agrees exactly with the analysis we have given. He wrote:

²¹ *Journal*, i, p. 423.

²² *Sermons*, i, pp. 64 f.

²³ *Works*, viii, p. 276.

Some of these, I found, could give no account at all how or wherefore they had done so; only that of a sudden they dropped down, they knew not how; and what they afterwards said or did they knew not. Others could just remember they were in fear; but could not tell what they were in fear of. Several said they were afraid of the devil, and this was all they knew. But a few gave a more intelligible account of the piercing sense they then had of their sins, both inward and outward, which were set in array against them round about; of the dread they were in of the wrath of God and the punishment they had deserved, into which they seemed to be just falling, without any way to escape. One of them told me, "I was as if I was just falling down from the highest place I had ever seen. I thought the devil was pushing me off, and that God had forsaken me."²⁴

This confirms our suggestion that the hysteria was caused by a sense of helplessness in the face of hell and the devil. When people had done their utmost to turn to God, and still found themselves guilty and lost *with no further way of escape open to them* as they waited for God to act, then despair and anxiety gave way to hysteria and delirium. After they had done all that they could, they found themselves still in the power of the devil, while God seemed to have deserted them.

This explanation accounts for two mysteries which have surrounded this episode in Methodist history. It explains, first, why it was John Wesley in particular who produced these results, rather than Charles Wesley or George Whitefield, in spite of the fact that these were the more impassioned and vehement orators. Both of them, of course, led people to "groan" for faith, but they did not drive their hearers to hysteria for this reason: unlike John Wesley they assured people that when once they began to long for faith *they were accepted by God* (because of that longing) even before the gift of saving faith was bestowed. Thus they did not induce in people the feeling of tormented despair which was occasioned by the preaching of John Wesley.

In the case of Charles Wesley, this can be seen (as we have shown)²⁵ in his hymns, and evidently it was noticeable in his preaching. Melville Horne frequently heard the sermons of both the Wesley brothers, and he wrote that Charles Wesley,

far from denouncing wrath on *sincere* Penitents . . . comforted them, by insinuating that they were in a *salvable* state. He told them that they had the faith of God's *Servants*, though they were not yet sealed, as his *Sons*, by the loving Spirit of Adoption. . . . To the best of my recollection, Mr. J. Wesley did not admit this *distinction* into his pulpit.²⁶

George Whitefield also, for all his impassioned calls for people to be born again, did not pronounce damnation on those who responded and yearned for faith. Under the "characteristic sayings" of Whitefield, Robert Philip includes the following:

²⁴ *Journal*, iii, pp. 59 f. (December 1742.)

²⁵ *Proceedings*, xxxviii, pp. 49 ff.

²⁶ *An Investigation of the Definition of Justifying Faith* (1809), pp. 28 ff.

I cannot but think all who are truly converted must know that there was a time in which they closed with Christ : but then, as so many have died only with an humble hope, and have been ever under doubts and fears, *though they could not but be looked upon as Christians*, I am less positive than once I was, lest haply I should condemn *some of God's dear children*.²⁷

In his preaching, Whitefield, like Charles Wesley, dealt tenderly with those who were longing for faith to be given.

What say ye, my dear hearers? Are ye sensible of your weakness? Do you feel that ye are poor, miserable, blind, and naked by nature? Do you give up your hearts, your affections, your wills, your understanding, to be guided by the Spirit of God, as a little child gives up its hand to be guided by its parent? Are ye little in your own eyes? Do you think meanly of yourselves?

Such, he went on, must not "conclude ye have no grace at all". It is Jesus who has humbled them; it is He who is emptying their heart, "to be more abundantly replenished by and by".²⁸

Under such preaching people would be led to express remorse for their sins and to plead passionately with God to give them faith, but since they were told they were already accepted by God and released from the fear of hell, there was no reason for people under conviction to become hysterical. They could wait calmly and patiently for saving faith to be granted to them in God's good time.

The other aspect of this case which has puzzled later commentators is why it was that these hysterical outbursts should have been confined to the first few years of Wesley's evangelical ministry. If he continued to proclaim the same message throughout his life, why should people have ceased to react as they had done at first?

The one suggestion put forward to account for this is that in the early years of the revival there was a fervour about the Methodist movement which soon died away²⁹—but this does not explain why the meetings addressed by other preachers, more fervent than John Wesley, should not have been interrupted by these outbursts during that same early period.

However, if our analysis is correct, we can suggest a clear reason why this change should have occurred; for John Wesley gradually changed his mind about the guilt of penitents. In the end he came to agree with his brother Charles that those who were longing for faith were *not* children of the devil, but that they were in a state of acceptance by God. To the extent that his preaching was modified at this important point, Wesley would have caused less anxiety and terror in the minds of his hearers, who would therefore be less liable to become hysterical.

The first evidence of a softening in Wesley's attitude is found in

²⁷ *op. cit.*, p. 385. (Our italics.)

²⁸ *ibid.*, pp. 585 f.

²⁹ R. Watson: *The Life and Times of the Rev. John Wesley* (1831), pp. 432 ff.; Wedgwood, *op. cit.*, pp. 200 f.

the reports of the Conferences of 1746 and 1747. On the former occasion the question was put :

But can it be conceived that God has any regard to the sincerity of an unbeliever ?

and the answer was given :

Yes, so much, that, if he perseveres therein, God will infallibly give him faith.³⁰

In the following year Wesley dealt with this in more detail. He stated that whilst people who are "continually longing, striving, praying for the assurance [of faith] which they have not" are still "under the wrath and under the curse of God", they will not be allowed to die in that state. "If they continue to seek, they will surely find righteousness, and peace, and joy in the Holy Ghost."³¹ Here was some reassurance at last for people desperate to be reconciled to God.

Finally, twenty years later, on 1st December 1767, Wesley came to the conclusion that "he that feareth God, and worketh righteousness, is accepted with [God]",³² and, presumably, from this time onwards he began to preach that those who in sincerity tried to please God and who were praying for faith, were already in a state of salvation. In a sermon preached near the end of his life, Wesley said :

Nearly fifty years ago, when the Preachers, commonly called Methodists, began to preach that grand scriptural doctrine, salvation by faith, they were not sufficiently apprized of the difference between a servant and a child of God. They did not clearly understand, that even one "who feareth God and worketh righteousness, is accepted of Him." In consequence of this, they were apt to make sad the hearts of those whom God had not made sad. For they frequently asked those who feared God, "Do you know that your sins are forgiven?" And upon their answering, "No", immediately replied, "Then you are a child of the devil." No; that does not follow. It might have been said, . . . "Hitherto you are only a *servant*, you are not a *child* of God. You have already great reason to praise God that he has called you to his honourable service. Fear not. Continue crying unto him, 'and you shall see greater things than these',"³³

However, from what we can gather, it was not the other Methodist preachers so much as John Wesley himself who had been at fault in this matter, and, if Melville Horne's testimony is to be trusted, John never came to lay so much emphasis upon the "faith of a servant" in his preaching as Charles was accustomed to do.

Thus our conclusion is that John Wesley leads us to the heart of the matter when he says of the intention of his preaching in the early years of the Methodist revival: "it is my endeavour to drive all I

³⁰ *Works*, viii, p. 288.

³² *Journal*, v, p. 244.

³³ *Works*, vii, p. 199; cf. *ibid.*, vii, pp. 235 f.; cf. also Wesley's marginal notes. He now considered that he had not been a "child of hell" before his conversion—he had then had the "faith of a servant". (*Journal*, i, pp. 423 fn., 442 n.)

³¹ *ibid.*, viii, p. 293.

can into . . . [a] species of madness". For this is just what he did, not by frightening sinners with a vivid and terrifying picture of hell, but by insisting to helpless penitent people that they were damned. To be made frightened of hell, if we can take action to escape from it, is one thing ; but to be made frightened of hell and then told that there is no escape unless or until God should be gracious and grant forgiveness, is another thing altogether ; and it was just this torment that Wesley inflicted on his hearers in those early years. It is no wonder that such teaching, convincingly and authoritatively given, should drive simple people into hysteria.

BERNARD G. HOLLAND.

[The Rev. Bernard G. Holland, M.A., M.Th., Ph.D., a Methodist minister, is chaplain of Truro School. In 1970 he was the Fernley Hartley Lecturer at the British Conference, his lecture being subsequently published by the Epworth Press under the title *Baptism in Early Methodism*.]

In Routledge and Kegan Paul's "Critical Heritage" Series there has recently appeared *Robert Southey*, edited by Lionel Madden (pp. xix. 492, £7). This volume presents a selection of critical assessments of Southey from 1794 to 1897, and includes a section dealing with his *Life of Wesley*. It reprints Richard Watson's well-known reply to Southey, together with notices in *The Monthly Magazine* for June 1820 and *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine* for February 1824, the latter coming from the pen of John G. Lockhart.

MORE LOCAL HISTORIES

We acknowledge, with many thanks, the following handbooks and brochures which have been sent to us recently. These examples of research and recollection gathered by local historians are always welcome to us, and may be of value to other workers in the future. Not all the items are priced, but we give the figures where these have been supplied.

Whalley centenary (pp. 24) : copies, price 27½p., from the Rev. Eric S. Joselin, The Manse, Brookes Lane, Whalley, Blackburn, Lancs, BB6 9RG.

Treloweth (St. Austell) centenary (pp. 12) : copies from the Rev. Robert C. Murrish, Rose-Morran, Mevagissey, St. Austell, Cornwall.

Rochford (Essex) re-opening commemorative brochure (pp. 12) : copies, price 10p., from the Rev. John E. Stanfield, 349, Westbourne Grove, Westcliffe-on-Sea, Essex, SSO 0PU.

Fosse Road North, Leicester, centenary souvenir booklet (pp. 24) : copies, price 20p., from the Rev. Harry W. Gillespie, 31, Sandringham Avenue, Leicester, LE4 7NS.

Madeley Heath (Bromsgrove) centenary brochure (pp. 4) : copies from the Rev. Thomas Rumley, 21, Ash Drive, Catshill, Bromsgrove, Worcs.

Mount Calvary church, Brandon, Durham, centenary brochure (pp. 16) : copies from the Rev. Payson Burley, 2, Acton Road, Esh Winning, Durham, DH7 9PJ.

BOOK NOTICES

John Wesley on the Sacraments—A Theological Study by Ole E. Borgen. (Publishing House of the United Methodist Church, Zürich, Switzerland, pp. 308.)

Dr. Borgen, Bishop in the Scandinavian Area of the United Methodist Church, has written a definitive work on Wesley's doctrine of the Sacraments. As he points out in his opening chapter, comparatively few books have been written in this field, though almost every writer on Wesley makes incidental references to it. On the Lord's Supper Dr. J. E. Rattenbury was a pioneer, but his work suffered from certain limitations. Dr. Bowmer produced the classic work on the Lord's Supper in early Methodism, but he dealt only briefly with the theological aspect, to which he probably intended to return later. On Baptism there is the more recent work by Dr. Bernard Holland.

Bishop Borgen has mastered all this and a number of unpublished theses also, but above all he has gone back to the primary sources and has sought to understand Wesley in the light of the immediate sources of his ideas, especially of course the original treatise by Brevint. He is extremely critical of his predecessors; the word "condescending" which he applies to one of them might also be applied to much of his own treatment of them. Hardly anyone who has written on the subject escapes unscathed. These criticisms are often on very detailed points, and it would need much careful work to ascertain how far they are justified.

Nevertheless, the author's thoroughness inspires confidence. Footnotes with exact references abound on every page. The manner is reminiscent of his fellow-Scandinavian Dr. Harald Lindström. Indeed, the detail is so great that sometimes it is hard to see the wood for the trees; but as a work of reference the book will be of great value.

Dr. Borgen, believing that Wesley had one unified doctrine of the Sacraments, treats Baptism and the Lord's Supper together, and sees them as part of a greater unitive structure, the whole *ordo salutis*.

The conclusions at which all this careful work arrives are "high Wesleyan". Wesley asserted baptismal regeneration both for infants and adults, though with some reservations for the latter. There is only one expiatory sacrifice, namely, of Christ on the cross. The sacramental sacrifice is neither propitiatory nor expiatory; yet in the Godward direction men present not the same sacrifice but the same sacrifice in its consequent effects. The claim that Wesley was a "high-church sacramentalist" before Aldersgate and an "evangelical" afterwards cannot be substantiated as far as his doctrinal views are concerned. Modern Methodism, for all practical purposes, must be considered Pelagian. Such are some of his conclusions.

The author is probably wise in not seeking to relate all this to modern discussions. Wesley has suffered in the past from being interpreted in categories other than those of his own day. Even Dr. Borgen, when touching on the views of others, does not apply the careful analysis which he applies to Wesley. Thus, for instance, he uses the word "sacerdotal" in a pejorative sense, as if its meaning were obvious. It is well that Wesley should shine in his own light, and for this careful exposition of him we are grateful. Yet it serves to remind us how close in many ways he is in his ecumenical outlook to the modern type of consensus.

A. RAYMOND GEORGE.

The Conferences after Wesley, by Bernard L. Semmens. (The National Press Pty. Ltd., 34, Lonsdale Street, Melbourne, Australia, pp. 106, English price £2 25p.)

Those who are interested in the nature of the tensions within Methodism following the death of John Wesley, and more especially in the question of ordinations, will greatly profit from the author's careful analysis of Conference decisions in the half-century after Wesley's decease. He establishes the fact that the Conference responsibly used its authority as "the living Wesley". Mr. Semmens illustrates this under the headings of (a) the ministry and the designation of officials, (b) ordination, over which the Conference exercised full control, (c) the Lord's Supper, and (d) the control of preachers. In dealing with all these matters he is careful to quote unimpeachable authorities.

An interesting section of Mr. Semmens's research is concerned with the provision Conference made for the future in the troubled years of 1794 to 1797, and then its actions during the years of expansion. Students will perhaps find special interest in his discussion of imposition of hands. He gives convincing reasons why Conference was in some cases reluctant to use the imposition of hands, and yet had no doubt about the validity of all its acts of ordination. If extra proof were needed, the four appendices underline the conscientious research of the author. There is no doubt that he would willingly help those engaged in this area of study, because he has already given solid evidence of his readiness to acquaint scholars with the fruits of his research. (His address is: The Rev. B. L. Semmens, 2/723, Orrong Road, Toorak, Victoria, 3142, Australia.) Meantime, salutations to an Australian supernumerary minister who has thrown fresh light on territory that is little traversed and has put us all in his debt.

MALDWIN EDWARDS.

Sources for Nonconformist Genealogy and Family History, by D. J. Steel. (Phillimore, pp. 798, £4 50p. Published for the Society of Genealogists.)

Hymns of Eternal Truth, published by the Sherbourne Road Trust, Bradford, BD7 1RB, Yorks. Words only, 50p.; music edition, £2.

The Society of Genealogists' publication constitutes volume 2 of the *National Index of Parish Registers*, and it covers the wide field of all Protestant Nonconformist sources of genealogy (i.e. United Reformed, Baptist, Society of Friends, Moravians, Methodists, Foreign Church such as Lutherans, Huguenots, etc., and other smaller denominations such as the Inghamites, the New Church, etc.). Useful appendices are attached to each section, giving bibliographies, background history, and information of a like kind. Methodism is well served with a chapter of 20 pages, and in addition to the Wesleyans and their offshoots, the Countess of Huntingdon's Connexion and the Welsh Calvinistic Methodists are also considered. A short history of the various movements is followed by an account of the organization of the connexions, with an indication of where records are deposited. Frequent reference is made to our connexional archives. Unfortunately the work was compiled when our colleges in Leeds, Birmingham and Manchester were still in operation, but this is nonetheless a very useful and accurate reference-book.

The volume entitled *Hymns of Eternal Truth* is a collection of Wesley hymns, 120 in all, of which 78 are in the present *Methodist Hymn-Book* (1933), 22 are in the 1876 book but not in the present one, and 20

are in neither the 1876 nor the 1933 collection. In every case the compilers have gone back to Wesley's original version, so that the only editing that has been done consists of selecting verses. In only one case have we noticed the usually-accepted version being preferred to the original, and that is

Hark the herald angels sing
Glory to the King of kings.

The Sherbourne Road Trust is an Independent or Free Church claiming to find "eternal truth" in the hymns and sermons of the Wesley brothers. In a way, they are more Methodist than the Methodists. They are certainly to be commended on the production of this book, and if anyone comes to me for "the cream of Charles Wesley" I shall know where to turn.

JOHN C. BOWMER.

The Ghanaian's Image of the Missionary (1897-1965), by Harris W. Mobley. (Leiden: E. J. Brill, pp. xi. 180.)

Dr. Mobley's contribution to the history of Ghana Methodism is real though indirect. He has attempted, in the words of his sub-title, "An analysis of the published critiques of Christian Missionaries by Ghanaians". Dr. Mobley's research is further limited by the exclusion, *inter alia*, of "irresponsible leaflets" on the one hand and "ultra-conservative or right wing literature" on the other (pp. 6 f.).

Missionaries in general (and the study of an "image" must inevitably deal in generalizations) are criticized for their social and physical isolation from Ghanaian people; for their failure to relate Christianity to indigenous beliefs; and for their imposition of Western forms of institutionalism. Nevertheless, Wesleyans are given credit for planning, as early as the 1870s, a devolution to Ghanaians of responsibility in the Church, and for helping to create the intellectual climate in which some of the first and most thoughtful critics could develop.

Dr. Mobley's book is useful if read with discernment and close attention to its stated terms of reference. One might have wished, however, for a somewhat keener criticism of the critics themselves, and for a more careful distinction between their varied points of view.

PAUL ELLINGWORTH.

Recent issues of *The Local Historian* have contained a series of articles, some written by members of the Wesley Historical Society, under the general title "Sources for Church History". Particulars are:

- I—"English Religious History", by Dorothy Owen. (Volume 9, No. 2, p. 65.)
- II—"Dr. Williams's Library", by Kenneth Twinn. (Volume 9, No. 3, p. 115—see also p. 280.)
- III—"The Records of the Church Commissioners", by E. J. Robinson. (Volume 9, No. 5, p. 215.)
- IV—"Recusant History: a Bibliographical Article", by Alan Davidson. (Volume 9, No. 6, p. 283.)
- V—"Non-Parochial Registers and the Local Historian", by R. W. Ambler. (Volume 10, No. 2, p. 59.)
- VI—"The Nonconformist Chapel and the Local Community", by G. M. Morris. (Volume 10, No. 5, p. 253.)

Also, Mr. Barrie Trinder has written on "Religious Tracts as Sources of Local History: Some West Midlands Examples" (Vol. 10, No. 3, p. 116).

NOTES AND QUERIES

1246. HUMOROUS VERSES BY SAMUEL WESLEY: A POSTSCRIPT.

Through the kindness of two friends—Dr. A. W. Glyn Court of Watchet and Mr. A. D. Howells of Guildford—I am able to elucidate one of the allusions which escaped me when the verses were printed in *Proceedings*, xxxix, pp. 6-11.

At the top of page 11 there is a reference to "your new country Madoc", and this contains more interest than appears on the surface. In the Middle Ages there arose a legend, which was still a current belief in eighteenth-century Wales, that Madoc ap Owain Gwynedd had sailed west in the twelfth century and discovered a new land, America. He returned to Wales and persuaded a number of his compatriots to join him in a further expedition, with the object of establishing new homes across the Atlantic. They sailed away and were not heard of any more, but they reached their destination, settled down, and formed a community, their children continuing to live there after them. In consequence, several "Red Indian" tribes were reputed to have been descended from this boatload of explorers. Their language too survived, and they spoke among themselves in Welsh.

Whether this legend was sincerely believed or not, it was used by both Hakluyt and Raleigh, since it countered the Spanish claim to right of right of priority on the American continent.

At the Restoration in 1660—or perhaps more likely in 1662 at the "Great Ejection"—a Puritan minister, Morgan Jones, emigrated to America, and became the minister of a church in the neighbourhood of New York. Some years later he made an amazing statement. He said that in 1669, when he was in the southern part of Virginia, he was captured by a band of Indians called the Tuscaroras. They set about to put him to death, and, thinking that his last hour had come, he naturally began to pray in his mother tongue. To his astonishment, an Indian of another tribe, the Doegs, understood his words, and arranged for his ransom. He was set free, and was taken by his rescuer to his own people. There he lived for four months, and preached to them in Welsh. He sent a written statement to Wales, and although it was not printed until the time of the "Jenkins' Ear" War in 1739, it eventually rekindled interest in the story and impelled John Evans, son and grandson of Methodist preachers, to set out for America in 1793 with the object of discovering and reconverting those lost Welsh Indians. It seems he sought in vain.

The question of the story's credibility has been dealt with by two writers of modern times. In 1963 the University of Wales Press published *John Evans a Chedwl Medog* (i.e. John Evans and the Legend of Madoc), by David Williams, a bilingual text. But Thomas Stephens, in *Madoc* (1958), gives reasons for regarding the legend as having no foundation in fact.

Mr. Howells further reminds me that "mallet" (page 9, footnote 11) is not a misprint as I suspected, but is an old word for a bag or portmanteau. It seems to be a diminutive of "mail", and has been obsolete since the early sixteenth century, although Webster lists it as having been used as late as 1847.

Dr. Court also suggests that the reference to Holland (page 11, line 4) may be a reminiscence of the fact that More makes the storyteller of *Utopia* a Dutchman.

OLIVER A. BECKERLEGGE.

1247. UNITED REFORMED CHURCH HISTORY SOCIETY.

We are always interested in the fortunes of the historical societies established in connexion with other religious denominations and movements, whose aims are similar to our own, and whose informative journals we read with profit. A new situation has been created as a result of the recent Congregational-Presbyterian union in England, and we readily print the following statement received from the secretary of the amalgamated society :

During the past two years there have been discussions between the officers of the Historical Societies of the Congregational and Presbyterian Churches as to what action should be taken when the two churches united. The decision was made to unite the two societies, and this has now been carried into effect.

The officers of the new society are as follows :

President—Dr. G. F. Nuttall.

Chairman—The Rev. Wilfred Biggs, B.D., B.Th.

Vice-Chairman—Mr. John M. Ross, C.B.E., M.A.

Secretaries—The Rev. J. R. Plowman, M.A. and Mr. A. G. Esslemont, B.Com., F.C.I.S.

Treasurer—Mrs. Janet E. Carr.

Research Secretary—Dr. Clyde Binfield.

Research Secretary and Librarian—Mr. R. J. Watson.

Editors of Journal—The Rev. Prof. R. Buick Knox, M.A., B.D., Ph.D. and the Rev. John H. Taylor, B.D.

The old societies have been incorporated in the new society, and in place of the former *Transactions of the Congregational Historical Society* and *Journal of the Presbyterian Historical Society of England* there will be a new publication, of which it is hoped to have two issues per year. At the time of issuing this statement, the price of the new publication has not been decided, but for the time being the annual membership subscription will continue at 50 new pence.

Under the constitution of the Presbyterian Historical Society, the library which it built up and used was the property of the Presbyterian Church of England. It now becomes the property of the United Reformed Church. Its Congregational side will be extended. It is housed at 86, Tavistock Place, London, W.C.1, and will continue to be used by the new society.

The Congregational Historical Society did not have a library of its own, but used the Congregational Library. This library is the property of the Congregational Memorial Hall Trust. It was formerly housed at the Memorial Hall, Farringdon Street, London, E.C.4, and will be returning there as soon as rebuilding now in progress has been brought to completion.

EDITOR.

1248. "LEADERS' SEATS" IN METHODIST CHAPELS.

Mr. John C. C. Probert, of 1, Penventon Terrace, Redruth, is investigating old Methodist customs in Cornwall, and has discovered one whereby leaders of the society sit together in the front pew. He wonders whether this links up with the Scottish custom of elders sitting in what were known as "elders' seats", and would be interested to hear if any of our readers know of "leaders' seats" in our chapels or of leaders sitting together in the front.

EDITOR.

1249. A SELECTIVE LIST OF LOCAL PREACHERS, 1743-99.

William Myles, in his *Chronological History of the People called Methodists* (4th edn., 1813), published three lists of Itinerant Preachers—1739-65, 1766-90, and 1791-1812. The first list includes among the itinerants thirteen local preachers (each indicated by an "l"), and the second list a further three. None are included in his last and longest list. Myles's explanation for this highly selective inclusion is this:

I have mentioned some very useful Local Preachers, because we are commanded to "give honour to whom honour is due," and they, as a body, have been and are very numerous, and very useful in spreading the cause of Methodism.

The following are the names of the sixteen local preachers, with Myles's dates of their "entry into the work" and of their death or (in one instance) of retirement from preaching. My own comments are printed in brackets.

JOHN BROWN, 1743-59. (Of Tanfield Lea and Newlands. See *Proceedings*, xii, pp. 75-7; xxiv, pp. 132-4.)

THOMAS COLBECK, 1748-70. (Of Keighley, a steward of the Haworth Round. See Wesley's *Letters*, ii, p. 154. He attended the Leeds Conference in 1753.)

JOHN COCKCROFT, 1761-90.

PHILIP GUIER, 1751-78. (See *Wesleyan Methodist Magazine*, 1828, pp. 214 f.; Tyerman's *Life and Times of the Rev. John Wesley* (3rd edn., 1876), ii, pp. 144-6.)

JOHN HALL, 1740-98. (Of Bristol. See *Proceedings*, xvii, p. 144.)

EBENEZER HITCHENS, 1745-9. (See *The Wesleys in Cornwall*, by J. Pearce, p. 52.)

TITUS KNIGHT, 1749-62. (Myles says he ceased to preach in 1762. Presumably he was the preacher who became an Independent minister at Halifax: see Wesley's *Journal*, v, p. 475. Tyerman (ii, p. 573) says he had served Wesley as an itinerant, but this may be doubted. He also was among the local preachers who attended the Leeds Conference in 1753.)

MATTHEW MAYER, 1762- . (Of Stockport; he died in 1814. See Wesley's *Letters*, vi, p. 206; *Methodist Magazine*, 1816, pp. 1-11, 161-70, 241-51.)

JAMES NORTH, 1757-99. (Of Rothwell. See *Methodist Magazine*, 1800, pp. 197-202. Pawson, on page 197 of the latter reference, says that he was a preacher "for about fifty years".)

MARMADUKE PAWSON, 1766-98. (Of Thorner, near Leeds. See *Armianian Magazine*, 1793, pp. 511-16, 556-60. In this autobiographical account, p. 558, he says that he came on to the plan in 1764. See also *Proceedings*, xxix, p. 131.)

RICHARD PEARCE, 1751-98. (Possibly this preacher is the Richard Pearce of Bradford-on-Avon, Wilts, proprietor of the Cross Keys, and a zealous Methodist, to whom there are numerous brief references in Wesley's *Journal* and *Letters* and the *Lives of Early Methodist Preachers*.)

WILLIAM PLOWES, 1771-97. (Of Scarcroft, near Leeds. See *Methodist Magazine*, 1799, pp. 123-7.)

FRANCIS SCOTT, 1744-87. (Of Wakefield, joiner. See G. Smith's *History of Wesleyan Methodism* (1859), i, p. 220; *Wesleyan Methodist Magazine*, 1838, p. 555; *Proceedings*, iv, p. 86. He too was one of the local preachers who attended the Leeds Conference in 1753.)

SAMPSON STANIFORTH, 1754-99. (Although he was ordained by Bishop Erasmus in 1765, Staniforth continued to be regarded as a local preacher. See *The Early Methodist Preachers* (4th edn.), iv, pp. 109-51.)

SILAS TOLD, 1745-99. (See *The Life of Mr. Silas Told*.)

THOMAS WEBB, 1766-96. (See *The Chapel on the Hill*, by A. J. Lambert (Bristol, 1929), pp. 24-31; *Proceedings*, ii, pp. 99 f.; xxxiii, pp. 153-9. Captain Webb died in 1796: twenty-eight years later his name, together with his dates as a local preacher supplied by Myles, appeared in the second edition of "Hill's Arrangement", thus claiming for him a place among the itinerants. This entry continued through all the later editions, the prefix "Captain" first appearing in the 1896 edition. His posthumous inclusion in this list is quite inexplicable, and in the interest of accuracy his name should be removed from the next edition of *Ministers and Probationers*.)

THOMAS SHAW.

1250. JOHN BAKEWELL.

The Evangelical Revival in eighteenth-century England produced among its adherents, as one would expect, many men of sterling worth who left their mark on the life of the nation. The extent of their influence varied from that of the great national figures, such as the Wesleys themselves, through those whose fame was within the movement itself, to those who would be almost entirely forgotten were it not for some single act or contribution which they made.

Among this last-named group stands John Bakewell, preacher and hymn-writer. He was a Derbyshire man, having been born in the village of Brailsford in 1721, so that the year 1971 marked the 250th anniversary of his birth. Of his early years little is known, but when he had reached the age of 18 his mind turned to religious truths, and he became an ardent evangelist. Like so many of his day who answered this call of God, he met with violent opposition, but it would be with joy that he subsequently saw some of those who had thus treated him converted under his preaching.

His first real connexion with Methodism was in 1744, when he was present at the first Methodist Conference; and in 1749 he became one of Wesley's preachers. Shortly after this he moved his home to London, where he founded a nonconformist academy at Greenwich, of which he remained principal for several years, while at the same time conducting a class-meeting in his home. Eventually he handed over the work to his son-in-law, Dr. James Egan.

From then on he became an itinerant in a very real sense, for wherever there was a vacancy among the preachers by reason of death or illness or from any other cause, he took up residence. While living in London he became personally acquainted with the Wesleys, with Augustus Toplady, John Fletcher, and other earnest evangelical men. His home was a frequent meeting-place for Methodist itinerants, and it was in fact under his roof that Thomas Olivers wrote his majestic hymn "The God of Abraham praise".

One may see it as a further link with Methodism that he was present at the Chapel Royal, Whitehall, on the occasion of John Fletcher's ordination as priest, 13th March 1757. Later the same day he again accompanied Fletcher, this time to assist John Wesley in administering the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper at West Street chapel.

Bakewell moved from Greenwich to Lewisham in the year 1815, and there he lived until his death on 18th March 1819, at the age of 98. He was buried in the City Road graveyard, where his tombstone tells us that he "adorned the doctrine of God our Saviour 80 years and preached His glorious gospel about 70 years". This surely is a record which few have exceeded.

In addition to his preaching and evangelistic work, he wrote a few hymns, one of which—"Hail, Thou once despisèd Jesus!"—has proved to be his real claim to fame. It is hard to understand why this hymn, notwithstanding its powerful message and strong evangelical content, was slow to win favour and found no place in many widely-used hymn-books in the early part of the nineteenth century. It did not appear in the 1808 revision of John Wesley's 1780 *Collection of Hymns*, much to the grief of Bakewell's family, who regarded the omission as a slight. "Well, well," Bakewell quietly replied, "perhaps they thought it was not worth inserting."

It may be that some hymn-book compilers hesitated to commit themselves to the particular view of the Atonement expressed in the lines of the second stanza :

Paschal Lamb by God appointed,
 All our sins on Thee were laid;
 By almighty love anointed,
 Thou hast full atonement made:
 All Thy people are forgiven
 Through the virtue of Thy blood;
 Opened is the gate of heaven;
 Peace is made 'twixt man and God.

This may be doctrinal, but surely the doctrine is sound, and would have won the approval of Charles Wesley. Be that as it may, we may remark that some compilers were prepared to accept far inferior material, and continue to regret that this fine hymn did not gain recognition in the lifetime of this devout and great-hearted man who was born just over 250 years ago. Nowadays we can rejoice that it finds a place in most free church collections, and is being sung by thousands.

Perhaps Bakewell's character and catholic-spirited outlook are best summarized in a prayer which he wrote a few years before his death :

May God of His infinite goodness grant that we and all serious Christians of every denomination may labour for a perfect union of love and to have our hearts knit together with the bond of peace, that following after those essential truths in which we all agree, we may all have the same spiritual experience and hereafter attain one and the same kingdom of glory.

NORMAN E. HOOLEY.

1251. MRS. HANNAH KILHAM.

In Townsend, Workman and Eayrs's *New History of Methodism*, i, p. 498, it is stated that Alexander Kilham married as his second wife Miss Hannah Spurr of Sheffield. "She survived him and was distinguished as the foundress of schools for poor children in Great Britain and Ireland and as one of the earliest lady missionaries to Sierra Leone."

In *Sierra Leone in History and Tradition* (Wetherby, 1926), the author, in giving a list of linguists of Sierra Leone languages, writes :

There is also Mrs. Hannah Kilham, the widow of the famous theological opponent of John Wesley and the founder of the Methodist New Connection [sic] Church. Mrs. Kilham, who became a Quaker after her husband's death, lived in the Gambia in 1823, making her first visit here [Sierra Leone] the following year. During 1827-8 and from 1830 to her death three years later, she lived in the village of Charlotte where she founded a school. Her superb industry and her gift for African tongues (it is said that she had a working knowledge of thirty) made her scholars known throughout the colony, the Government finally putting under her charge all the girls taken from the slave ships. In 1820, her first lesson in Jalof appeared and eight years later she published specimens of African language. She was greatly helped in her work by a daughter of Anthony Elliott who proved capable of continuing the school after Mrs. Kilham's death.

This is the more interesting because Anthony Elliott was born in Dartmouth, Nova Scotia, and arrived in Sierra Leone with a party of Nova Scotians in 1792. The leaders of these were members of the Countess of Huntingdon's Connexion, whose Conference had sent missionaries to America from the Trevecka Conference of 1772. Anthony Elliott became General Superintendent for the Countess's work in Sierra Leone in 1839. He was a fisherman and river pilot, and when he died in 1853 left a church of 1,513 members, 11 chapels and 48 local preachers and exhorters.

J. KINGSLEY SANDERS.

1252. LETTERS OF SAMUEL WESLEY THE MUSICIAN.

Mr. Michael Kassler, of 1330, Massachusetts Avenue North-West, Washington, DC, 20005, USA, is anxious to locate any letters of Samuel Wesley the musician (1766-1837) not in major repositories for inclusion in a projected critical edition. He would be grateful if any member of our Society could help in tracking down manuscripts in out-of-the-way or private collections.

EDITOR.

1253. UNITED METHODIST MINISTERS AND THEIR CIRCUITS.

In the Preface to his invaluable book with the above title, Dr. Oliver A. Beckerlegge explains that his chief sources of information were the printed *Minutes of Conference* and other official publications. The records of the South Petherton and Crewkerne circuit which are to be deposited in the Somerset County Record Office include a Bible Christian circuit account-book dating from 14th July 1823. At each "Quarter Meeting" the names of the preachers and their quarterages were listed, and a comparison with the official Stations as printed in the *Minutes of Conference* shows that the latter give a complete picture of the stationing of preachers in the circuit for only six of the twelve years from 1823 to 1834. This was inevitable in the little connexion in the early days, with a tiny band of preachers in scattered circuits, lacking training and experience. The first entry for the last quarter of 1822 lists five preachers, none of whom were stationed there according to the *Minutes*; indeed only one of the five, Moses Pearn, ever appeared in the *Minutes*. Samuel Lloyd, the appointed preacher, disappears from the *Minutes* by the end of the year, which may explain why Pearn left Chagford to go to the Somerset Mission during the year's course. Next year, 1823, the Stations list "Moses Pearn and two more", but in fact *four* preachers assisted Pearn for the whole or part of that year.

The book starts with the Somerset Mission, which becomes West Buckland by September 1823. The same book then continues for the smaller Crewkerne Mission from June 1824, changing to Chard Mission in 1830.

Information contained in this circuit book which adds to the particulars given in *United Methodist Ministers and their Circuits* is summarized below. Preachers whose names are marked * are not listed at all in the latter work. Information relating to the year 1822 is based only on the accounts for the "Quarter Meeting" held on 14th July 1823.

ROGER F. S. THORNE (Topsham, Devon).

ABBOTT, GEORGE			
1833	Chard M [ission].	...	1
ARTHUR, JAMES			
1823	West Buckland	...	1
*GLASS, EDWARD			
1822	Somerset M.	...	
GLASS, JOHN			
1825	Crewkerne M.	...	$\frac{1}{4}$
HILLBORNE, ELIZABETH			
1825	Crewkerne M.	...	$\frac{1}{4}$
HUNT, LUKE			
1824	Crewkerne M. (as "Helper")	...	$\frac{1}{4}$
LANGDON, JOHN			
1824	Crewkerne M.	...	$\frac{3}{4}$
*MAYNES, JOHN			
1822	Somerset M.	...	
1823	West Buckland	...	1
*NANCEKIVIELL, BETSY			
1822	Somerset M.	...	
*NANCEKIVIELL, JOHN			
1822	Somerset M.	...	
PALMER, GRACE			
1823	West Buckland	...	$\frac{1}{2}$
1824	Crewkerne M.	...	$\frac{1}{4}$
PEARCE, HANNAH			
1825	Crewkerne M. (from Buckfastleigh)	...	$\frac{3}{4}$
PEARN, MOSES			
1822	Somerset M.	...	
POLE, JAMES			
1828	Crewkerne M.	...	$\frac{1}{2}$
SPARKES, SAMUEL			
	Mission Steward, Chard M.		
1831	Chard M.
	(Supplied sick preacher's plan for four weeks)		
TRENGOVE, JOHN			
1834	Chard M.	...	1
	(from "Breage Circuit")		

WESLEY HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Financial Statement, 1st January to 31st December 1972

EXPENDITURE.		£	p.	INCOME.		£	p.
<i>Proceedings</i> and Printing		392	38	Subscriptions in advance br't forward from previous year—			
Insurance		3	90	Ordinary Members ...	287	60	
Secretarial, Editorial and Registrar's Expenses ...		37	43	Life Members ...	311	50	
Lecturer's Honorarium ...		12	50	Received during year ...	513	36	
Publications		130	0				
Sundries		3	0				
		<hr/>					
		579	21	<i>Less</i> Unexpired Subscrip- tions (see Balance Sheet) ...	641	0	
							1,112 46
							<hr/>
				<i>Proceedings</i> (back nos.) sold	471	46	
				Advertisements	118	0	
				Irish Branch	90	0	
				War Stock Dividend ...	7	68	
				Conference Lecture ...	2	69	
				Publications sold	27	16	
				Legacy—Late Mrs. Ibberson	100	0	
				Donations	25	20	
				Bank Interest	46	75	
							<hr/>
Excess of Income over Ex- penditure		311	63				£890 84
		<hr/>					<hr/>
		£890	84				

Balance Sheet as at 31st December 1972

LIABILITIES.		£	p.	ASSETS.		£	p.
Unexpired Subscriptions—				Cash in hand—Treasurer ...	348	2	
Ordinary Members ...	319	0		Registrar	2	24	
Life Members (70) (say)	322	0		War Stock (at cost) ...	225	0	
				(Market Value £81)			
				Trustee Savings Bank ...	758	47	
		641	0				
Accumulated Funds b/fwd.		381	10				
				Library, Publications Stocks, Filing Cabinet, etc. unvalued			
							<hr/>
							£1,333 73
							<hr/>
<i>Add</i> Excess of Income over Expenditure		311	63				
		<hr/>					
		£1,333	73				

(Signed)

ROWLAND C. SWIFT, *Treasurer*.

30th June 1973.

AUDITOR'S CERTIFICATE

I have examined the above Account and Balance Sheet with the books and records of the Society, with the exception of the membership record cards. Consequently, I am unable to express any view as to the correctness of the amounts of subscriptions carried forward as paid in advance. It appears that there remain considerable arrears of unpaid subscriptions outstanding, and no account has been taken of the amount thereof. Subject to the foregoing, in my view the Account and Balance Sheet show a true and fair view of the state of affairs of the Society as at 31st December 1972, and of the excess of Income over Expenditure for the year ended on that date.

(Signed)

F. J. HAMMOND, F.C.A., *Auditor*.

High Beech,
Long Park Close,
Chesham Bois, Amersham, Bucks.