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# Proceedings

OF THE

## Wesley Historical Society

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### THE ORDINATION SERVICE IN WESLEYAN METHODISM, 1791-1850

IN a previous article<sup>1</sup> we have discussed the nature of ordination in Wesleyan Methodism from 1791 to 1850. We now turn to the order of service in use during this period. For details of what took place before 1835 we are dependent upon occasional references in pamphlets, but after that date *The Watchman* comes to our aid with detailed reports of the service year by year. In 1846 a new order of service was published, and by the early '50s it was in general use.

It is generally assumed that John Wesley used his own version of the Ordinal in the Book of Common Prayer, as contained in *The Sunday Service of the Methodists*. It is reasonable to assume that the ordinations conducted by Coke, Cownley, Hanby, Atmore and others were also based on Wesley's Order.<sup>2</sup> Such post-Wesley ordinations of which we have any record were, with one doubtful exception, to the order of "Elder"—the doubtful exception being the case of John Pawson, who says, in a letter dated 21st January 1794, that he was ordained "Bishop". From the evidence available, these ordinations, like those of Wesley, were private ceremonies, performed without the knowledge or consent of the Conference. Otherwise for all itinerants a service of "Reception into Full Connexion" was held. Generally speaking, this tended to become more and more impressive—and, incidentally, more lengthy. Anything up to three hours would appear to have been normal. Several attempts were made to introduce the laying-on of hands, but none was successful until 1836.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See *Proceedings*, xxxix, p. 121 ff.

<sup>2</sup> We have in mind the ordination of Christopher Hopper at Bolton in August 1791 by Cownley, Hanby and Atmore, who themselves had been ordained by Wesley. The evidence for Hopper's ordination is in a letter to John Pawson, dated 7th October of that year, in the Methodist Archives. See *Proceedings*, xxxvi, pp. 36 ff., 111 ff., for lists of all known ordinations from 1791 to 1836. See also illustration facing page 174.

<sup>3</sup> See *Proceedings*, xxxix, p. 124.

Some evidence of what happened in 1806 can be gleaned from Dr. Adam Clarke, who was President of the Conference that year. In a letter to his wife, written from Conference, he gives an account of the service for the "Reception of Preachers into Full Connexion".<sup>4</sup> The order of service appears to be:

HYMN.

PRAYER.

CALLING OVER of the names of the candidates.

ADDRESS by Dr. Adam Clarke, which included an account of the stages through which young men are tested and received into the ministry. There was also a doctrinal discourse.

TESTIMONY—each candidate gave an account of his conversion and call to the ministry.

HYMN.

CHARGE, delivered by Thomas Taylor.

ADDRESS to the candidates by Dr. Adam Clarke.

ADMISSION INTO FULL CONNEXION, "in the name of the Methodist Conference by whose authority I acted".

PRAYER by Henry Moore.

BENEDICTION.

(Time: 3 hours)

In reporting the Conference of 1823, Clarke refers only briefly to the "public admission of candidates", but says: "In formally admitting the young men . . . I used the Form of the Church in ordaining Priests".<sup>5</sup>

The period from 1791 to 1835 is, on the whole, obscure so far as definite information is concerned, but some light is shed by William Vipond in his pamphlet entitled *The Doctrines, Discipline and Modes of Worship of the Methodists*, being two sermons preached in 1806. There is also an account of an ordination service in Belfast in Daniel McAfee's *Remarks on Ordination and Apostolic Succession* (1832). However, we shall confine ourselves to a summary of Vipond.

First, the President of the Conference conducted a service at which each candidate made a personal testimony as to his own experience and belief. Then each successful candidate was given a copy of *The Form of Discipline*, inscribed "so long as he shall continue to walk by these rules, we shall rejoice to receive him as a fellow helper". This was followed by a service of solemn dedication, each candidate testifying to his conversion and present experience. A charge was delivered by the President, and the candidates were formally received into "Full Connexion". There was no imposition of hands. This, we would say, was the general practice until 1835.

With the publication of *The Watchman*, an official Wesleyan newspaper, light begins to dawn; faithfully, year by year, the ordination services are reported in considerable detail. Unfortunately, as this newspaper did not begin its career until 1835, we have only one

<sup>4</sup> *Life of Adam Clarke*, ii, pp. 96-7.

<sup>5</sup> *op. cit.*, iii, p. 68.

service before the introduction of the laying-on of hands. However, we are grateful for that one, and it is possible to recount what took place that year. The ceremony was simple but impressive. After preliminary devotions, and after all examinations and testimonies had been disposed of, the President moved that "these young men be received into Full Connexion" with the Conference. The proposing and seconding of this resolution produced two lengthy speeches; but this being done, the President then turned to the Conference and asked those who were in favour to signify their approval with a standing vote. While the members remained standing, he turned to the candidates and said:

My dear brethren the Conference authorises me to say, in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, that you are now received into Full Connexion with this Body and may the Head of the Church set His seal to this compact.

After a hymn, the Rev. Joseph Taylor (the Ex-President) delivered a charge, and the service concluded with another hymn and the Benediction.

There is evidence that sections of the Prayer Book Ordinal, or at least Wesley's Abridgement of it, had been used since Wesley's day, but to what extent and frequency it is difficult to determine. After 1836, however, it is clear that at least the Collect, Epistle and Gospel of the service for the Ordering of Priests was used, suitably emended so as to be applicable to the Methodists.<sup>6</sup>

In 1836, the President said that the questions put to the candidates were, "in substance, the same as those in the Liturgy of the Established Church, except one or two which related to the peculiarities of the Methodist Body". The service was held in the Conference chapel, and the members of Conference, that is the Legal Hundred plus other ministers who cared to attend, sat in their allotted places. The gallery and vacant seats in the body of the chapel were reserved for other ministers and lay folk who wished to be present. Admission was by ticket. In and after 1836, the laying-on of hands was performed by the President and the Secretary of the Conference, assisted by three senior ministers. There was as yet no celebration of the Lord's Supper in connexion with this service.

From *The Watchman* of 1840 we learn that the whole process of ordination and reception into full connexion entailed three lengthy services. On Monday and Tuesday evenings, the testimonies of the candidates were heard. On the Wednesday there was the ordination service proper, and on Thursday the charge was given. Yet another service was held to recognize or to receive into full connexion those who had been ordained on or for the Mission-field. *The Watchman* for 1841 gives the following account of the ordination service:

<sup>6</sup> See my Leeds Ph.D. thesis, Appendix 2, for a comparison in tabular form between the ordination services of the Book of Common Prayer, *The Sunday Service of the Methodists* (1784), and the Wesleyan *Order of Administration of the Sacraments* (1846).

After the Collect, the President read the Epistle (Eph. iv. 7-13) and the Gospel (John x. 1-15) . . . He then—particularly addressing the candidates—delivered the Exhortation, "Ye have heard, brethren," etc. He next proceeded with the Ordination Questions, to each of which an answer was taken separately and singly from each candidate—a proceeding which occupied a considerable time . . . Having offered up, with great solemnity, the Ordination Prayer, the President called upon the congregation to unite in singing the 87th hymn, "Come, Holy Ghost, our hearts inspire" etc., during which the candidates were "devoutly kneeling" . . . The ceremony of "laying-on" of hands was then proceeded with, the President, Ex-President and Secretary, as on former occasions, laying their hands upon the head of every candidate, together with Dr. Bunting and Mr. Reece. Each of the candidates was addressed by the President, on the imposition of hands, in the usual form, "Mayest thou receive the Holy Ghost . . . etc"; and to every one a copy of the Bible was given, with the charge, "Take thou authority to preach the Word of God, etc".

All the candidates, having been ordained, part of the 431st hymn, from the second verse, "Now then, my God, thou hast my soul" was sung, after which . . . the Rev. Thomas Jackson and Thomas Waugh closed the services with prayer.

In 1843 we get the first occasion on which the new form of questions which had been approved by the Conference was used. They were subsequently to appear in the first Wesleyan ordination service (1846), as distinct from Wesley's Abridgement of the Book of Common Prayer or the service in the Prayer Book itself. Instead of "The Form and Manner of Ordaining Elders" we get "The Form and Manner of Ordaining Candidates for the Wesleyan Methodist Ministry".

That there had been a certain freedom in the use of prayers and questions to candidates is mentioned by *The Watchman* in 1844: "The President next proceeded with the usual questions taken with some modifications from the Ordination Service." It will be remembered that the Book of Common Prayer gave the ordination service a Eucharistic setting, with Collect, Epistle and Gospel. This was continued in *The Sunday Service of the Methodists*, but it was somewhat obscured in the new Wesleyan order. There is evidence, however, that those responsible for the conduct of the service from year to year continued to use the Anglican "preliminaries". This was especially true of Jabez Bunting and Robert Newton, who are known to have had a liking for the Liturgy.

In 1848 *The Watchman* noted the use of additional readings from scripture, and from this date all the passages printed in the 1846 edition of the *Order of Administration of the Sacraments* were used.

The Holy Communion began to be associated with the ordination service in 1844. At first it was administered to everyone who cared to stay. In 1847 the charge, which until then had been delivered at a separate service, was transferred to the ordination service proper;

but this, together with the Lord's Supper, lasted four hours! In 1848 the sacrament was transferred to a position mid-way through the service, preceding the charge, and only the President, the Ex-President and the ordinands received. This brought the service within a reasonable compass of time.

Until 1843 the candidates sat in alternate pews, so that the President and his colleagues could more easily pass for the laying-on of hands; but in 1844 and thereafter they knelt in groups at the communion-rail for this part of the ceremony.

The service began at 9-30 on a Wednesday morning, and always the chapel was filled to capacity. In the early nineteenth century, as we noted above, the Ordination Service was held in the Conference chapel, with members in their "Conference places"; but later (precise date unknown) it began to be held not in the chapel used for the sessions of Conference, but in some other chapel in the Conference town or nearby.

JOHN C. BOWMER.

### Wesley's Chapel, London - Restoration Appeal

MEMBERS of the Wesley Historical Society the world over know by now that Wesley's Chapel—"The Cathedral of Methodism"—is in danger. It was opened by Wesley himself in 1778, but time and the weather have taken their toll, and over £500,000 will be needed to restore it. The chapel, however, is only part of what could be an attractive and useful campus, so it has always been envisaged that the ancillary buildings be adapted to accommodate the valuable collections of books and manuscripts which are at present housed in two centres—at Epworth House, City Road, and at the Mission House, Marylebone Road, London. To bring these together at Wesley's Chapel would make a centre for Methodist research material unequalled anywhere in the world, and also give meaning and activity to the campus day by day. We recognize that many of our readers will have had an opportunity to make a contribution to the Restoration Fund through their local church. However, it was thought fitting that our Society should itself make the appeal as widely known as possible; so we enclose with this issue of the *Proceedings* a copy of a brochure, with the reminder that any further contributions, large or small, will be gratefully received. The future of Wesley's Chapel must be a concern of everyone with an interest in Methodist history. Future generations will hardly forgive us if we suffer it to fall. EDITOR.

## JOHN WESLEY'S PREFERMENT TO ST. DANIEL'S CHURCH, NEAR PEMBROKE

IN January 1772 the *Gentleman's Magazine* printed a list of ecclesiastical preferments in which were included a minor canon of St. Paul's and "The Rev. John Wesley, A.M.: St. Daniel's near Pembroke".

Was Nehemiah Curnock, not believing his eyes, right to dismiss this in a note to Wesley's *Journal*, saying that "the new vicar could not yet have taken office until after September, when Wesley recorded his visit to the church, otherwise Wesley's omission of any reference to a namesake was strange indeed"?

The only subsequent comment seems to have been that of Alderman L. J. Meyler in his *John Wesley and Pembrokeshire*. He supposed that Wesley must have signed a baptism or other register when preaching in St. Mary's, the neighbouring parish there, and so confusion arose.

### St. Daniel's Church : its antiquity and status

#### (i) *Its early history*<sup>1</sup>

Famous throughout Wales and in Bangor in especial, St. Daniel is first placed by legend on a mount near Pembroke named after him—a hermit "remote from the tumult of men" with his animals and miracles, turning the two thieves into stone, and using stags for oxen. He became Bishop of Bangor miraculously learned, for whom the bells on his entry rang of themselves. He is still remembered in Pembroke on 11th September each year. He was called a scion of the royal line of Coel Hen.

On his mount was built the first church in South Wales, long before (in 1098) the priory of St. Nicholas was founded close to fortified Pembroke, to be followed by the Norman churches of St. Mary and St. Michael. In 1295 these two, together with the free chapel of St. Daniel, were annexed to the priory, which was a cell of St. Martin of Séz in Normandy. The priory, owned abroad, was with the churches seized by the Crown whenever there was war with France, and restored when peace came, until in 1441 Henry VI gave it to Henry of Gloucester, and he, two years later, to the abbey of St. Albans. When the alien houses were confiscated, St. Daniel's escaped—a free chapel.

#### (ii) *From the Reformation to the eighteenth century*<sup>2</sup>

At the Reformation the confiscated priory and its two Norman

<sup>1</sup> See *Journal of the Historical Society of the Church in Wales*, v, No. 10; also D. J. A. Matthews: *Norman Monasteries and their English Possessions*, quoting J. H. Round's *Calendar of Documents in France*.

<sup>2</sup> See *West Wales Historical Review* (ed. F. Green), ii; Lewis: *Topographical Atlas of Pembrokeshire*.

churches passed via the Countess of Essex to Viscount Hereford, but the independent St. Daniel's, classified in the *Valor Ecclesiasticus* as "Libera Capella Sancti Danielis juxta Penbr." was in 1535/6 presented to the priory's warden John Griffith, and through him went to private owners or lessees. The Court of Augmentations records "1551 (Late Chantries) Lessee William Warren 'Land granted or belonging to the free chapel of St. Daniel . . .'" The Warrens were a local branch of an aristocratic family. Presumably the patronage remained local—a donative not requiring institution by the bishop, though in his nominal control.

In the seventeenth century little is known of St. Daniel's. Local report has it that when Cromwell besieged Pembroke he stabled his horses in it. Since most ecclesiastical "kalendars" for Wales list St. Daniel's festival date consistently as 11th September up till 1670, it may be that services were held there until then. Lewis, in his *Topographical Dictionary of Wales*, gives the church a lofty spire rising from a low tower. Externally that could be said now, but it is a tiny church.

### (iii) *The eighteenth century*

Erasmus Saunders, in his *View of the state of religion in the Diocese of St. David's* (1721, reprinted 1949), calls St. Daniel's "derelict, rarely if ever preached in, mostly demolished" . . . "The impropiator has let churches of this kind to a dissenter". In 1752, 1754, and 1763, Ecton's *Thesaurus Rerum Ecclesiasticarum* calls St. Daniel's "Not in charge". In 1767 John Wesley said it "till lately lay in ruin",<sup>3</sup> implying that it had been to some extent restored by then. And by 1768 Bacon's *Liber Regis*<sup>4</sup> was calling it a Methodist chapel. To follow its fortune, the religious situation in Pembroke-shire needs attention.

The Establishment was in disarray. Impropiators<sup>5</sup> held well-nigh two-thirds of the churches. They were lay, and their liability came to be regarded as obsolete. The bishops' control of the "donative" churches was largely theoretical. Inside the Establishment, however, were the Evangelicals, their main groupings Welsh and Calvinist, under four main leaders (with Whitefield or Lady Huntingdon called in from time to time), and Arminian, few and mostly English, Wesley coming not until 1763. There were also influential Moravians, and the longer-established Dissenters. All were in need of preaching-places.

The Rev. Howell Davies had become Moderator (County Superintendent) of the Calvinists in Pembroke-shire. His search for pulpits led him to restore dilapidated churches, the means eased by his two marriages. Contemporary estimates show his power. He was

<sup>3</sup> *Journal*, v, p. 230.

<sup>4</sup> Bacon's book, an interloper into the Ecton series.

<sup>5</sup> *Journal of the Historical Society of the Church in Wales* (1954), essay by the Bishop of St. David's; G. F. A. Best: *Temporal Pillars* (Cambridge, 1964); M. H. Jones: *Moravians and Methodists*.



"the Apostle of Pembrokeshire, labourious [sic], a Boanerges, prince of preachers, a bright and shining light".<sup>6</sup> The *Moravian Diaries* compare his congregations with those at Moorfields and Kingswood.

In 1742 Howell Davies had been using a ruined chapel-of-ease at Llechryd. In his *Account of the awakening in South Wales*, the Moravian W. Gambold says:

Soon he [Davies] had the grant of some parish churches and chapel[s] in this county. Though this not for any affection for the work of God, but because Mr. Davies served them gladly gratis,

the ministers let him use Llys-y-fran, Haise Castle, Morvill, St. Daniel's, and Mountain (Moun-ton, near Narbeth). At this time too a letter to Howell Harris states that Davies's chief preaching-places were Newchurch, Woodstock, and St. Daniel's. In 1744 Davies bought Moun-ton—at least the ground on which it stood—from its tenant with the tacit assent of the bishop—a man, Harris said, who was of "a mild spirit and blessed himself from persecution". In 1754 Woodstock was rebuilt for Davies.

Four churches were inscribed on Davies's tombstone at Prendergast. Three of them are on all the lists—Moun-ton, Woodstock, St. Daniel's. We know that he restored Moun-ton and Woodstock. It is rather more than a surmise that he restored St. Daniel's too. We shall return to him, remembering his quality—how in a letter to Howell Harris it was said: "Mr. Davies is with us; we feall the Divine Power coming upon us till we do not know what to do for his Glory."<sup>7</sup>

### John Wesley in Pembroke

The first to introduce Mr. Wesley's party to Pembroke, the Moravians tell us, was an ex-Moravian at Haverfordwest—John Barnes, then paymaster at the Fort.<sup>8</sup> It must have been in 1761 when Thomas Taylor came via the Gower.<sup>9</sup> We must look at what Wesley found in 1763.

Early in 1763 Howell Harris made an effort at a "General Union"<sup>10</sup> and that in the Church". He soon found that Rowlands and in particular Howell Davies were hostile to Wesley, who "preaches perfection" whilst "Mr. Davies's people believe in Reprobation".<sup>11</sup> It was said that Davies several times urged Harris to break with Wesley. On 6th March, Harris heard Davies preach in Bristol—"Very awakening and he was violent against John Wesley". On 12th May Harris spoke "home" to Davies about his not coming together with Wesley or the Moravians. "I saw his prejudice still

<sup>6</sup> M. H. Jones, op. cit.

<sup>7</sup> Calvinistic Methodist Historical Society: *Selected Trevecca Letters* (ed. Gomer M. Roberts, 1956), pp. 112, 133, 139, 158, 163-5; W. T. Morgan in *Journal of the Calvinistic Methodist Historical Society*, xxxii, p. 109.

<sup>8</sup> M. H. Jones, op. cit., p. 50 (Nyberg "Account 3").

<sup>9</sup> L. J. Meyler: *John Wesley and Pembrokeshire*; *Methodist Recorder*, 1898.

<sup>10</sup> *Journal of the CMHS*, xxxii, xxxix; Howell Harris's *Diaries*; T. Beynon: *Howell Harris's Visits to London*, pp. 20, 25.

<sup>11</sup> M. H. Jones, op. cit., p. 50.

strong against ye both and for working on the passions."<sup>12</sup> And just before Wesley came to Pembroke in August 1763, Harris said that Davies refused unity.

It must be remembered that "Methodist" was then an "umbrella" term used to include a motley collection of evangelists, and that hot words were followed by loving ones. Nevertheless Pembroke was quarrelsome, and Davies's Calvinism aggressive.

On 21st August, Wesley, probably aware of the difficulties through Barnes, came announced by the town crier in Haverfordwest,<sup>13</sup> and met large congregations. The wording of his *Journal* is significant:

I was more convinced than ever that the preaching like an apostle [with Davies in mind?] without joining together those that are awakened . . . is only begetting children for the murderer.<sup>14</sup>

He did not preach at St. Daniel's, but came again in 1764.

The *Moravian Diaries* in April 1764 record a visit by Harris and Brother Nyberg to Pembroke, when they stayed with Barnes. They say: "There is terrible confusion between Barnes's, Whitefield's and Wesley's people".<sup>15</sup> We see that Barnes has a following of his own, opposed to Davies's Calvinism. Wesley came in July after a bad journey from Shrewsbury recorded with dramatic skill, his mule and mare wounded by drunken miners. The mayor forbade acceptance of the friendly vicar's<sup>16</sup> offer of St. Mary's pulpit, and he preached to a large crowd under the Castle wall. He wrote in his *Journal*: "Were zealous and active labourers here, what a harvest might there be . . .!"<sup>17</sup> (The *Moravian Diary* has: "Mr. John Wesley preached an absurd sermon in the pound near the Castle wall, forgetting our Saviour's death and suffering altogether.")<sup>18</sup>

However, Wesley had won the day, for it was this same Monday, 30th July, that he wrote the preface to Barnes's book *The Christian's Pocket Companion*, to be published the next year in Carmarthen.

Here we must enlarge on John Barnes. The British Museum lists this book as of 372 pages of select texts from the New Testament considered for each day of the year. It owed much to Wesley—half the hymns, and one meditation verbatim. Wesley compared it with the better-known *Golden Treasury* of Bogatsky.<sup>19</sup> The British Museum has another book by a John Barnes in 1755—*The Tradesman's Assistant*. Both these are useful trouble-savers with the same kind of mind behind them. The earlier was by an officer of ordnance in the Tower of London, the later by the "Keeper of His Majesty's stores in the Fort of Pembroke".

<sup>12</sup> Howell Harris's *Diaries*, 1763; Beynon, op. cit., p. 17.

<sup>13</sup> *Journal*, v, p. 26; M. H. Jones, op. cit., p. 56.

<sup>14</sup> *Journal*, loc. cit.

<sup>15</sup> M. H. Jones, op. cit., p. 51.

<sup>16</sup> David Lewis, 1743-70; George Seall, 1770-90.

<sup>17</sup> *Journal*, v, p. 89.

<sup>18</sup> M. H. Jones, op. cit., p. 51.

<sup>19</sup> L. Tyerman: *The Life and Times of the Rev. John Wesley, M.A.*, ii, p. 552. He prints Barnes's preface by Wesley. In Barnes's book two smaller pieces are advertised, sold in Pembroke and at the County Cross, Holborn.

It may be relevant to say that in his Moravian period of interest in London, when Wesley was discussing union with them, and in 1741 said "As yet I dare not join", he held frequent conversations with a certain Mr. and Mrs. Barnes—but most often with Mrs. Barnes. Remembering this, and knowing how tender Mrs. Barnes<sup>20</sup> was with the susceptible Howell Harris, it seems likely that Barnes was an old friend of Wesley's. At any rate, he was a man whom Wesley used in Pembroke. But, meeting opposition, Barnes had been going too far. The Moravian Nyberg "[had] been told that Mr. Barnes of Pembroke in 1765 [had] been preaching in Morlas in opposition to Mr. Whitefield's party". "Poor work!" Nyberg added.<sup>21</sup>

On 10th January 1766, the *Moravian Diary* has: "Mr. Barnes and one of Mr. Wesley's preachers came to Town and the latter preached at Bridge-end." Did Wesley and Barnes meet? There is a quiet fortnight in Wesley's *Journal*, and an entry on 3rd January saying that "Mr. B——" had called on him, "now calm and in his right mind". It seems likely that this was our John Barnes, and that Wesley, alarmed by the conflict in Pembroke, may have pacified him, for on 1st June the next year, 1767, Nyberg wrote: "Mr. Barnes was more hearty and open and somewhat disarmed." At a conference on 18th August Harris, Wesley and Whitefield met, and Wesley wrote: "Love and harmony reigned . . ."<sup>22</sup>

Alas! when Wesley came to Pembroke a fortnight later, after preaching to friendly congregations he recorded that he found "the work hindered exceedingly", chiefly by Davies's preachers, who "had inveighed against ours". It was the cause of Barnes's upset. Wesley's advice was "never [to] preach controversy, but plain, practical, and experimental religion".<sup>23</sup>

It was now that Wesley first preached in St. Daniel's, recently restored. What does this mean? Had Wesley been complaining against Davies's preachers and not against Davies himself? Was it one of those sudden changes of attitude which are pitfalls for the historian? Had St. Daniel's already passed to the Arminians? We do not know.

Wesley came again in 1768. He took "a good deal of pains to compose . . . misunderstandings".<sup>24</sup> Davies had accused the Moravians of stealing his people; he had been away preaching for the Countess in Brighton.<sup>25</sup> Wesley had had quiet, courteous congregations, and had been in St. Daniel's again.<sup>26</sup> Had he healed friendly wounds? Had he won an Arminian victory? Perhaps both, for when he came again in the summer of 1769, on his way via Carmarthen a Calvinist pulpit was offered him, and at St. Daniel's he

<sup>20</sup> *Moravian Diaries* (London), 11th April 1764 (evening).

<sup>21</sup> *Congregational Diaries of Moravians*, 3rd February 1765.

<sup>22</sup> *Journal*, v, p. 228.

<sup>23</sup> *ibid.*, v, pp. 229-30.

<sup>24</sup> *ibid.*, v, p. 280.

<sup>25</sup> New: *Coronet and Cross* (Life of the Countess of Huntingdon), chapter 13.

<sup>26</sup> Meyler omits this, and says nothing of Barnes.

inveighed against bigotry. "The bigots of all sides seemed ashamed before God",<sup>27</sup> he wrote; and in Pembroke "their little jars are laid asleep".<sup>28</sup> By now St. Daniel's must have become a place of interest to Barnes, whoever had restored it. Perhaps it was shared by all parties, with Wesley as arbitrator. It would seem so, for in 1770 both Howell Davies and Whitefield died, and both died reconciled. In May of that year we hear of Howell Harris dining with Barnes and advising him to bring regular preaching and discipline among the English with tenderness, for they are jealous!

### A critical year—1771

Since a memorable journey alone in his coach, Wesley had cogitated a form of words which he hoped would prove a barrier to the antinomianism of extreme Calvinism. He entered a summary in the *Minutes* of his 1771 Conference. To Lady Huntingdon and her party this was an attack, and a dangerous move towards pre-Reformation justification by works alone. At the Conference of 1771 a compromise was reached. Wesley agreed that if his *Minutes* meant justification by works alone, that was abhorrent . . . Peace was declared. Unhappily he went to print, and there followed the scurrilous war of words and pamphlets which is so well known.

After the meeting with Shirley and his party, significantly he set out for Wales and came to Pembroke, where he preached at the also ruined Priory, and at the restored St. Daniel's. At Monkton nearby, "How hard it is," he said, "to be shallow enough for a polite audience!"<sup>29</sup> It was now that he formed the first Pembrokeshire circuit, which doubled its numbers before its death. Afterwards he went to Bristol for a month—his second home.

### Full circle!

We saw how in January 1772 the *Gentleman's Magazine* listed John Wesley's preferment to the restored St. Daniel's, earliest site of Christianity in South Wales, and its discount by commentators. They were wrong, however, for on the same date, 11th January, Felix Farley's *Bristol Journal*, well known for its printing references of all kinds to John Wesley, printed confirmation of the preferment with additions:

The Rev. John Wesley A.M. Chaplain to the Countess Dowager of Buchan, is preferred to the perpetual advowson of St. Daniel's near Pembroke, by John Barnes, Keeper of his Majesty's Stores.

There is double evidence that only our Wesley was involved—a case for "Occam's razor". There was no signature in any register. Wesley was chaplain to the Dowager, a friend of Lady Huntingdon, and his connexion with John Barnes is secure.

What are we to think of this preferment? No inkling comes from Wesley. There is a conceivable clue in his *Journal*. A month earlier than the preferment he went to call on a certain Mr. Bateman in London.<sup>80</sup> What he says is the sort of cover for serious matters

<sup>27</sup>, <sup>28</sup> *Journal*, v, p. 332.

<sup>29</sup> *ibid.*, v, p. 429.

<sup>80</sup> *ibid.*, v, p. 438.

that an historian is wary of in his *Journal*. He describes the elegant oddities of a curious man. Six months of these would give Wesley "no more pleasure than a collection of feathers". Nothing more; but if this Bateman is the rector of Great St. Bartholomew's, he was a close friend of Howell Davies, by whom he had been converted to the views of the Calvinist evangelicals.<sup>81</sup> Bateman could have been the intermediary between Davies's executors, John Barnes and John Wesley. It is conjecture. No will has been found.

The obvious motive for Wesley's acceptance of the preferment is his need for a settled place for his preachers in his newly-formed circuit. Can that be all? Obliquely in 1772 he referred to "our" congregation in St. Daniel's. Nothing more. In 1774 the people slept again. In 1777 he preached on "Death" to elegant congregations, too big for the church. In 1779 and 1784 he does not mention St. Daniel's. In 1788 he had "a remarkable blessing". In 1790, having preached there, he wrote to Thomas Roberts, desiring him to "come at once and take charge of the most important circuit in Wales, which has been vilely neglected".<sup>82</sup> At St. Daniel's he "meditated".

Why is he silent? Did the advowson in 1772 represent a victory for his Arminianism, his emphasis on moral surety as a saving grace? Was it a symbol of peace between the imperious Wesley and the more imperious Countess? On his way to Pembroke he had preached at Trevecka and met his "old friend Howell Harris". He wrote: "We found our hearts knit as at the beginning". They joined in despair over the raw students who were preaching bare-faced reprobation. This feels like both victory and peace.

More surely in 1772 the preferment must have meant Wesley's security in Anglican loyalty. That had been continually in question, in view of such actions as his laying-on of hands when sending off his preachers, and his use of the Greek bishop. He had solemnly proclaimed loyalty in dignified words in December 1769; but he had no title, no Anglican appointment. The world must be his parish, but he needed an anchor not only in Christ, but securely in the Church of England, and also a refuge in the landscape away from the tumult of men. Was St. Daniel's like Kingswood at times his need?

John Wesley was indeed a many-sided man: fighter, saint and mystic shared his nature. Was it that St. Daniel's especially released his mind for the contemplation of glory?—for there he was back in primitive Christianity, in the company of the hermit of many centuries ago. Deep in the wilds of Wales, close by the peace and delights of the Cleddau river, where the curlews call, the cormorants hang out their wings, the jelly-fish propel themselves in rhythms up the tide, and a seal raises its head bristling above the current; hard by the Prescelly mountain, rock-ancient: here was a splendid refuge and restorative!

<sup>81</sup> W. T. Morgan, op. cit. (see footnote 7).

<sup>82</sup> *Letters*, viii, p. 232.

In 1849 the St. Daniel's site with its old building was bought back from the laity—in the persons of Mr. and Mrs. Bowling—for £275, and conveyed to the "Ecclesiastical Commissioners for building new churches". That ancient, that venerable, that royal son of Coel Hen, deep in the mysteries, pioneer for Christ, is back on his mount with his owl safe in his belfry, and once more on his own particular day the pilgrims process to do him honour.

This writer salutes them all—from Coel Hen, St. Daniel, the monks of Séez, wardens Griffith and Warren, Howell Harris, Howell Davies, John Barnes, John Wesley himself, and the mayoral Bowlings, to vicar R. C. Davies of St. Mary's, who brought us all together—and with an *audax et cautus* and an *absit invidia* lays down his pen.

A. BARRETT SACKETT.

[My thanks are due to the Rev. A. F. Bell, the Rev. R. C. Davies of St. Mary's, Pembroke, Mr. A. G. L. Ives and Mr. A. H. Williams for their interest and help in the preparation of the foregoing.—A.B.S.]

### MORE LOCAL HISTORIES

We acknowledge, with many thanks, the following handbooks and brochures which have reached us recently. We give the prices where stated.

Bridlington Chapel Street centenary handbook (pp. 52): copies, price 25p., from Mr. Leonard A. Chinery, 24, St. Cuthbert's Road, Bridlington, Yorks.

Hornchurch 40th anniversary souvenir (pp. 16): copies, price 5p., from the Rev. George Baugh, 39, Grey Towers Avenue, Hornchurch, Essex, RM11 1JF.

West Bromwich Beeches Road centenary brochure (pp. 12): copies, price 25p., from Mr. Tom Rivers, 67, Springfield Crescent, West Bromwich, B70 6LW.

*The Mighty Oak*, the story of the Devon and Dorset Mission (pp. 40): copies, price 30p. post free, from Mr. W. M. Cann, 22, Portland Court, Lyme Regis, Dorset.

*Colby (Isle of Man) Methodism and its Buildings*, by C. C. McFee (pp. 28): copies from the author at Colby, Isle of Man.

*Focus*, the June 1974 issue of the magazine of Barry Methodist church, East Dulwich, London, S.E.22, contains a centenary section. Copies from Mr. Derek E. Brook, 111, Wood Vale, Forest Hill, S.E.23.

*A Century and a Half and More* at High Street, Leagrave, Luton (pp. 10): copies from the Rev. Michael A. Baker, 444, Leagrave High Street, Lewsey, Luton, Beds, LU4 0QH.

*Mary Burt went for a Walk*, the story of Purbeck Methodism: copies, price 30p. post free, from Mr. Kenneth Faulkner, 7, Gannetts Park, Swanage, Dorset.

*The Bicentenary of Methodism in Jersey* (pp. 16): copies from the Rev. Herbert Lindley, 22, Vauxhall Street, St. Helier, Jersey, Channel Islands.

Finchley Methodist church centenary brochure (pp. 28): copies from the Rev. Arnold Skelding, 7, Essex Park, London, N.3 1ND.

Billericay 50th anniversary celebration brochure (pp. 8): copies from the Rev. Dr. D. Dunn Wilson, 93, Mountnessing Road, Billericay, Essex.

**MALDWYN EDWARDS, 1903-74****Methodist Preacher**

“IT might be thought that a man so industrious in his habits, so neat and tidy always in appearance, and so unfailingly punctual in his engagements was one to respect but not to love. But he was actually the most lovable of men. He was no dry-as-dust scholar, but interested in all he saw . . . But if he was wide in his interests he was equally wide in his sympathies . . . He was greatly loved by his brethren and the Methodist people because he had great qualities of character . . . His humanity and attractiveness is best seen in his family relationships . . . it was ever his proudest boast that he was a Methodist preacher . . . A short time before his death he said to some fellow ministers: ‘My heart is with you, and when my spirit has passed away, if God permit, it shall return and be a stirring spirit among you again.’”

Those who have known and worked with Maldwyn Lloyd Edwards, M.A. (Cantab and Wales), B.D. (Cantab), Ph.D. (London) and Hon. D.D. (Wofford, USA), may well think that his own greatness of mind and heart, his wide-ranging versatility and his loyalty to his beloved Methodism could not better be expressed than by his own description, in the above paragraph, of that Wesleyan scholar-evangelist Dr. Adam Clarke.

Maldwyn Edwards served Methodism as city missionary, social reformer, historian, preacher, lecturer, and Chairman of District. He was born in Liverpool in 1903, and was educated at Liverpool Collegiate School, University College, Bangor, and Wesley House, Cambridge. He entered the Wesleyan ministry in 1926, and in the following year married Eleanor, daughter of the Rev. John A. Broadbelt. In 1929 he supplemented the staff of Handsworth College during the Presidential year of Dr. W. F. Lofthouse, but apart from this year, and the three that he spent at the Temperance and Social Welfare Department immediately after the second world war, he worked in the Central Halls at Yiewsley, Dagenham, Gateshead, Manchester (Albert Hall), Bristol, and Birmingham. He was President of the Conference in 1961, and Chairman of the Cardiff and Swansea District from 1957 to 1972. Soon after his retirement in 1972, he took on the exacting work of Warden of the New Room—in the fulfilment of which he died on 14th October 1974.

He was a preacher of the Gospel, and his concern with the social and political outworkings of that Gospel was evident not only in his work in the city missions, his secretaryships of the Beckly Lecture Trust and what is now the Division of Social Responsibility, but also in his publications—*One Increasing Purpose* (the Beckly Lecture for 1947), *The Signs of our Times* (the Cato Lecture, 1957), his study of *S. E. Keeble: Pioneer and Prophet*, and his well-known trilogy of studies in the social and political influence of Methodism from 1738 to 1932.



THE REV. DR. MALDWYN L. EDWARDS, M.A.  
(President of the Wesley Historical Society from 1963 to 1974)

*Photo by A. Pinfield-Wells Ltd., Cardiff*



Apart from *Adam Clarke* (1942), his studies in Methodist history fall into two groups. The first consists of the trilogy already mentioned—*John Wesley and the Eighteenth Century* (1933), *After Wesley: a Study of the Social and Political Influence of Methodism in the Middle Period, 1791-1849* (1935), and *Methodism and England, 1850-1932* (1943). The second group consists of expert characterizations of members of the Wesley family—*Family Circle: a Study of the Epworth Household in relation to John and Charles Wesley* (1949), *The Astonishing Youth: a Study of John Wesley as men saw him* (1959), *Sons to Samuel* (1961), and the chapter on John Wesley in *A History of the Methodist Church in Great Britain*, I, pp. 35-79 (1965). Shortly before his death he completed a study of Wesley's relations with women as son, lover, friend, and spiritual adviser, which it is anticipated will be published under the title *My dear Sister*. During his all-too-brief tenure of office as Warden of the New Room he published a series of pamphlets also dealing with members of the Wesley family and, inter alia, with the New Room, City Road Chapel, and Epworth Rectory.

Dr. Edwards took a leading role in the encouragement of Wesley and Methodist studies as Visiting Professor of Church History at Emory University, Atlanta, Georgia (1959), President of the Wesley Historical Society (1963-74) and of the International Methodist Historical Society (1966-71). Audiences in this country, America, Australasia, Fiji, India and Africa found him to be an eloquent lecturer, with an unerring command of words and an ability to summon the past into the present. He was a valued member of the Connexional *History of Methodism* committee, and chairman of the Archives Committee. Our Society, and many of its members individually, owe him a special debt of gratitude for the help and guidance in historical studies that he was always so willing to give.

It was entirely appropriate that his last years—indeed his last hours—should have been spent in the New Room in Bristol which he so much loved. Surely the spirits of John Wesley, Adam Clarke, and the great men of Methodism in whose tradition he stood, joined with the full congregation there on 17th October, and united with them in singing:

Till, added to that heavenly choir,  
We raise our songs of triumph higher,  
And praise Thee in a bolder strain,  
Out-soar the first-born seraph's flight,  
And sing, with all our friends in light,  
Thy everlasting love to man.

THOMAS SHAW.

[As our readers will know, Dr. Edwards was a frequent contributor to these *Proceedings*, every number of which he had read since enrolling as a member of our Society in September 1924—exactly fifty years ago. His book-reviews were especially valuable, and the last of these to come from his pen appears in this present issue.—EDITOR.]

## THE ANNUAL MEETING AND LECTURE

THE Annual Meeting, Tea and Lecture, held on Monday, 1st July, during the period of the Bristol Conference, were all very well attended. We should have been glad to have had our Treasurer and his wife with us at the tea which they generously provided for us at our Westbury-on-Trym chapel. The Rev. W. Russell Shearer expressed our thanks to them at the close of the meal.

### Business Meeting

The President (the Rev. Dr. Maldwyn Edwards) opened the meeting with prayer. Tribute was paid to the memory of fifteen members who had died during the year, the list including the names of Dr. Eric Baker, widely known as ex-Secretary of the Conference, and the Rev. Frederick C. Gill, the author of *In the Steps of John Wesley*. Several members spoke appreciatively of these and other departed friends known to them.

The balance sheet, which was in the hands of the members, showed an excess of expenditure over income during the year of £16 12p., but the chief concern of the treasurer, which was shared by the meeting, was the considerable sum owing to the Society in the form of unpaid subscriptions. The meeting endorsed the decision of the Executive Committee that in future **membership would automatically lapse following two years' unpaid subscriptions.**

Reports were received from the officers of the Society, including one from Mr. William Leary in which he expressed the thanks of the Society to Dr. Edwards, who had arranged exhibitions of Wesleyana at the New Room and also, through the City Archivist, at the Council House, Bristol.

Mr. C. F. Stell of the Royal Commission on Historical Monuments said that he had visited nearly two thousand chapels, and was forming the opinion that perhaps one in seven of the foundation dates in the *Statistical Returns* issued by the Division of Property was suspect, though this of course was not a reflection upon the Property Division itself, but upon its informants.

The reports from the branches were heard and commented upon with great interest. The growth of the branches has been an encouraging feature in recent years—our only regret being that so small a proportion of branch-members are also members of the Wesley Historical Society.

All the officers were re-appointed for the ensuing year.

### The Annual Lecture

This year's lecture took a somewhat different form from that to which we are accustomed. Mr. Derek W. Burrell, of Truro School, presiding, said that the large audience, containing both the historically-minded and the musically-minded, had been attracted by Dr. Francis B. Westbrook. The subject was "Some Early Methodist Tune-Books", and Dr. Westbrook lost no time in involving his audience, as well as the augmented choir from Bath (the Rev. Ivor H. Jones accompanying at the piano) in his chosen selections. The lecturer dealt seriatim with the three tune-books issued by Wesley during his lifetime—*The Foundery Tune Book* (1742), *Select Hymns with Tunes Annexed* (1761) and *Sacred Harmony* (1780)—and went on to consider John Beaumont's *New Harmonic Magazine* (1801) and Handel's tunes to Charles Wesley hymns. This year's lecture will be published by the Society, and further details may be expected in the next issue of the *Proceedings*.

THOMAS SHAW.



## METHODIST VANS

### Gospel Heralds to the Villages

*Revive us again ; fill each heart with Thy love.*

WILLIAM P. MACKAY.

**D**URING the half-century which preceded the Great War of 1914-18, revival fires blazed, died down, and were re-kindled by evangelists whose names were printed boldly in the headlines. Charles Haddon Spurgeon proclaimed to large congregations in the Metropolitan Tabernacle the gospel of man's sin and God's grace. Dwight L. Moody filled his inquiry-rooms on both sides of the Atlantic with seekers after salvation. Gipsy Smith sang and preached his way into the hearts of Great Britain, the United States, and Australia. These men, under the banner of Jesus Christ, laid siege to the cities. But what about the villages? They, too, were warmed by revival fires. The fervour kindled in the Methodist<sup>1</sup> chapels never acquired the glamour of metropolitan extravaganzas, but it served the spiritual needs of rural England.

Methodist leaders, alert both to tradition and to the contemporary problem, were aware of the need to maintain the evangelistic glow in rural chapels. They were disturbed by the annual reports of societies disbanded, and they pleaded for a renewal of the spirit of Wesley, Bourne, and Clowes, that would proclaim the gospel of free and full salvation with zeal and simplicity.

A Primitive Methodist record graphically presented the problem. At the Conference of 1896 the results of a study covering a twenty-five-year period were released over the signatures of H. B. Kendall and J. Smith. There were 5,029 societies in the connexion, of which 3,453 were in the villages. The balance sheet from the study confirmed that in a quarter of a century 516 places had been abandoned, and 236 had been successfully missioned—showing a decrease of 280 societies.<sup>2</sup>

Sociological trends were in part responsible for this dilemma. The nineteenth century had been a period of social turmoil and reform which had re-shaped the economic and population patterns of the country. The expansion of industry had precipitated a migration from the farms to the towns, causing village chapels to be closed and creating new urban demands for a Methodist ministry. But church leaders of a practical turn of mind were not willing to settle for a sociological answer. They discerned that the glory of the Lord had departed from many chapels and would not re-appear until there was real repentance and a return to the old paths of Methodism.

#### Inauguration of the Van Mission

The account of the revival campaigns in the villages begins with the Rev. Thomas Champness. He had served Wesleyan Methodism

<sup>1</sup> The term "Methodist" is used in this article to include both the Wesleyan and the Primitive Methodist connexions.

<sup>2</sup> PM Conference *Minutes*, 1896, pp. 137-40.

for a quarter of a century when, in 1882, a sequence of events converged to shape for him a new career. He was invited to become the editor of a new publication—*Joyful News*. Immediately after this he accepted two young men into his home as apprentices for the ministry. When, in 1885, he moved into a larger house in Bolton, the educational enterprise known as the "*Joyful News Mission*" was founded, and the young apprentices were called "*Joyful News evangelists*".<sup>3</sup>

Like many of the evangelistic and educational ventures of this period, the enterprise of Thomas Champness took form outside the jurisdiction of the denominational organization. As an ordained minister he was stationed in 1879 as the District Missionary at Newcastle upon Tyne, in 1882 at Bolton, and in 1886 at Rochdale. However, it was not until the Conference of 1889 that official recognition was given to his educational ministry, when the recommendation was "to set Mr. Champness free from Circuit work, that he might give his whole time to this undertaking".<sup>4</sup> Now he held a unique position, since no grant was made to the Mission and no stipend was attached to the office. The venture was self-supporting; yet, as Mrs. Champness exclaimed: "No man was more loyal to his Church or more loving toward his brethren."<sup>5</sup>

The major concern of Thomas Champness was to send out men trained as lay evangelists. One of these was Moses Welsby. He, a collier converted in 1881, was so successful in sharing his new experience with the Lancashire miners that Champness asked him "to go round with a bag and sell books . . . So I set off to Blackburn Circuit . . . This was in March 1886."<sup>6</sup>

Meanwhile, another means of evangelizing the rural areas was inaugurated. For years the van had been used by the showman and the pedlar: why not adapt it to the purpose of reaching villages scattered across England with the Gospel? So a caravan<sup>7</sup> was modified in design to accommodate the Gospel's agent. Inside there were bunks for the evangelists, a stove for heating and cooking, hide-away boxes for books, and perhaps a portable organ in one corner. Outside, at one end, was a porch with a canopy to provide a platform for the preacher.<sup>8</sup> Here was a self-contained mobile unit which could be shifted quickly at minimal expense to areas of greatest need. Furthermore, it was a means of linking the villages together in a psychological network of revival effort.

It was Thomas Champness who put the first car on the road; and the Rev. Howard Belben has reckoned that the date was 1885:

<sup>3</sup> Eliza M. Champness: *The Life History of Thomas Champness*, p. 223.

<sup>4</sup> *Methodist Times*, 1st August 1889.

<sup>5</sup> E. M. Champness, *op. cit.*, p. 248.

<sup>6</sup> "Owd Mo": *From Coal-Pit to Joyful News Mission*, pp. 24-5.

<sup>7</sup> The terms "caravan", "car" and "van" refer to the same type of vehicle. Generally in the Wesleyan literature the conveyance is called a caravan or car, whilst in the PM literature it is called a van.

<sup>8</sup> *The Primitive Methodist*, 6th July 1893, p. 444.

I have been looking at a typescript headed *The Story of the Joyful News Mission*, by Eliza M. Champness. In it, after describing two events which we know took place in 1885, she goes on to say: "That year also we bought the old Gypsy Caravan for £20 (in two donations, the one by a Bolton lady and the other by a London friend). This caravan was the forerunner of carrying the Gospel about on four wheels."<sup>9</sup>

The feasibility of using a van as a vehicle for evangelism was demonstrated by Thomas Champness, but the Gospel-car movement was developed by another Wesleyan Methodist evangelist, the Rev. Thomas Cook.<sup>10</sup> As a means of extending his evangelistic ministry, he had assisted in the establishment of "Out-and-Out" bands and the publication of a magazine for this group. These bands were encouraged to purchase caravans. So, once again, a movement developed outside the jurisdiction of the Wesleyan Conference. It was not until 1896 that the Home Mission and Contingent Fund report contained this recommendation:

The Conference approves the transfer of the Out-and-Out Gospel Cars to the management of the Home Mission Committee, and directs that they be hereafter known as the Wesleyan Home Mission Cars.<sup>11</sup>

When the Gospel-car movement came under the jurisdiction of the Wesleyan Conference, Thomas Cook continued as the general administrator, and *Joyful News* evangelists were employed to serve as agents. A sub-committee appointed to study the programme recommended to the 1901 Conference "that an annual allowance be made to Mr. Cook to obtain clerical assistance".<sup>12</sup> In that same year he had five cars built at a cost of £750. So the fleet expanded until it reached the total of thirty cars.

In 1903 the *Joyful News* Mission was transferred to the Home Mission Committee, and shortly thereafter it became Cliff College, with Thomas Cook assigned to direct its activities.<sup>13</sup>

### Primitive Methodist Van Mission

In the meantime, the Primitive Methodist Connexion was moved to halt chapel-closings and to extend its evangelistic effort to the villages. This body, too, adopted the van as a feasible vehicle for the programme. Two men who were prominent in pressing this venture were the Rev. James Travis (General Missionary Secretary) and Mr. (afterwards Sir) William P. Hartley (General Missionary Treasurer). The announcement was made in the 1892 Conference address by the Rev. John Stephenson. He predicted

... a forward movement in evangelistic and missionary work. Gospel vans for summer work in the villages, to be followed up by winter work by the agents thus employed.<sup>14</sup>

<sup>9</sup> From a letter written by the Rev. Howard A. G. Belben (Principal of Cliff College), 19th May 1973.

<sup>10</sup> Henry T. Smart: *The Life of Thomas Cook, Evangelist*, p. 165.

<sup>11</sup> Wesleyan Conference *Minutes*, 1896, p. 256.

<sup>12</sup> Wesleyan Conference *Agenda*, 1901, pp. 6-7.

<sup>13</sup> Smart, *op. cit.*, p. 289.

<sup>14</sup> *PM Magazine*, 1892, p. 564.

The next year, 1893, on 29th June the new mission was on its way. On this date the van reached Colchester station and was unloaded and drawn up at a vacant spot near to the Artillery Street chapel. An eight o'clock public meeting inaugurated the experiment. The two lay evangelists in charge were J. E. Jenkinson and G. Freezer.<sup>15</sup>

From the beginning the vans were under the jurisdiction of the Primitive Methodist Conference, and within two years, the first experimental van having proved its value, there were pleas for the expansion of the endeavour. By 1896 there were two more vans, one of which was provided by the Missionary Committee to circulate in Berkshire, Dorset and Wiltshire; the other was a gift from Mr. F. Knappe for Lancaster and the West Riding of Yorkshire.<sup>16</sup> In 1899 a fourth van was added, to work in the Hull and Leeds Districts.<sup>17</sup> By 1903, or before, the fleet of vans had been enlarged to six—its full strength.

### Men and their Mission

The men who rode the gospel caravans were not unlike the early revivalists of Methodism—zealous, adaptable, persevering. The Primitive Methodist vans were

staffed with men who can sing, preach a sermon, give a temperance address, conduct a prayer meeting, and engage in house-to-house visitation.<sup>18</sup>

The job-description for the Wesleyan evangelists was given in greater detail:

They must understand the management of a horse, the control of a not inconsiderable book trade, the handling of an outdoor congregation under varying and often most trying, not to say hostile conditions. They must have unusual gifts in speaking and preaching, and must be able to sing indoors or out-of-doors alone, or in the leadership of a village choir. They must understand how to visit in strange places, and be able to accommodate themselves to life either in hospitable homes of the circuits they visit or in the loneliness of their own caravans.<sup>19</sup>

The essential quality required of all van-evangelists was zeal. First of all, they must be men whose hearts had been "strangely warmed". Out of the warmth of a personal episode, they were moved to persuade others to seek a similar experience. From the sermon-file of one missionary, William C. Tyrrell, is an appropriate example. Text—"For the preaching of the cross . . . is the power of God" (1 Corinthians i. 18):

Paul . . . believed in nothing else but Christ and Him crucified. . . . Jesus, though perfectly innocent Himself, must die, be deserted by the Father for our sins.

But the cross speaks again with even a louder voice. God loves men and loves mercy.

<sup>15</sup> *The Primitive Methodist*, 6th July 1893, p. 444.

<sup>16</sup> *PM Magazine*, 1896, p. 714.

<sup>17</sup> *Aldersgate Magazine*, 9th August 1903, pp. 489-99.

<sup>18</sup> *ibid.*, 1899, p. 951.

<sup>19</sup> *Cliff College Training Home and Mission Report*, 1903-4, p. 19.

Let the cross speak further, it says, Come and welcome, sinners come . . . It has been the power of God to us, it has changed our hearts, our lives . . .

Let us close, then friends, by singing the good old hymn, "When I Survey the Wondrous Cross." Let us sing and believe it from our hearts.<sup>20</sup>

Remember that the evangelist was a layman. What he lacked in formal education was compensated for in dedication and enthusiasm. He did not disdain the simple tasks. If, on an itinerary, the gradient was too steep, he could help by pushing until the van cleared the top of the hill. Arriving at the stand, he would clean his home on wheels inside and out. He usually cooked his own meals. But he never forgot that he had been called to be an evangelist. Changing into better clothes, he became a pastor, visiting from house to house in the villages to leave literature, to invite people to religious services, and, if appropriate, to pray. A Primitive Methodist van in the West Midland District reported that "621 homes had been visited"<sup>21</sup> However, the preacher must have an audience. Without being theatrical, he dramatically appealed to the villagers. The rallying-point could be the van or the village green, where there was hearty singing (accompanied, if possible, by musical instruments), brief testimonies of the faithful, a short prayer, and an invitation to the public service. Then there was the march of the singing pilgrims to the local chapel for the evening meeting, where the evangelist became the preacher. Yet one more role was thrust upon him. He must be a colporteur. The sale of books not only fulfilled the Methodist tradition of providing good literature, but it made an essential contribution to paying the expenses of the campaigns.

Given such standards, and the conditions under which they were asked to live and work, only hardy men qualified as van-agents. The men who failed to measure up are not mentioned, except that Moses Welsby wrote this about a few of his mates:

Others of them that I could name used to sing, "My all is on the altar," but when it came to rising early in the morning, cleaning the horse, going from door-to-door with books, they turned coward, and said, "God had not called them to Van work."<sup>22</sup>

### Costs and compensations

The purchase-price of a caravan is listed in the PM literature as £100, and in the Wesleyan reports as £150. Whilst the *Joyful News Mission*—or it may have been the van-agent—purchased horses to pull the first cars, no mention is made of the ownership of horses in the stories of the Wesleyan Gospel-car Mission. The PM vans were always moved from one place to another with borrowed or hired horses.

<sup>20</sup> Diary of the Rev. William C. Tyrrell, for many years the pastor of Primitive Methodist churches in the United States of America.

<sup>21</sup> *The Primitive Methodist*, 1st February 1900, p. 74.

<sup>22</sup> "Owd Mo", op. cit., pp. 24-5.



To all to whom these Presents shall come  
We William Naylor, George Morley & Elijah Hoole  
being Ministers of the Gospel in Communion with the Conference and Soci-  
eties of the People called Methodists Established by the late Reverend John  
Wesley M.A. have this day set apart for the Work of the Ministry by the  
imposition of our hands and by Prayers the Reverend George  
Scott whom we judge to be well qualified for that great Work  
And We hereby recommend him to all whom it may concern as a  
fit person to Preach the Word of God and to administer the Holy-  
Sacraments In Testimony whereof We have subscribed  
our names and affixed our Seals this Twelfth day of July  
in the Year of our Lord One Thousand Eight Hundred and Thirty.

Wm Naylor

George Morley

Elijah Hoole

ORDINATION CERTIFICATE OF GEORGE SCOTT

who was ordained on 12th July 1830 for work in Stockholm. This is an example of an ordination during the period 1791-1836, when the laying-on of hands was confined to men going overseas. See *Proceedings*, xxxvi, p. 40.

Let the cross speak further, it says, Come and welcome, sinners come . . . It has been the power of God to us, it has changed our hearts, our lives . . .

Let us close, then friends, by singing the good old hymn, "When I Survey the Wondrous Cross." Let us sing and believe it from our hearts.<sup>20</sup>

Remember that the evangelist was a layman. What he lacked in formal education was compensated for in dedication and enthusiasm. He did not disdain the simple tasks. If, on an itinerary, the gradient was too steep, he could help by pushing until the van cleared the top of the hill. Arriving at the stand, he would clean his home on wheels inside and out. He usually cooked his own meals. But he never forgot that he had been called to be an evangelist. Changing into better clothes, he became a pastor, visiting from house to house in the villages to leave literature, to invite people to religious services, and, if appropriate, to pray. A Primitive Methodist van in the West Midland District reported that "621 homes had been visited"<sup>21</sup> However, the preacher must have an audience. Without being theatrical, he dramatically appealed to the villagers. The rallying-point could be the van or the village green, where there was hearty singing (accompanied, if possible, by musical instruments), brief testimonies of the faithful, a short prayer, and an invitation to the public service. Then there was the march of the singing pilgrims to the local chapel for the evening meeting, where the evangelist became the preacher. Yet one more role was thrust upon him. He must be a colporteur. The sale of books not only fulfilled the Methodist tradition of providing good literature, but it made an essential contribution to paying the expenses of the campaigns.

Given such standards, and the conditions under which they were asked to live and work, only hardy men qualified as van-agents. The men who failed to measure up are not mentioned, except that Moses Welsby wrote this about a few of his mates:

Others of them that I could name used to sing, "My all is on the altar," but when it came to rising early in the morning, cleaning the horse, going from door-to-door with books, they turned coward, and said, "God had not called them to Van work."<sup>22</sup>

### Costs and compensations

The purchase-price of a caravan is listed in the PM literature as £100, and in the Wesleyan reports as £150. Whilst the *Joyful News Mission*—or it may have been the van-agent—purchased horses to pull the first cars, no mention is made of the ownership of horses in the stories of the Wesleyan Gospel-car Mission. The PM vans were always moved from one place to another with borrowed or hired horses.

<sup>20</sup> Diary of the Rev. William C. Tyrrell, for many years the pastor of Primitive Methodist churches in the United States of America.

<sup>21</sup> *The Primitive Methodist*, 1st February 1900, p. 74.

<sup>22</sup> "Owd Mo", op. cit., pp. 24-5.

The sale of books was a major enterprise. The PM Conference does not give statistics under this category, but it does note that books sold well. The Wesleyan book sales by the agents varied from over £2,000 in 1905, when there were thirty vans in operation, down to £800 in 1909, when there may have been about fifteen vans on the road.

Were the van missions worth their cost in time and money? The six PM vans reported in 1905 that there were 850 conversions,<sup>23</sup> and in the same year the thirty Wesleyan vans affirmed that almost 7,000 persons decided for Christ.<sup>24</sup> More significant than statistics were the social and human benefits. Some time following a ten-days' mission at Ixworth, Messrs. Belben and White returned for Easter Monday. After a great open-air meeting, tea was served at five o'clock,

but on account of so many being present there was a second tea. That no time be lost, a Lovefeast was held in the chapel . . . but best of all the mighty power of God was present to heal the sin-sick souls of those who sought Him.<sup>25</sup>

Nor do statistics sketch the momentum generated by a van mission to reach beyond the bounds of a planned campaign. With a visit of the Primitive Methodist Van No. 4, there was a revival at Henwood chapel. After the van had left, the effort was continued by members and converts for eight weeks, "and every week souls have been saved."<sup>26</sup>

When does a revival end? In the diary of my father is the account of a revival at Treskillard chapel in 1911. Before the van's arrival, the society had been fractured by disputes, and only two people participated in the prayer service on the first Sunday evening.

Very early in the mission the Revival broke out . . . congregations increased to 180 and many were converted . . . the last night there was a real breakdown and 11 got converted.<sup>27</sup>

During the summer of 1967, more than half a century later, the present writer visited Treskillard, and conversed with Mr. Francis J. Pryor, a convert of the 1911 revival and a steward of the chapel for many years.

The aggressive efforts of the evangelists to persuade villagers to accept the way of Christ were generally well received by thankful persons, who expressed their appreciation with kind words—and some with gifts of potatoes, eggs, cream, pasties and the like. However, in a few places they were confronted by stolid resistance, and there were no conversions. There were also isolated references to booing, throwing mud at the van, and throwing stones at the preacher. Encouraged by success, and undaunted by failures, the missions

<sup>23</sup> *Primitive Methodist Leader*, 29th June 1905, p. 53.

<sup>24</sup> Wesleyan Conference *Agenda*, 1905, pp. 12-13.

<sup>25</sup> *Joyful News*, 20th April 1893, p. 3.

<sup>26</sup> *Primitive Methodist Leader*, 17th November 1910, p. 786.

<sup>27</sup> *ibid.*, 6th April 1911, p. 219; W. C. Tyrrell, *op. cit.*

went on for three decades, until a change in culture-style made the van obsolete.

### The closing years

For all practical purposes, the war of 1914-18 brought to a close the van missions of Methodism. One of the last notations in the Primitive Methodist literature (1915) provides a sensitive benediction: "A well-attended sacrament of the Lord's Supper closed the mission."<sup>28</sup>

The process of phasing-out the Wesleyan Gospel-car Mission was of longer duration. In 1907 Thomas Cook reported that the cars were not in such great demand. He stated that the novelty had worn off, that the cost of moving and maintenance of the cars in some instances constituted an unnecessary expense.<sup>29</sup> In 1909 it was decided that "a dozen or fifteen vans would be sufficient".<sup>30</sup> By 1917 there were two cars.<sup>31</sup> In 1921 there may have been only one car in the Yorkshire coalfields.<sup>32</sup> In 1925 a motor Gospel-car was doing effective work,<sup>33</sup> but this programme was not expanded. A letter from Mr. D. W. Lambert has stated:

I went to Cliff College as a lay tutor in 1920. There were no Gospel Cars in my day . . . A new form of evangelism developed, Trek teams, moving on foot from place to place.<sup>34</sup>

The mission vans had their day and served a purpose. At the dawn of modern mobile living, they gave wheels to the Gospel. By so doing, they ministered to the spiritual needs of English villages as the campaigns of Moody and Gipsy Smith were unable to do. The lay evangelists who rode the vans were rugged, zealous, powerful men. Most of them served briefly but well, and then went on to other fields of labour. Now their names are a memory, and vans are museum-curiosities.<sup>35</sup> But no greater tribute can be paid to a movement than to affirm that dedicated men used the best means at hand in their generation to meet the needs of that period.

CHARLES W. TYRRELL.

[Charles W. Tyrrell, A.B., B.Th., Ed.D. was until his recent retirement Professor of Religion at the College of Liberal Arts, Dubuque University, Iowa, USA. On a visit to England, Dr. Tyrrell did some excellent research into Methodist van missions. The results have appeared in a neatly-bound cyclostyled volume of "Notes", a copy of which has been given to the Archives Library by Dr. Tyrrell. In addition to an account of Wesleyan van missions, there are also an account of Primitive Methodist van missions, extracts from the diary of A. E. Jenkinson, and notes on the Tyrrell family, forebears of Dr. Charles and, we are sure, the source of much of his urge to engage in this study.—EDITOR.]

<sup>28</sup> *Primitive Methodist Leader*, 6th May 1915, p. 290.

<sup>29</sup> Cliff College Committee Minutes, 30th May 1907.

<sup>30</sup> *ibid.*, 29th April 1909.

<sup>31</sup> Wesleyan Conference *Agenda*, 1917, p. 31.

<sup>32</sup> *ibid.*, 1921.

<sup>33</sup> *ibid.*, 1925.

<sup>34</sup> From a letter written by Mr. D. W. Lambert, 11th July 1973.

<sup>35</sup> The writer saw two vans in the York Museum. Later he saw a small van parked on public land near Chelmsford.

## BOOK NOTICES

*Howell Harris, Evangelist, 1714-1773*, by Eifion Evans. (University of Wales Press, pp. 75, £1.)

This is an extremely perceptive study, based on sound research, of Howell Harris as evangelist. The word Harris himself preferred was "exhorter". In particular, the author lights up the great importance Harris attached to Holy Communion and to the "little fellowship meetings" which bore certain resemblances to Methodist class-meetings. He writes eloquently of the complete dedication of Harris to Christ and of his heroic intrepidity in the passionate proclamation of a gospel which he construed entirely in Calvinistic terms. He is not unaware, however, of Harris's failings in temperament, and quite properly he shows that the rupture between Daniel Rowlands and Howell Harris was not due to Harris's patristicism, but to personal differences which prevented the two leaders from understanding each other and working together. In his account of the founding of the Trevecka community, Mr. Evans makes clear what many have conjectured—that Harris owed much to his knowledge of Moravianism, and in particular the Moravian settlement at Fulneck. But in his treatment of Calvinistic and Wesleyan Methodism, Mr. Evans would have greatly benefited from a better acquaintance with the Rev. Griffith T. Roberts's book on Harris and also the masterly treatment by Mr. A. H. Williams of Wesley and Harris in his *John Wesley in Wales*. Even so, this is a work of insight and scholarship to add to the growing list of works on one who pioneered "the great awakening" in Wales.

MALDWYN EDWARDS.

*The Methodist Revolution*, by Bernard Semmel. (Heinemann, pp. x. 273, £3.)

This book represents the swing of the pendulum which was set in motion by the French historian Elie Halévy in his famous thesis that "Methodism saved England from a 'French' Revolution"—a thesis eagerly seized upon by Methodist historians until a new race of sociologists like the Hammonds, E. J. Hobsbawm and E. P. Thompson swung the pendulum the other way. Now, Professor Semmel (who has recently published Halévy's book *The Birth of Methodism in England* with introduction—see review in *Proceedings*, xxxviii, p. 61) comes back to the original theme that Methodism in fact did save England from a French revolution—but he does it in quite a new way. This is partly because, unlike so many of his contemporaries, he realizes that Wesleyan theology is all-important.

The gist of Semmel's argument is that Wesley's evangelical Arminianism (free will and universal salvation) carried the revolutionary message of liberty and equality, which could, as indeed it did in some extreme expressions of Calvinism, lead to dangerous antinomianism. The threat from potential antinomianism was two-fold—Semmel's terms are "speculative" and "practical". Wesley's conflict with speculative antinomianism was represented in his struggles with the Moravians, Lady Huntingdon, James Hervey and the rest of the Calvinists. Practical antinomianism was encountered in controversies about the American colonies, in his writings on political economy, and in his staunch loyalty to king and country. After Wesley's death, his successors had to reconcile the new liberating forces of liberty and equality with loyalty to king and country on the one hand and fear of revolution on the other; but to quote Semmel:

Wesley's Arminianism was a levelling doctrine which made an appeal to the longings for liberty and equality which erupted so frightfully on the continent in the 1790's, even while it helped to fulfil the demands of the poor for spiritual solace . . . (p. 114)

Semmel is one of the few historians who appreciate the significance of the structure of Wesleyanism, which, he claims, "seemed a guarantee of order", cunningly devised to keep the energies of the newly-converted from spilling over into practical antinomianism. This post-Wesley expression of egalitarian Arminian theology found an outlet in the political ideas of Alexander Kilham and Samuel Bradburn—who were to have very different fates in the Connexion. Finally, it was the discipline of Wesleyanism as a popular religious revolution which saved a politically- and economically-disintegrating society. Strange as it may seem, on Semmel's argument, Wesley's teaching bred a liberal democracy and prevented a "French" revolution by achieving a peaceful one.

Semmel's most original and controversial contribution concerns the origin of Wesleyan overseas missions :

The leaders of Methodism after Wesley's death, floundering and confused in purpose, seeing the Connexion divided between the rich and the poor, and hoping to separate the Methodist poor from the forces threatening social revolution, sought to turn Methodism to the grand purpose . . . of sounding forth to distant climes the Gospel of Salvation. (p. 144)

In other words,

when it seemed as if Arminian enthusiasm might become a threat to order, its force was diverted to foreign missions and the character of Methodism was transformed. (p. 147)

To many of our readers this will come as new light on the origin of our missions, and they must decide for themselves whether Semmel's conclusions are warranted by the evidence (and his book is heavily documented) he brings in support of it.

This is a book which historians will either hail with delight or severely criticize, but they cannot afford to ignore it. JOHN C. BOWMER.

*The Harrison Story*, by Laurence Elvin (pp. 292, illustrated, £5 95p.; published by the author, and obtainable from him at 10, Almond Avenue, Swanpool, Lincoln).

Mr. Laurence Elvin, who is a member of our Society and active in the Lincolnshire branch, has for many years, particularly in the days of the now (alas!) defunct magazine *The Choir*, delighted many of us by his articles on organs, large and small. Now, in what may yet prove to be his "magnum opus", he has told the story of one of the greatest British organ-building firms of all time—Messrs. Harrison & Harrison of Durham. From the Festival Hall in London, or some magnificent cathedral, to the smallest village chapel, the same immaculate workmanship went into the instruments they built, and writers of local Methodist histories may well find their church named in the long list of installations which forms an appendix to the work.

The book is not cheap, but it should find its way somehow to the book-shelf of every organ-lover. The story is a thrilling one, and of course (as all know who have read Elvin) pleasant to read. JOHN C. BOWMER.

*Pitmen, Preachers, and Politics: The effects of Methodism in a Durham Mining Community*, by Robert Moore. (Cambridge University Press, pp. 292, £5 30p.)

This is a very interesting and important book. Dr. Moore is a sociologist (now at Aberdeen University, but formerly at Durham), and he has made a fascinating contribution to historical sociology on the subject of the relation of Methodism to the social and political life of a group of mining villages in the Deerness Valley (a few miles west of Durham City) in the period c. 1870-1930. Reviews in other journals will no doubt assess the full sociological significance of the book, but it can safely be said that non-sociologists need have no fear of it. The author writes with clarity and without that excessive jargon which has often created a gulf between sociologists and historians. This is a work which both may delight in and learn from, and it shows the fruitful conjunction of the two disciplines. From an historical point of view, however, the book reveals a lack of perspective with regard to the background and the wider context of the history of Methodism in Co. Durham.

The almost legendary association of the north-eastern miners with Methodism, about which much has been written and said (though too often in generalized and pious terms) is here subjected to a minute analysis. The result is a much more profound and candid assessment than that found in the works of Dr. R. F. Wearmouth, whilst at the same time being more satisfying and sympathetic than the analysis proclaimed by E. P. Thompson (writing of an earlier period). Dr. Moore lived among the people of the four villages (his research was done mainly in the later 1960s), and he gained much of his material from conversations. As a result he writes from a deep personal knowledge, and recreates the village- and chapel-life of the period with vivid touches, illustrating his points by an abundance of references to particular people and situations.

In a short review one cannot do more than hint at the riches which Dr. Moore's work contains. Its main theme is that whilst Methodism, in the earlier decades of the period, made a remarkable contribution to village life and to trade union and political leadership, its particular ethos (individualistic, Liberal, respectable, conciliatory in industrial relations, etc.) meant that it became outdated with changing economic and political conditions. The first world war and the ensuing decade, especially the events of 1926, were crucial here, but the process had begun earlier. It was in the years before 1914 that the miners of Durham began to switch their allegiance from the Liberal to the Labour Party, accompanied by an increasing rejection of the conciliatory and moderate approach in labour relations exemplified by John Wilson, the Primitive Methodist miners' leader and Liberal Member of Parliament. Though the Labour Party adopted some of the Liberal Party's ethos in order to win general support in what had been a predominantly Liberal area, nevertheless the leadership of the Party, and of the unions, was largely lost to Methodism. At the same time the centre of the villages' social, union and political life changed from chapel to working-men's club.

Methodists can take due pride in what Methodism did achieve in the Deerness Valley. Yet there is a sadness—even a note of tragedy—in the story, as changing times made the Methodist witness and way of life apparently more and more irrelevant, and seemed to set at nought the devoted service and disciplined living which the chapels had stood for. The author shows how the Methodists, especially their older lay leaders, had

become too much identified with a particular culture and had not preserved sufficient freedom of outlook to remain independent and objective in times of social change. Dr. Moore's book is therefore a tract for the times as well as a history-book.

There are several valuable appendices, a full index, and a useful glossary; and each chapter is fully annotated. The extended bibliography has some surprising omissions, e.g. H. B. Kendall's large *PM History* and John Wilson's autobiography.  
GEOFFREY E. MILBURN.

*The Church of England, the Methodists and Society, 1700-1850*, by Anthony Armstrong. (University of London Press, £2 20p. in hard back, £1 5p. in paper back.)

There seems to be no end to the number of books on nineteenth-century Methodism, and this one is a welcome addition, making as it does an excellent introduction to—and discussion of—the history of Methodism and its relation to Anglicanism. Mr. Armstrong gives a fair and accurate summary of the state of research and opinion. He would have helped the innocent student more, however, if he had examined the motives of his secondary sources in more detail. What, for instance, are the Methodist historians he quotes anxious to defend? What political sympathies prompt much of E. P. Thompson's writing on early nineteenth-century Wesleyanism? What effect have the Anglican-Methodist Conversations had on the approaches to this period? Did I myself, for that matter, study Bunting as an unconscious apologist?

Mr. Armstrong is unfortunate inasmuch as his book appeared before the publication of Professor Ward's *Religion and Society, 1790-1850*, and Bernard Semmel's *The Methodist Revolution*, which covers much the same period. There is not much similarity between Dr. Semmel's Wesleyanism, which was fundamentally a democratic force, and Dr. Ward's Wesleyanism, which opposed every kind of popular movement. For slightly different reasons, all three books suggest the same conclusion: the study of late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century Methodism as a national movement has ceased to pay dividends, and references to Halévy should be sternly avoided. Professor Ward's book becomes much more illuminating if one reads it as chiefly a study of Methodism in the North-West; it is on a regional rather than a national basis that we shall need to work if we are to assess the social influence of Methodism correctly. Another book published too recently to be included by Mr. Armstrong—*Pitmen, Preachers, and Politics*, by Robert Moore, a study of the effects of Methodism in a Durham mining community—is a fine example of this approach, and it is significant that his attempt to use Halévy as a methodological prop seems irrelevant to the main thrust of his argument. Nevertheless, no one anxious to make his way through the tangle of fact and opinion, history and apologetic which constitutes the study of the Methodist past should neglect Mr. Armstrong's book, for he is a sound guide on a perilous expedition.  
JOHN H. S. KENT.

*The Pattern of Rural Dissent: the Nineteenth Century*, by Alan Everitt. (Department of English Local History, Occasional Papers, Second Series, No. 4. Leicester University Press, pp. 90, £1 20p.)

Professor Everitt seeks to answer a single question: "In what types of rural community did Dissent tend to find a foothold and flourish? Was there any relationship between the differing species of local society and the proliferation of Dissent in certain well-defined areas, or its relative



absence in others?" "Dissent" here is taken to include all the branches of Methodism, which are, however, carefully distinguished from Old Dissent.

He begins by stressing that it is the structure of individual local communities and the type of economy in a region that is important in determining the pattern of religious adherence, and thus generalizations based on the county (which usually embraces a whole spectrum of parish types) are often misleading. On this basis, he criticizes recent studies of the "geography of religion" by Henry Pelling, John Gay, and the article in these *Proceedings* (xxxvi, pp. 65-73) by Dr. Robert Currie.

Professor Everitt then examines the distribution of Dissent in the counties of Northamptonshire, Leicestershire, Kent, and Lincolnshire (more particularly Lindsey) as revealed by the Ecclesiastical Census of 1851 (using sittings rather than attendances), and relates this to the pattern of land-holding and rural industry at the same date. He shows that Nonconformity flourished in certain types of parish—freeholders' parishes, boundary settlements, decayed market-towns and industrial villages are some examples—which shared common characteristics. In a further section, the distinctive characteristics of each of the four counties are described, whilst the author concludes with some reflections on "the genius of the chapel community"—which are, however, unrelated to the argument of the rest of the paper. Finally there is an extensive Appendix of statistical tables.

This outline may suggest a rather forbidding book; in fact it is charmingly written, and free from sociological jargon. The importance of personal factors is never lost sight of—the effect of a visit from a popular preacher or the replacement of an old Protestant vicar by a young Tractarian—and generalizations are never pushed too far. Some of the passing comments are enough to provoke thought: why is it that, Cornwall apart, "the most strongly Methodist area of England coincides almost exactly with the counties of the Danelaw"?

Local historians have been increasingly reminded in recent years that Methodism cannot be isolated from its social and economic context. Professor Everitt now goes one stage further, and opens up a whole new range of perspectives in which the spread of Methodism is related to society and also to both the Church of England and older Dissent. Anyone concerned to study Methodism in any of Everitt's four counties will find this paper a most useful source of information; but the conclusions are of much wider application. This is one of the most valuable studies of Nonconformity of recent years, which all historians of rural Methodism—even those who merely wish to write the story of their village chapel—will need to read not once but many times. Who will now build on the work of W. R. Ward and offer comparable perspectives for those studying Victorian Dissent in the great urban areas?

E. A. ROSE.

*Le Reveil Méthodiste*, by S. Samouelian. (Publications Evangéliques Méthodistes, 3, Rue St. Dominique, 30000 Nîmes, France, pp. 105, post free 10 French francs.)

This book, in French, is a short historical account from the early days of the Methodist Revival, and more particularly of its spread to France and subsequent development right up to the present time, and also a statement of the distinctive doctrines and practices of Evangelical Methodism. [Note supplied by Mr. H. Kenadjian, 13, Moorfield Road, West Didsbury, Manchester, M20 8UZ.—EDITOR.]

*Drink: Ups and downs of Methodist attitudes to Temperance*, by George Thompson Brake. (Oliphants, pp. xvi. 152, 50p.)

This year's Beckly Lecture, by the Secretary of the Christian Economic and Social Research Foundation and Vice-Chairman of the United Kingdom Temperance Alliance Limited, contains well over one hundred pages carefully outlining the history of the Total Abstinence movement in the various sections of Methodism. It is on the whole a well-balanced survey of the historical evidence available, which must have entailed considerable research in the Methodist and UKTA archives. Having said that, we are left with the impression that (quite rightly from his point of view) Mr. Brake's history is less important to him than his final assessment of the prospects of the movement in Methodism today.

If Mr. Brake had been delivering not the Beckly lecture but that of the Wesley Historical Society, we should have hoped for some account of the creation of the Teetotal Wesleyan Methodist denomination (see Mr. Michael Edwards's important evaluation of it in *Proceedings*, xxxiii, pp. 63-70). We might also have had a fuller account of the Temperance movement among the Bible Christians, where some imbalance does occur in Mr. Brake's otherwise correct account. O'Bryan and Thorne were never coadjutors, and although Thorne early espoused the Temperance cause, O'Bryan (who was responsible for the 1819 *Minutes*, in which Mr. Brake finds an underlying total abstinence sentiment) was no abstainer, claiming that every man had "an unalienable right to chuse for himself as to his mode of living . . . provided he is moderate". Ebenezer Thorne (O'Bryan's grandson) rocked the Bible Christian boat when he published, in 1903, *The Heresy of Teetotalism*, in which he showed that he stood with his grandfather on the matter, and not with Uncle James. Not surprisingly, his book received a very unfavourable review in the *Bible Christian Magazine*.

THOMAS SHAW.

*The Wesleys in Bristol* is a quarto cyclostyled pamphlet of 20 pages written by our late President, Dr. Maldwyn Edwards. It is an expanded form of a lecture delivered in connexion with the celebrations marking the 600th anniversary of the granting of the charter to Bristol as a County. Bristol was, of course, after London the second city of importance in early Methodism; and when one comes to think of it, it is amazing how many Methodist "firsts" can be credited to that city. The New Room (the significance of both words is fully explained)—Captain Foy and Class Money—the Conference—Preachers for America—Wesley's Ordinations—all, in one way or another, stood for something which originated in Bristol. Then there are other links with the city which inevitably stir the imagination—Wesley's publishing—the relief of French prisoners of war—the Calvinistic controversy—the 1771 *Minutes*—Adam Clarke, the boy from Ireland—and so on. This pamphlet, written in Dr. Edwards's pleasing style (in itself a poignant reminder of the loss our Society has sustained by his passing), is a fitting contribution to a great civic occasion, and it should leave no one in any doubt concerning the part which early Methodism played (later Methodism could continue the story) in the history of that great city.

The booklet, in common with other attractive publications which Dr. Edwards produced while at the New Room, is published by Penwork (Leeds) Ltd., 224, Wilbraham Road, Manchester, M16 8GN, and costs 25p.  
J.C.B.

## NOTES AND QUERIES

### 1258. WORLD METHODIST HISTORICAL SOCIETY CONFERENCE, 1975.

The British Section of the World Methodist Historical Society is organizing a four-day Conference at Kingsmead College, Selly Oak, Birmingham, from Tuesday to Friday, 22nd-25th July 1975. Further details of the programme and other arrangements are now available, and any member of the Wesley Historical Society who is interested may obtain these by sending a stamped addressed foolscap envelope to me. We shall be glad to welcome members living in the Birmingham area on a non-residential basis, whether for the day or for the whole Conference, for a small registration fee.

JOHN A. VICKERS (British Secretary),  
87, Marshall Avenue, Bognor Regis, Sussex.

### 1259. PROCEEDINGS OF THE WMHS BRISTOL CONFERENCE.

Most of the lectures delivered at the World Methodist Historical Society Conference at Wesley College, Bristol, in July 1973 have now been published in a special edition of *Methodist History*. Copies are available from me at £1 each.

It is expected that the lectures from the Conference held in the summer of 1974 in Kansas City will be similarly available by April 1975. Anyone taking out a one-year subscription to *Methodist History* or one year's membership of the WMHS (£2 in either case) would automatically receive both issues. Remittances may be made payable to me in sterling or to Dr. John H. Ness, jun. in US dollars (\$5) at P.O. Box 488, Lake Junaluska, North Carolina, 28745, USA.

JOHN A. VICKERS.

### 1260. WESLEYAN THEOLOGICAL INSTITUTION GOVERNORS.

In the course of a search for certain information recently, I came across a mistake which until then had escaped my notice, and as far as I know no one else has seen it. In the annual report of the Training of the Methodist Ministry for 1966-7, *The Men He wants*, the staff report for each of the colleges is headed with a portrait of the first governor of the college. In the case of both Didsbury and Richmond the information is incorrect.

John Hannah is given for Didsbury and Thomas Jackson for Richmond. Yet both of these honoured men were theological tutors all the time they were appointed to the Theological Institution. John Hannah was the first of the long line of theological tutors. He was appointed by the Conference of 1834. He lectured to his first students at Wesley's Chapel, and then went to Hoxton when it was opened in December 1834. When Abney House was opened in 1839 he gave four lectures a week. He was appointed to Didsbury at its opening in 1842, and remained there until his retirement in 1866, being replaced by one of his former Hoxton students, W. Burt Pope. Thomas Jackson was appointed theological tutor at Abney House in 1842, removing to a similar appointment at Richmond upon its opening in 1843. Here he remained until 1861, and was then replaced by John Lomas. The first governor of both Didsbury and Richmond was in fact the same man—Philip C. Turner, who was appointed governor of Hoxton in 1841, Didsbury in 1842, and Richmond in 1843, remaining until 1846, in which year he left the ministry.

A simple and concise account of ministerial training in Methodism can be found in *The Story of our Colleges, 1835-1935*, written by the late Rev. W. Bardsley Brash.

KENNETH B. GARLICK.

## 1261. THE REV. BENNET SHERARD CALCRAFT KENNEDY (1832-86).

Robert Harborough Sherard (1861-1943), friend and biographer of Oscar Wilde, was the son of the Rev. Bennet Sherard Calcrafft Kennedy (b. 1832), an Anglican clergyman. In my biographical research on the son, I have been unable to learn very much about the father, and I wonder whether any reader may be able to fill in the gaps in my knowledge. I know that Kennedy was related to the titled Sherards in the vicinity of Melton Mowbray, Leicestershire; that between 1854 and 1856 he married Jane Stanley Wordsworth, granddaughter of the poet; that soon after his marriage he lived for a time in Yorkshire—perhaps at Slaidburn in the West Riding; that in 1861 and 1880 he was living in Putney, but that at some time between those dates he occupied a house in St. Peter Port, Guernsey; and that he had at least two other sons—Mr. Wordsworth Sherard Kennedy and Col. Edward Stanley Curwen Kennedy. I suspect that he was also related to Bennet Christian Huntingdon Calcrafft Kennedy, who published a number of books in the 1920s and '30s under the pseudonym of "Al. Carhill". I should be grateful for any further information.

ROBERT D. PEPPER (Professor of English and Humanities),  
San José State University, San José, California, USA).

## 1262. LIFE OF SAMUEL CHADWICK.

I am pursuing research into the life, work and thought of the Rev. Samuel Chadwick (1860-1932), and should be grateful for any material or information relating to his life and ministry at any stage which readers might be able to furnish. Particularly valuable would be the loan of any of his letters (which would, of course, be returned after copying—with the lender's permission). I shall acknowledge with appreciation any communication sent to me at 58, Wesley Avenue, Swallownest, Sheffield, S31 0UW.

[REV.] DAVID H. HOWARTH.

## 1263. ACADEMIC THESES ON METHODIST HISTORY.

The following have come to our notice since the list appearing in *Proceedings*, xxxviii, p. 95. (In the case of those marked \* there is a MS. copy in the Archives Centre.)

"Liverpool Nonconformity, 1786-1914"—Ian Sellers (Keele Ph.D., 1969).

"The Theology of Francis Asbury"—Edward M. Lang, jun. (North-western, USA, Ph.D., 1972).

\*"The influence of the Methodist Movement on Literacy and Libraries in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries"—Margaret E. Tibbles (Project for the College of Librarianship, Wales, 1972).

\*"John Wesley and some aspects of Counter-Reformation Catholic Spirituality"—R. G. Tuttle (Bristol Ph.D., 1970).

"The Methodist background to Richard Graves's *The Spiritual Quixote* (1772)"—Nicholas J. L. Lyons (Sheffield M.A., 1972).

"Methodist Discipline from 1750 to c. 1850"—John D. Walker (Manchester M.A., 1972).

"The impact of Methodism on Black Country Society, 1760-1860"—R. Leese (Manchester Ph.D.).

"John Wesley and some Anglican Evangelicals of the eighteenth century: a study in co-operation and separation, with special reference to the Calvinistic controversies"—Albert B. Lawson (Sheffield Ph.D., 1974).

"John Wesley and the Bible: a psychological study of John Wesley's use of the Bible in his own life"—Thorvald Kallstad (Uppsala D.Theol., 1974).

EDITOR.

## 1264. ACADEMIC THESES (Supplementary list).

Since March 1963 these *Proceedings* have from time to time carried particulars of university degree theses of Methodist historical interest. [The latest selection is printed opposite.—EDITOR.] The following list, extracted from the catalogue at Lambeth Palace Library, supplements those which have already appeared, as well as including many earlier treatises.

- "An examination of the views of John Wesley in relation to the Protestant Reformation"—Ronald G. Ashman (Cardiff Ph.D., 1949).
- "Methodism and the Church of England in Cornwall, 1738-1838"—H. M. Brown (London Ph.D., 1947).
- "John Wesley's conflict with Antinomianism in relation to the Moravians and Calvinists"—E. P. Crow (Manchester Ph.D., 1964).
- "The Bristol dispute of 1794-5 . . . with clarification and assessment of the role of Joseph Benson"—H. J. Downey (Edinburgh Ph.D., 1957).
- "The 18th Century Welsh awakening with its relationships to the contemporary English evangelical revival"—R. W. Evans (Edinburgh Ph.D., 1956).
- "The life and thought of Alexander Knox"—J. T. A. Gunstone (Durham M.A., 1954).
- "Organization and ideas in religious life in Birmingham during the Industrial Revolution"—C. B. Hubbard (Birmingham M.A., 1935).
- "The influence of the Church of England and Dissent on Methodism in the 18th Century"—Frederick Hunter (Manchester M.A., 1939).
- "The clash between Radicalism and Conservatism in Methodism, 1815-1848"—John H. S. Kent (Cambridge Ph.D., 1951).
- "The introduction and development of Wesleyanism in Scotland"—D. L. Macfarlane (Edinburgh Ph.D., 1931).
- "The development of the Sunday School movement in England from 1780 to 1880 in relation to the State provision of Education"—J. K. Meir (Edinburgh Ph.D., 1954).
- "The roots and development of Wesley's organization"—J. M. Miller (Edinburgh Ph.D., 1951).
- "Primitive Methodism in Derbyshire"—G. M. Morris (Nottingham M.A., 1960).
- "The origin and influence of Methodism in the North Staffordshire Potteries before 1820"—R. Moss (London M.A., 1949).
- "Wesleyan Methodism from 1850 to 1900 in relation to the life and thought of the Victorian age"—Philip C. Pearson (Manchester M.A., 1965).
- "Wesley and the Latitudinarians' controversy on Grace"—B. H. Smythe (Durham M.A., 1956).
- "Yorkshire Evangelicals in the 18th Century with special reference to Methodism"—John D. Walsh (Cambridge Ph.D., 1956).
- "Adam Clarke as a Church leader in early Methodism"—R. J. Wells (Edinburgh Ph.D., 1957).
- "Early Methodist lay preachers and their contribution to the 18th Century revival in Scotland"—J. S. Wilder (Edinburgh Ph.D., 1947).

JOHN A. VICKERS.

## 1265. SARAH KILHAM AND HANNAH KILHAM.

Not the least important accomplishment of Mrs. Hannah Kilham (see Note 1251 in *Proceedings*, xxxix, p. 93) was that she was responsible for the upbringing of Sarah Kilham (1788-1852), Alexander Kilham's first

child by his first marriage and the only one to survive her parents. Like her step-mother, she became a Quaker, and began a school in Sheffield, which she gave up in 1820 to go to St. Petersburg to begin a model school for poor girls under the patronage of the Tsar. Her courage and resourcefulness—when the children under her care were trapped in the school by the floods of 1824 she kept them alive and amused for several days until help arrived—so impressed Tsar Nicholas I that he built a hospital in 1844 to be under her management and direction.

Sarah married a non-Quaker, Samuel Biller, in 1826, but was buried as a Friend following her death in 1852. Her father's MSS, together with a vast correspondence, came to her in 1832 under her step-mother's will, and were then passed on to John Blackwell, who used them in his biography of Kilham published in 1838. The bulk of this material is now at the Methodist Archives in London. Having survived a journey to St. Petersburg and back in the 1830s, it is sad to reflect that some of these letters were lost in Sheffield a hundred years later!

Information about Sarah Kilham's astonishing career in the Russian capital can be found on pages 93-4 of *Quakers in Russia*, by Richenda C. Scott (1964), and in the three-volume *Life of William Allen with Selections from his Correspondence* (published in 1846-7).

E. A. ROSE.

#### 1266. WINSTON CHURCHILL AND METHODISM.

Sir Winston Churchill's four-volume *History of the English-speaking Peoples* is by any standards a major achievement—brilliantly told, and fascinating reading. One fault is therefore all the more surprising.

His third volume (1688-1815) deals virtually with the eighteenth century—the century of John Wesley, who is universally acknowledged (and not only by prejudiced Methodists) to be one of the two or three outstanding personalities of the century. Did any other live in every one of its decades? And yet Churchill all but ignores him: he gives him and Methodism two-and-a-half brief sentences!

On page 121, writing of the establishment of the American colonies, he comments in passing: "The polyglot community named Georgia soon attracted ardent missionaries, and it was here that John Wesley began his ministering work"; and on page 199, writing of the "profound change in the emotional and intellectual life of the people towards the end of the century", he says:

The religious revival of John Wesley had broken the stony surface of the Age of Reason. The enthusiasm generated by the Methodist movement, and its mission to the poor and humble, accelerated the general dissolution of the eighteenth century world.

And that is all! Infinitely minor characters are given far more extended treatment. Clearly Churchill had a blind spot when it came to evangelical religion.

But what is even more surprising, in one who was proud of his partly-American ancestry, is that in dealing with America, to which he rightly gives no small amount of space, he makes no mention whatever of Francis Asbury, who was described by Calvin Coolidge, the President who shared in the unveiling of his monument near the Capitol in Washington, as "one of the founders of our nation". How could a man of such historical sense have all-but-completely overlooked two of the most influential characters of their age?

OLIVER A. BECKERLEGGE.

## 1267. MARY WOLLSTONECRAFT AND WILLIAM GODWIN.

I am currently very interested in Mary Wollstonecraft and William Godwin, and would be glad to purchase anything associated with them. Mary Wollstonecraft, after marriage, sometimes went under the name of Mary Godwin. Their educational experiments and any connexions they may have had with the Methodists would be of special interest. I would also like to trace the publisher for whom Blake illustrated her work; and whether or not a novel entitled *Mary* was ever published. (They married on 29th March 1797.) I would be grateful to any reader who could help me with information regarding any period, but especially the Newington Green period (pre-1785).

[DR.] RAYMOND F. SKINNER,

Southfield, Alexandra Road, Crediton, Devon.

## 1268. THE "MINUTES OF CONFERENCE".

In his excellent and authoritative article on "The 'Minutes of Conference'" (*Proceedings*, xxxi, p. 159), the late Rev. Wesley F. Swift, writing about the 1789 edition of the *Large Minutes*, says that Dr. Samuel Warren's lawsuit in the Court of Chancery in 1835 "revealed the fact that, from the legal standpoint, it was a defective document". One hesitates to differ from, or even to correct, so careful a scholar as my predecessor in this editorial chair, but I venture to suggest that it was another document, not the 1789 *Large Minutes*, that came under fire in the celebrated "Warren case".

The facts, as I see them, are as follows. In 1797 the Conference decided to revise all rules and regulations and publish them in a convenient form. This was done, and the result appeared as the well-known *Form of Discipline*. It is easily identifiable by the misprint on the title-page—1779 for 1797. The Conference also decided to publish a smaller collection of rules relating to local officers and meetings. But what was that collection? The Warrenites claimed that it was a pamphlet of 12 pages (some editions ran to 18 pages), published in 1798; but, as it contained an inaccurate paraphrase of the 1797 rule about the expulsion of members, the Conference party refused to accept it as authoritative. They argued that the promised "smaller collection" of rules was another pamphlet, which appeared in 1804. Yet the 1798 paraphrase bore the imprint of the Conference Office and the Book Steward, so one cannot blame the Warrenites for accepting it as official.

To add to the confusion, apart from one word the 1798 paraphrase bore the same title as Wesley's 1743 *Rules*, namely *The Nature, Design and General Rules of the United [1743] Methodist [1798] Societies*,<sup>1</sup> and this led many people to assume that "1798" was a reprint of "1743" and thus carried Wesley's sanction. This misconception was reinforced by the fact that both publications had the identical opening paragraph. On the second page, however, "1798" deserted Wesley and went its own way, paraphrasing *The Form of Discipline* as it thought fit.

There is yet another peculiar feature. It would seem that the 1798 paraphrase came virtually to supersede the *Form of Discipline*, for when John Beecham came to write his famous *Essay on the Constitution of Wesleyan Methodism* in 1828 he had not seen a copy of the latter. He admits this in the third edition (1850) of his *Essay*:

<sup>1</sup> The 1804 pamphlet and its reprints resumed the use of the word *United* in the title.

... a friend in Liverpool informed us that he had found a pamphlet containing a collection of various Minutes of Conference which was at our service, although he did not suppose that it would bear upon the controversy then going on as it had been published as early as the year 1779. (p. 62)

This, of course, turned out to be the 1797 *Form of Discipline*; but the incident raises some awkward questions. How is it that so prominent a minister as Beecham had never seen a copy of what was the "C.P.D." of the time? Why was it that the 1798 paraphrase, or the more accurate 1804 version, was accepted as authentic? We do not know. The point at issue in 1835 was the expulsion of members—the rule of 1798 differing crucially from those of 1797 and 1804. Into this we need not go at present. Sufficient to say that *The Form of Discipline* (later to be remembered as "Exhibit F" in the Chancery suit) was established as the legal code of the Wesleyan Methodists, and the 1798 paraphrase demoted (or should it be "promoted"?) to the status of a very rare pamphlet—to be found, fortunately, in the Methodist Archives and Research Centre in London.

JOHN C. BOWMER.

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*, and we appreciate the continuing friendly contact with our contemporaries in this field of study and research.

*The Journal of the Historical Society of the Presbyterian Church of Wales*, July 1974.

*The Local Historian*, Vol. 11, Nos. 1, 2 and 3.

*Methodist History*, April and July 1974. (The July number is of particular interest, since it contains most of the lectures delivered at the World Methodist Historical Society Conference at Bristol, July 1973. See note by Mr. John Vickers on page 183.)

*The Baptist Quarterly*, July and October 1974. (The July number was supplemented by *Association Records of the Particular Baptists of England, Wales and Ireland to 1660*—Part 3, The Abingdon Association.)

*The Journal of the Friends' Historical Society*, 1973.

In addition to the list of Local Histories printed on page 165, we are glad to note the following:

Hall Green (Staffs) centenary brochure (pp. 12): copies from Mr. Wm. Mitchell, 45, Liverpool Road East, Church Lawton, Kildgrove, Stoke-on-Trent.

Stow (Lincs) 150th anniversary brochure (pp. 4): copies from the Rev. Rodney E. Warden, 57, Mill Lane, Saxilby, Lincoln, LNI 2HN.

Wentworth Street, Peterborough, centenary brochure (pp. 12): copies from the Rev. Ewart N. Cockram, 116, Park Road, Peterborough, Northants, PE1 2TT.

Grasmere centenary brochure (pp. 12): copies from the Rev. James A. E. Martin, Glen Millans, 1, Millans Park, Ambleside, Westmorland.

Old Town, Barnsley, centenary brochure (pp. 8): copies, price 15p. post free, from Mrs. B. C. Hepworth, 24, Bond Road, Barnsley, Yorks, S75 2TW.