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Proceedings

OF THE

Wesley Historical Society

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“OF METHODISTS AND PAPISTS COMPAR’D”

FROM time to time there appears a book which opens up a new historical perspective. Such a book is John Bossy's *The English Catholic Community, 1570-1850*.¹ Bossy seeks to show how the English Catholic groups developed as a kind of non-Protestant Dissent from the middle of the reign of Queen Elizabeth I. Drawing on anthropological studies such as those of Mary Douglas (*Purity and Danger* (1966)), Bossy shows how a separated community expresses its growing separateness. It is here that comparisons with Methodism may be fruitful—revealing “the baffling fertility of the religious imagination of Englishmen”. Here are some pointers to such a possible comparison.

1. In the early days there were many “Church Papists”, not disloyal to Queen Elizabeth, but maintaining links with what had become the Establishment. The “Church Methodists” were surely not dissimilar.

2. Styles of “seasonal nonconformity”—feasts and fasts—developed, including the Mass, which were private events. Methodist Lovefeasts (ticket only!) and other styles of worship which Wesley called “prudential means of grace” spring to mind. The “rites of passage” became gradually more separatist: this happened in Methodism also.

3. Catholicism had a national organization, albeit of a rudimentary kind. So did Methodism. One can almost speak of a Catholic “connexion”. It was this *national* as well as regional organization which drew much suspicion on Methodism.

4. The number of priests in 1773 was about 400. Wesley's itinerant preachers at this time numbered about 140, but the numbers of both groups grew rapidly. It would be strange if they were not sometimes confused.²

5. The priests were at first itinerant (for obvious legal reasons!).

¹ Darton, Longman & Todd (1975): pp. xii, 446, £12.

² See (e.g.) John Wesley's *Journal*, ii, p. 262.

Being granted a horse was a sign of "having arrived", followed (when legally possible) by the buying or building of presbyteries. The preacher's horse and house were signs of a more formal and settled status. Itinerancy was much more a Catholic than a Protestant phenomenon, as Dr. H. B. Workman maintained with his comparisons of the Methodist itinerants with the friars. There was a concept of mission here which suggests parallels. Even the term "circuit" may have been used by Catholics!⁸

6. Both Catholicism and Methodism increased in numbers rapidly in the period of early industrialization. Sociological clues given by Bossy, following John Gay's *Geography of Religion in England* (1971) would repay careful study.

7. New styles of trained priests and ministers brought changes in Catholicism and Methodism. The men of Ushaw and Oscott paralleled Bunting's college-men—loyal to Conference!

8. Both Catholics and Methodists found it necessary to legitimize their property-rights—Catholicism being not dissimilar to orthodox Dissent in the style of its trust deeds. Squabbles distinctly similar to those at Birstall and Bristol occurred in eighteenth-century Catholicism.

Dr. Bossy rightly maintains that the primary fact of Christianity in England since the Reformation is the Church of England, and that the primary division is then between that body and those who did not find it satisfactory. Catholicism is thus to be seen as part of English Dissent! Perhaps now (though Bossy does not say this!) it is the main repository of the "Nonconformist Conscience"! When all this is added to the impact of Counter-Reformation spirituality on Methodism—which (despite Piette, Wakefield, Rupp, and Orcibal) still awaits a full treatment—one hazards the guess that the whole "mounting" of Methodist history within English Christianity may need radical re-appraisal in the light of Dr. Bossy's brilliant monograph. After all, was it not Newman who said "Methodism and Popery are in different ways the refuge of those whom the Church stints of the means of grace; they are the foster-mothers of abandoned children."?⁹

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⁸ J. C. H. Aveling: *The Handle and the Axe: The Catholic Recusants in England from Reformation to Emancipation* (1976), p. 66. John Aveling's book fills out with detail many of the points made by Bossy.

⁹ Advertisement to Vol. I of the *Tracts for the Times* (1834).

We have received and gratefully acknowledge the following periodicals:

The Journal of the Friends' Historical Society, 1975.

Cirplan, Lent 1977.

The Baptist Quarterly, April 1977.

The Journal of the United Reformed Church History Society, April

The Local Historian, Vol. 12, No. 6.

[1977.

Methodist History, April 1977.

METHODISM AND THE "REVOLT OF THE FIELD" IN EAST ANGLIA, 1872-96

(Continued from page 11)

IN a movement such as the "Revolt of the Field", in which many of the leaders belonged to one or other of the various Methodist groups, it was to be expected that connexional attitudes would be reflected in union policy with regard to alcoholic drink. The available evidence gives strong suggestions that the agricultural unions advocated an attitude of restraint that was in line with the general tenor of Methodism.

The Wesleyan body always remained suspicious of total abstinence as being "radical politics".⁴⁴ However, with the emergence of men like Hugh Price Hughes in the later 1870s, they too began to endorse temperance activities with their support. At the time of the unions' inception, the Primitive Methodists were loudly advocating abstinence and gospel temperance. Most issues of the *Primitive Methodist Magazine* included articles in support of total abstinence. For example, there was at least one such in each month of its publication during 1870. It is therefore no surprise to find that many of Arch's and Banks's lieutenants were "blue-ribbonists" who spoke out strongly against harvest frolics and excessive drinking by the men. George Ball, Henry Waters (1846-1938), William Boom (b. 1829), John Wingfield, Francis Sands (b. 1843), George Pilgrim (b. 1845), Joseph Chapman (b. 1822) and George Morris were prominent among Methodist district officials in the three counties who strongly advocated temperance in their union speeches. A union meeting at Ashfield-cum-Thorpe (Suffolk) in June 1873, and another at Walsham-le-Willows in the following year, provide typical glimpses of union temperance advocacy. At Walsham, delegate Charles Kerridge "urged his hearers not to spend the extra wages at the public house",⁴⁵ and at Ashfield, Noah Gosling (1820-99), another Primitive Methodist, concluded the branch meeting by "warning the men not to call at the public house, for if they gave way to the cursed drink it would sink them to hell".⁴⁶ It was a rule of Arch's union that no member who lost employment through drunkenness should be entitled to relief,⁴⁷ and the *Labourer* makes it clear that Banks's League shared this view.⁴⁸

The Countess of Warwick wrote in her introduction to Arch's autobiography:

One trembles to think what might have happened if the movement had been in less capable hands. The situation had in it all the elements of

⁴⁴ See Wesleyan Conference *Minutes*, 1841; B. Harrison: *Drink and the Victorians* (London, 1971), p. 170.

⁴⁵ *Bury Free Press*, 21st March 1874.

⁴⁶ *Suffolk Chronicle*, 28th June 1873.

⁴⁷ *Constitution and Rules of the National Agricultural Labourers' Union* (Howell Collection, Bishopsgate Institute, MS. 116).

⁴⁸ R. Russell: *The Revolt of the Field in Lincs* (Louth, 1956), p. 100.

danger; inflammatory appeals to the prejudices of an ignorant and suffering peasantry would have lighted a fire difficult to quench.⁴⁹

The Countess was not alone in her views. Others, including the Bishop of Manchester,⁵⁰ and W. G. Ward, a member of the union's Consulting Committee, clearly felt violence to be a possibility.⁵¹ Where, then, lies the explanation of the ordered protest which the agricultural unionists sustained? The study suggested that it is to be found in a Methodist leadership which, far from attempting to stifle a revolutionary movement, demonstrated that violence would gain the men nothing. In April 1874 William Banks wrote in the League paper:

Now, Brothers, let us be quiet and orderly. For your own sakes, for the sake of the League, let us hear of no foolish rowdyism or effigy burning of farmers. That only disgraces us. Every member of the League must act as a man in all things. Do that brothers and we are sure to win. God speed us and God strengthen us is my prayer, and let it be yours.⁵²

On another occasion, in an address at Leverton in Lincolnshire, Banks urged the men "to seek nothing but what they could in prayer ask God to enable them to obtain".⁵³ And John Mace, a Primitive Methodist local preacher, in his address to a crowd of agricultural labourers at the back of the White Hart Inn, Cossey, said:

Let the utmost order prevail among you, never let those who may be opposed to you point to the meetings at Cossey and say they are a disorderly lot of beings.⁵⁴

Such a peaceable attitude was doubtless undergirded by the influence of the various Methodist groups with which many of the union leaders, Joseph Arch for example, had such strong links. Not only did Methodism legislate and create a law-and-order ethos: it helped to produce a more articulate leadership which for that reason was less liable to resort to rioting; it took men away from the beer-shops which were a frequent source of violent behaviour; and perhaps above all, it proclaimed a gospel of love and respect even for one's enemies.

Other areas in the development of agricultural unionism in which a Methodist influence can be seen include the activists' religious turn of phrase and expressions of millenarianism.

The fact that so many of the union leaders were Methodists produced a "language of Zion" on their lips which was more pronounced than was generally true of agricultural labourers as a whole. For example, the *Labourers' Union Chronicle*, commenting on Mr. Arch's changed appearance at Market Rasen, put it down to the

⁴⁹ J. Arch: *Joseph Arch: The Story of his Life* (London, 1898), p. 270.

⁵⁰ *The Times*, 2nd April 1874.

⁵¹ *Labourers' Union Chronicle*, 10th May 1873.

⁵² *Labour League Examiner*, 9th April 1874.

⁵³ *Grimsby Gazette*, 9th March 1872.

⁵⁴ *Norfolk News*, 4th May 1872.

fact that "[he] has to hunt up the country from one Year's end to another 'fighting bulls at Ephesus'".⁵⁵ A Suffolk district official, remarking on the fact that in some villages the sight of a delegate was quite enough to make the men hide their heads in shame, commented with another biblical allusion: "This to my mind corroborated the statement of the old book 'men loved darkness rather than light, because their deeds were evil'."⁵⁶ Yet again, in recounting the revival of unionism in the village of Fincham, the district secretary wrote:

Another meeting was held at Fincham, on the 23rd. Mr. Beales in the chair gave a capital speech which was followed by Mr. Colman, and under his speaking there was a shaking in the valley of dry bones, and 22 came out of the same on the plains of union street.⁵⁷

Some union speeches employed quotations from Wesley or from Methodist hymns or proverbial sayings.

A number of speeches delivered by union officials of the selected area also reveal traces of a millenarianism which appears to have been drawn largely from Methodist sources. The following example is from Lincolnshire unionist Joseph Chapman, who was a local preacher on the Alford circuit.

I believe the time is not far distant when God will send restored apostles and prophets to his church who will investigate how they live on three shillings a week, the annuity allowed by the parish, when rent, coals and lighting is paid out of it, and enter a strong protest against such cruelty and preach with much force the gospel of God, that it will cure the barren and fruitless professors. Christ is to come to his church his bride a second time before that great day of the Lord. He said "I will send you Elijah the prophet and he shall turn the heart of the fathers to the children and the hearts of the children to the fathers"—Malachi chapter 4 verses 5 and 6. There is signs of the grand union that is coming when prince and peer and peasant shall combine and co-operate for the good of one and all. As many as are led by the spirit of God and they only. Some day it is going to be as big as the whole world, the world in union.⁵⁸

Passages such as this are not always easy to classify with certainty. In this instance, Chapman appears to countenance the doctrine of the "rapture"⁵⁹ which asserts that Christ will come first to His church ["as many as are led by the spirit of God and they only"], who will be "raptured" out of this world of suffering. They will then be the recipients of a period of bliss (the millennium) before Christ finally comes in judgement ["that great and terrible day of the Lord"]. Thus it would seem that Chapman adheres to a post-millennial viewpoint, and in this he was in line with the view commonly expressed by the leading preachers of his connexion during

⁵⁵ *Labourers' Union Chronicle*, 3rd April 1875.

⁵⁶ *English Labourers' Chronicle*, 23rd July 1881.

⁵⁷ *ibid.*, 3rd May 1890.

⁵⁸ J. Chapman: *Joseph Chapman: The Story of his Life* (1889), pp. 14-15.

⁵⁹ The doctrine is based on I Thessalonians iv. 17.

the last quarter of the nineteenth century.⁶⁰ Twelve similar millenarian utterances by Methodist unionists were noted, each of them much in the same vein as Chapman's paragraph.

* * *

The study suggested a number of conclusions with reference to Methodism and its role in the agricultural union movement. Within the three counties under consideration, the Methodist bodies—Primitive, Wesleyan, and UMFC—enjoyed a much closer affinity with the rural labourer than did any other of the dissenting bodies, and contributed significantly to the emergence of the new independence which manifested itself in 1872. Of the Methodist groups themselves, the Primitive Methodists showed a proportionately greater involvement with the agricultural unions, endorsing the view expressed at its 1873 Conference that “no church in Great Britain is proportionately so largely connected with the working classes”.⁶¹

The evidence also suggests, however, that Wesleyan Methodism during the last quarter of the nineteenth century certainly could not be accused of indifference to social conditions. In the area chosen, no fewer than 73 of the agricultural union leaders were Wesleyans. Professor W. R. Ward in a recent book⁶² has made it plain that whilst official Wesleyan Methodism in the first half of the century remained apathetic and even hostile to social reform, there was nevertheless a steady current of reform agitation within the connexion at ground-level. Our study therefore shows this process to have continued into the last quarter of the nineteenth century in the counties of Lincolnshire, Norfolk and Suffolk.

Involvement with the labour movement and social reform of this kind does not seem to have had a detrimental effect upon the membership of Methodist connexions. Indeed, the evidence suggests a remarkable steadiness in the membership of circuits during the period of union activity. These figures must also be set against the background of a swelling transfer of population from the villages to the manufacturing centres, and the emigration from the area of perhaps as many as 100,000 men, women and children.

It has been the tendency of some recent writers to “play down” the contribution of the Methodist groups to the agricultural trade union movement.⁶³ However, the study suggests that within the counties of Lincolnshire, Norfolk and Suffolk, Methodism played an important role—if not indeed the major role—in the origin and development of the “Revolt of the Field” during the years 1872 to 1896.

NIGEL SCOTLAND.

⁶⁰ See especially “The Millennium”, *Primitive Methodist Magazine*, May 1873.

⁶¹ PM Conference *Minutes*, 1873.

⁶² W. R. Ward: *Religion and Society in England, 1790-1850* (London, 1972).

⁶³ See E. P. Thompson, *op. cit.*, p. 41; D. M. Thompson: *Nonconformity in the Nineteenth Century* (London, 1972), pp. 12-13.

THE EXTINCT METHODIST SOCIETIES OF SOUTH-EAST SCOTLAND

2. Haddington

IT has generally been assumed that Methodism in Haddington was established by the exertions of James M'Cullagh.¹ Born near Armagh, he came to Haddington with his regiment—the Fourth Dragoons (The Royal Irish)—during the time it was quartered in Haddington Barracks, *circa* 1806. A Wesleyan Methodist, he used to preach to the soldiers of the barracks and also to civilians. During his stay in Haddington he married Miss Ann Pringle, sister of Bailie Andrew Pringle, and eventually settled in Haddington after leaving the Army.

Some doubt is cast on this traditional assertion by a letter written by the probationer Thomas Preston (then stationed at Dunbar) to Jabez Bunting. This strongly implies that there was a Methodist witness in Haddington as early as 1800. Whether it was a separate society at that time, or merely a part of the Dunbar society, is uncertain. What is definite, however, is that Methodist preachers visited Haddington every second Sunday. Preston wrote:

11 March 1800

. . . Our Circuit is different from most in England. We have but three places where we preach on a Sunday, Edinburgh, Dalkeith and Dunbar. The preachers in Edinburgh and Dalkeith change every fortnight. At Dunbar (which is 27 miles east of Edinburgh), we stay for three months, except the Superintendent, who stays only about one month.

Dunbar is my province at present and will be till about the 15th of May. Here I have to preach about five times a week and once a fortnight walk eleven miles to preach at Haddington and meet two small classes and attend three prayer meetings . . .²

Unfortunately, no local records exist from these early years. The first extant record occurs in the Edinburgh society book,³ where in 1808 a soldiers' class of 9 members was reported. In five years the number had increased to 28.⁴

As has been previously noted,⁵ this period coincided with the removal of Valentine Ward from Glasgow to Edinburgh (1814), and it is not surprising to find that he had an increasing influence on the affairs of the Haddington society. Despite this, W. Clegg, writing in 1818, stated:

¹ J. Martine: *Reminiscences of Old Haddington* (1883); J. Miller: *Lamp of Lothian* (Haddington, 1844).

² This letter is in the Methodist Archives.

³ Scottish Record Office, Edinburgh (SRO in subsequent footnotes), CH.11/2/22; Wesley F. Swift: "The Oldest Methodist Chapel in Scotland" (*Proceedings*, xvii, pp. 106-14) and "Early Methodism in Edinburgh" (*ibid.*, xvii, pp. 78-86).

⁴ SRO. CH.11/2/22.

⁵ Wesley F. Swift: *Methodism in Scotland: The First Hundred Years* (Epworth Press, 1947); A. J. Hayes: *Edinburgh Methodism, 1761-1975: The Mother Churches* (Edinburgh, 1976).

At the Edinburgh District Meeting of 1815, so little was thought of the prospect at Haddington, that we thought a preacher should not be continued there any longer—He was accordingly removed.⁵

But Wesley Swift noted that "according to the *Minutes of Conference* this was not done until 1821, and then only for the ensuing four years".⁷ Clegg's recollection of the event was at fault, for in fact the District Meeting of May 1816 recommended that the preacher to be appointed to the Dunbar and Haddington circuit should spend half his time in Haddington once the chapel had been completed.⁸ There is no mention of the proposal quoted by Clegg in the District Meeting minutes for 1815.⁹

In 1816, Haddington followed the familiar pattern of Ward's other chapel speculations. Despite the fact that there were only 20 members of society in 1818, and they were very poor,¹⁰ the chapel which Ward built for them at a cost of £600 seated 300 people!¹¹ Nevertheless, Ward denied categorically that he was responsible for all the struggling causes in Scotland,¹² and reference has already been made to the fact that he was probably a victim of circumstance :

. . . it may not be improper here to give some account of the additional chapels which have been built and purchased in Scotland lately, and the part which I have been led to take in relation to them. *With four of them I have had little or nothing to do, e.g. Haddington . . .*¹³

It is significant to note that, in contrast with Edinburgh and Dunfermline,¹⁴ where he was heavily involved, Ward's name never appears as a trustee at Haddington. It seems highly probable, then, that his protestations of innocency were correct, and that he was not responsible for the difficulties which later beset this cause.

By 1816 the expectation of the progress of the work was such that a group of local Methodists organized the purchase of a site for a chapel just off the south side of the High Street of Haddington in the Sidegate. The actual transfer of the land took place on 11th July 1816:

Be it known to all men . . . that upon the 11th day of July 1816 . . . compeared personally an honourable man John Affleck, one of the Bailies of the Burgh of Haddington, and passed with us to the ground . . . and there compeared also Richard Gray residenter in Haddington and Procurator for William Shiels, Brewer in Haddington . . . HAVING and HOLDING in his hands a DISPOSITION dated 11th July, made and granted by . . . William Shiels, whereby . . . he SOLD, ALIENATED and DISPONED . . . in favour of James Macullough, leather dealer in Haddington, James Quillans, mason there, Walter Punton, coachmaker there, Robert Smith, shoemaker in Dunbar, James Black, also shoemaker there and William Wright watchmaker there, present trustees of

⁵ W. Clegg: *Methodism in Scotland* (Leeds, 1818).

⁷ Swift (1947), op. cit.

⁸ Edinburgh District Meeting Minutes (Methodist Archives).

⁹ *ibid.*

¹⁰ Clegg, op. cit.

¹¹ Swift (1947), op. cit.

¹² V. Ward: *Free and Candid Strictures on Methodism* (Aberdeen, 1818).

¹³ Hayes (1976), op. cit.

¹⁴ See *Proceedings*, xli, pp. 12-21; Hayes (1976), op. cit.

the Methodist chapel in Haddington and to their successors in office . . . ALL and WHOLE that Malt Kiln, Malt Barn, steep stone and pertinents thereof, lying in the Burgh of Haddington on the west side of the street . . . called Sidegate . . . declaring that the . . . subjects were sold for the purpose of being converted into a chapel for the members of the Methodist Society in the principles of the late Reverend John Wesley and under the conditions and provisions to be contained in a deed of trust to be entered into among the members of the . . . congregation . . . WHICH DISPOSITION was read over by me Notary Public in audience of the . . . Bailie and witnesses . . . and then and there . . . Richard Gray as Procurator . . . simply by staff and baton as use is—RESIGNED and SURRENDERED . . . ALL and WHOLE the . . . Malt Kiln . . . lying and bounded as aforesaid . . . in the hands of . . . Bailie John Affleck . . . in favour for new infeftment of the same to be made, given and granted to the . . . trustees . . . GAVE and DELIVERED to . . . James Maccullough [etc.] . . . heritable state and sasine, real and corporal possession of ALL and WHOLE the . . . Malt Kiln, etc. . . .¹⁶

Approximately two weeks earlier (26th June 1816), the trustees' procurator in the above transfer, and now one of their adjoining proprietors, one Joseph Stanley, painter, lent the sum of £100 sterling to the trustees, who pledged the land and chapel "heritably but redeemably" in security.¹⁶ The terms of the sasine indicate that the chapel had not then been erected. It was, however, provided that should Joseph Stanley or his successors demand payment, and this be not forthcoming within three months, the chapel could be sold by public auction after the sale had been notified in the local press.

The kindness of the present owner of the chapel site and that of her lawyer has enabled me to examine the original title-deeds to the property, including the original dispositions and correspondence which are not recorded in the Register of Sasines (Central Land Registry in Scotland). First, the site for the chapel cost £130 sterling. Second, that although no formal discharge of Joseph Stanley's £100 loan occurs in the Register of Sasines, a letter dated 24th April 1820 to the Rev. Dr. Daniel M'Allum acknowledges that this loan was repaid in 1818. Third, that later in 1818 the trustees made a declaration, which must be read in conjunction with the original sasine:

DECLARATION BY THE . . . TRUSTEES; 3, 4, 6 AUGUST 1818

We, James McCullough . . . [etc.] within named and designated Trustees of the Methodist chapel in Haddington, considering that since the date of the . . . Disposition a commodious chapel has been built and erected on the ground . . . we the . . . Trustees do hereby declare that the ground and chapel built thereon are merely held by us as Trustees foresaid or the survivors of us upon special trust and confidence and to the extent that we as Trustees foresaid or the survivor of us and our successors in office . . . at all times for ever hold the same for the benefits of such persons as shall be appointed at the yearly Conference of the People called Methodists held in London, Bristol, Leeds, Manchester

¹⁶ Register of Sasines for the Burgh of Haddington (SRO), B/30/2, pp. 108-10.

¹⁶ *ibid.* B/30/2, pp. 110-14.

or elsewhere specified by name in Deed enrolled in Chancery under the hand and seal of the Reverend John Wesley and bearing date 28/2/1784 and no others, to have and enjoy the . . . premises in order that they may therein preach and expound God's Holy Word and perform all other acts of Religious Worship, *provided* that the person so appointed preach no other doctrines than are contained in Mr Wesleys Notes upon the New Testament and his four volumes of Sermons by him published. *Provided* also that the same preacher shall not be sent to the same chapel for more than two years successively without the consent of us the . . . Trustees . . . in writing, and that we, as Trustees . . . shall have full power to chuse from among us a Steward or Treasurer who shall receive all the seat rents &c, which money so received shall be applied towards paying the interest of all monies due upon the premises, for repairs of the . . . chapel and toward reducing the principal sum till the whole is paid, and it is declared that, in case of necessity, we . . . Trustees . . . shall have full power to mortgage the . . . premises till the debt contracted be fully discharged, or if the Methodist Society in Haddington shall be dissolved or come to nothing, or if a larger or more convenient chapel should be wanting, then in either of the before-mentioned cases, we the . . . Trustees or our successors . . . shall have full power to sell the premises, and in the latter case shall dispose of the purchase money towards the building of another chapel . . .¹⁷

Before leaving this group of early documents, two important observations may be made. First, it is implicit in the 1816 sasine that some premises in Haddington were already in use for regular worship, since James McCullough and his associates were referred to as "present trustees". Second, these deeds differ from many of the other contemporary deeds in South-East Scotland, since they contained no powers of mortgage, sale, etc., such powers having to be assumed by the trustees later in their declaration. It is possible that this latter represents the influence of Valentine Ward.

On 1st May 1820, the trustees borrowed £200 sterling from Patrick Begbie, farmer, Cairndinnes; John Martine, carrier, and Peter Martine, merchant, both of Haddington—acting as trustees of the estate of Mrs. Rebecca Scot or Howson—on the same conditions as applied to the first loan, namely a pledge of the property heritably but redeemably, a cash penalty in case of default, and legal interest. This bond was also subject to three months' notice of demand for payment, and if the trustees failed to honour this demand Patrick Begbie and the two Martines were empowered to sell the property by auction.¹⁸

Little then seems to have affected Haddington until 1827, when the meeting between the President and the Secretary of Conference (Richard Watson and Jabez Bunting respectively) and the preachers stationed in Scotland reported on the distressing financial embarrassments facing several of the Scottish chapels.¹⁹ It was recommended that Haddington (among others) be sold as quickly as possible; but

¹⁷ Extract from Mrs. W. Miller-Thompson's title-deeds.

¹⁸ SRO. B/30/3, pp. 112-15.

¹⁹ Hayes (1976), op. cit.; Edinburgh District Meeting Minutes.

no recommendation to this effect appears in the District Meeting minutes for that year.²⁰ However, in the following year, the May District Meeting *did* recommend that Haddington should be sold as quickly as possible to meet an urgent claim from one individual for £210, but apparently nothing was done. Indeed, Haddington was to remain open for a further twenty years. From another of the title-deeds it is clear that strenuous efforts were made to secure the future of Haddington. In 1828, Haddington was joined to the Edinburgh circuit, whose superintendent was then Samuel Warren. In Dr. Warren's handwriting on the front page of one of the bonds is the following :

Received interest on this Bond from Mr McCullough	
[i.e. towards the interest due on it]	£4 0 0
Expenses incurred in journies to Haddington, Kelso, port- ages, &c to endeavour to offput the sale of the chapel	£2 17 6
Not yet paid to the Treasurers of the Chapel Fund	£1 2 6
	SAML. WARREN. ²¹

The records then remain silent until 1840, when a further entry occurs in the Burgh Register of Sasines.²² The events were initiated by the "urgent claim from one individual for £210", which was the wish of Mrs. Rebecca Scot's trustees to call in the £200 loan which they had made eight years earlier to the chapel trust. Clearly, James McCullagh and his fellow-trustees were in no position to raise this sum locally, and so, either directly or else at the instance of Samuel Warren, they applied to the Chapel Fund Loan Committee for the principal and outstanding interest. In consequence, the chapel was conveyed to this Committee, heritably but redeemably, which meant that the local trustees could redeem the property by discharging this second loan. The Fund for the Relief of Distressed Chapels had already given grants totalling £278 between 1819 and 1835,²³ a fact which supports Clegg's contention as to the slender financial resources of the society.

Almost five years later, the trustees of the Chapel Fund Loan Committee in their turn conveyed the chapel to Thomas Heughes (or Hughes) of Inveresk. Whilst the full story of Thomas Hughes remains to be told, it is clear that this local worthy was a devout Methodist, and was one of the first trustees of Nicolson Square, Edinburgh,²⁴ to which he lent considerable sums of money. He was also concerned with the ill-fated Musselburgh venture, which will form the subject of the next article in this series. In their turn, Thomas Hughes and his wife left the chapel in trust for their successors.

Matters then proceed uneventfully for the next seven years, when a further registration appears in 1847.²⁵ The chapel and ground were conveyed, on the death of Thomas Hughes, to Thomas William

²⁰ *ibid.*

²² SRO. B/30/3/9, pp. 30-7.

²⁴ Hayes (1976), *op. cit.*

²¹ Mrs. Miller-Thompson's title-deeds.

²³ Swift (1947), *op. cit.*

²⁵ SRO. B/30/11, pp. 13-17.

Nicolson, his nephew and residuary legatee of his estate. The last poignant chapter in the Haddington affair is told in a sasine registered on 23rd November 1852, in which it was narrated that whilst James McCullagh and his co-trustees still owed Thomas Nicolson £200, there appeared to be no prospect of raising this sum if the property were to be sold, and that as a result Thomas Nicolson had agreed to accept an absolute conveyance of the chapel and ground in lieu of his claim.²⁶

From 1852, then, the site and chapel passed out of Methodist hands. The later history of the building is difficult to trace. Although it is marked on the first 25-in. plan of Haddington (1854), the 50-in. plan (1893) indicates that in the meantime the whole area had been extensively rebuilt. The title-deeds confirm that in 1852 the property passed from Thomas Nicolson to Robert Richardson for £120.²⁷ By 1874 the premises, still owned by the Richardson family, had been amalgamated to form the "Sidegate Property", and were rented to the firm of Hughes & McNeill, grocers and spirit-dealers, suggesting that the rebuilding may have taken place in the 1870s. In 1876, John Richardson sold the Sidegate Property to Martin McNeill, wine- and spirit-dealer, for £1,200. In 1912, this business passed to Alex. Smith, but in 1925 a painter and decorator, Alex. Allan, acquired the premises, remaining there until 1975. His trustees sold the property to Mr. and Mrs. Miller-Thompson, when it reverted to being a licensed grocer's. These facts agree with the account given by Dr. Beckerlegge in 1960, when he referred to the place as "recently occupied by Messrs. Allan & Co., decorators".²⁸

As with Dunfermline, the District Meeting minutes provide some indication of the state of affairs at Haddington.²⁹ One indication of the poverty of this cause is the frequency with which it was recommended to the Conference for relief or for special collections. This happened in 1813, 1814, 1817, each year from 1820 to 1827 inclusive, 1829, and 1835. Following the Conference of 1812, a fourth preacher—Donald Frazer—was appointed to the Edinburgh circuit, so that Haddington might be adequately supplied. Immediately, the ordinary deficiencies for this station reported to the 1813 District Meeting comprised:

	£	s.	d.
Minister's Quarterage ...	16	16	0
House Rent ...	10	0	0

The superintendent, Samuel Kittle, was soon convinced that such a large circuit was unworkable, and following the 1813 Conference, Dunbar and Haddington were separated from Edinburgh and combined into a new circuit.³⁰ At that time Haddington had three Sunday services, and two weeknight services alternating with one weeknight service in consecutive weeks. The ordinary deficiencies in 1814 were larger, for in addition to the minister's quarterage and

²⁶ SRO. B/30/12, pp. 23-7.

²⁷ Mrs. Miller-Thompson's title-deeds.

²⁸ See *Proceedings*, xxxii, p. 114.

²⁹ Edinburgh District Meeting Minutes.

³⁰ *ibid.*

the house rent, there was a sum of £5 for coal.⁸¹ At the 1814 District Meeting, the assembled brethren expressed the hope that Conference would encourage the Haddington cause.

Up to 1814, the hall used for worship must have been provided free, or else the collections had defrayed the cost. However, in 1815, in addition to the ordinary deficiencies (Quarterage, £16 16s.; House Rent, £10; Coal and Candles, £4), there was an extraordinary deficiency of £5, "Rent for Preaching Houses".

In 1816, the financial position had improved so much that no deficiencies were reported, but mindful of the small, impoverished societies of East Lothian, the May 1816 District Meeting recommended to the Conference that only one preacher be appointed to the Dunbar and Haddington circuit, to spend half his time in Haddington once the chapel there had been completed.⁸² Apparently this recommendation was not implemented, for the 1816 Conference continued two preachers in the circuit—Thomas Bridgman remaining at Haddington for a second year.

Although there were no deficiencies in 1817, Conference authorized collections for Haddington throughout the Edinburgh and Aberdeen Districts.⁸³ The District Meeting also recommended that

Because of the peculiar circumstances connected with Edinburgh and Leith, Mr. Ward was to stay for another year, but that the Edinburgh Circuit was to be divided with (1) Leith as the head of a new Circuit (2) The Prestonpans and Tranent Societies to be transferred to the Dunbar Circuit with 2 preachers in the Dunbar Circuit as formerly.

As far as can be deduced, Conference implemented only the last of these proposals, for Valentine Ward was shipped off to Aberdeen, and Leith remained in the Edinburgh circuit! The recommendation regarding the stationing is enigmatic, unless there were indeed a proposal to withdraw the Haddington preacher (p. 44).

The financial improvement was only temporary, for in May 1818 a considerable increase in the ordinary deficiencies was reported :

	£	s.	d.
Preacher's Quarterage	...	33	12 0
Wife	...	16	16 0
Servant	...	8	0 0 ⁸⁴

The transfer of Prestonpans and Tranent must have been unsuccessful, for it was recommended that these societies be transferred back to the Edinburgh circuit. The following years—1819 and 1820—were similar, save that the deficits in the minister's quarterage were reduced to £12 12s. and £16 16s. respectively. In the latter year, the District Meeting again recommended that collections be made to assist Haddington.⁸⁵

In 1821, the ordinary deficiencies stood at

⁸¹ *ibid.*

⁸² Conference Journal. (Methodist Archives.)

⁸⁴ Edinburgh District Meeting Minutes.

⁸³ *ibid.*

⁸⁵ *ibid.*

			£	s.	d.
Quarterage	...	...	16	16	0
Wife	...	...	16	16	0
Servant	...	...	4	4	0

—together with “unforseen” [sic] circuit expenditure of £6 16s. 6d. So serious had the situation become by 1821 that the District Meeting recommended the withdrawal of the Haddington preacher unless a pledge were given;⁸⁶ this was done at the 1821 Conference. At the following Conference, however, it was ruled that one of the single preachers in the Edinburgh circuit should spend half his time in Dunbar and Haddington.

During 1822-3 it was recommended that Haddington should again be the subject of special collections. No action was taken on a second recommendation that the preacher from Dunfermline should go to Haddington.⁸⁷ In 1823, the Financial District Meeting voted £24 16s. in aid of the Dunbar and Haddington circuit, and the Conference of that year ruled that one of the single preachers in the Edinburgh circuit should spend one Sunday in four in Haddington.⁸⁸

The following year saw the paradoxical situation that whereas the District Meeting had recommended collections to aid Haddington; had voted a grant-in-aid of £26, and a meeting with the Rev. Robert Newton (then President’s representative) had recommended that an additional single preacher should be sent to the Dunbar circuit, *provided* that there was no additional charge on the Contingent Fund: Conference, in contrast, gave the trustees leave to *sell the chapel*, whilst at the same time stationing John McLean in Haddington, to change on one Sunday per month with the Edinburgh preachers! In 1825, the circuit received £28 in aid, and the following year the deficiencies rose to that very sum, consisting of

Servant	...	...	8	0	0
House Rent and Taxes	...	...	11	5	0
Coal and candles	...	...	8	15	0

In addition to recommending the sale of the chapel, the 1828 District Meeting recommended that the Dunbar and Haddington circuit be joined with the Edinburgh circuit, with three preachers to man the whole. For the two years 1828 and 1829 this amalgamation remained in force, but the decision was evidently unsound, for in 1830 the District Meeting recommended that Dunbar should again be separated, this time as a single charge, with the usual grant of £28.

In 1835, the District Meeting again recommended the re-union of Dunbar and Haddington, this time with two single preachers, and this was carried into effect by Conference. The 1836 stationing saw the Haddington preacher being continued for a further year, but he was finally withdrawn in 1838. There was also a proposal in 1837 to move him to Greenock, but no action was taken.

In 1840, two years after the final withdrawal of the preacher, the chapel was again allowed to be sold, but the name “Dunbar and Haddington Circuit” lingered on until 1865, when Haddington was

⁸⁶, ⁸⁷ *ibid.*

⁸⁸ Wesleyan Conference *Minutes*, 1823.

at last dropped from the List of Stations, as "Methodism is now extinct there."⁸⁹

Due to the absence of local records, it is difficult to draw more than tentative conclusions regarding the numbers of the Haddington society. Comparison of the Edinburgh society book⁴⁰ for those years when Haddington was joined with Edinburgh and the Circuit membership as recorded in the Wesleyan Conference *Minutes* for the years 1814 to 1836 leaves the distinct impression that, in some years at least, Haddington was larger than the Dunbar society.

MEMBERSHIP OF THE DUNBAR AND HADDINGTON CIRCUIT, 1808-40

Year	Haddington		Year	Haddington	
	Circuit	Society		Circuit	Society
1808		9	1824	60	
1810		8	1825	62	
1812		12	1826	60	
1813		28	1827	60	
1814	65		1828	36	
1815	55		1829		30
1816	100		1830		30
1817	52		1831	22	
1818	55	20 ⁴¹	1832	21	
1819	55		1833	22	15
1820	60		1834	20	
1821	58		1835	20	
1822	34	20 ⁴²	1836	41	
1823	39		1837-40	No records	

The longer life of the Haddington society, and its inclusion in a separate circuit for twenty-one years, makes the identification of the preachers stationed there a relatively simple exercise, and the list which follows is put forward with only one uncertain entry.

1812	Donald Frazer (4th man in Edinburgh circuit)
1813-14	William Jackson (Dunbar and Haddington circuit)
1815-16	Thomas Bridgman " "
1817-19	Daniel M'Allum " "
1820	Joseph Beaumont " "
1821-4	<i>Preacher withdrawn</i> —shared with Dunbar
1825	John McLean (Dunbar and Haddington circuit)
1826	Samuel Thompson " "
1827	Edward Usher " "
1828-9	? Edward Usher or John McLean—in Edinburgh circuit
1830-1	Jonathan Barrowclough—shared with Dunbar
1832-4	Henry Turner " "
1835	William Bond (Dunbar and Haddington circuit)
1836	Jonathan Innes " "
1837	John Harland " "
1838	William Bromford " "

⁸⁹ *ibid.*, 1865.

⁴⁰ SRO. CH.11/2/22.

⁴¹ Number stated by Clegg (*op. cit.*).

⁴² Number stated by Samuel Dunn. (See H. R. Bowes (ed.): *Samuel Dunn's Shetland and Orkney Journal, 1822-1825* (Sheffield, 1976).)

The preacher was finally withdrawn at the 1839 Conference, though Wesley Swift stated that this did not take place until 1841.⁴⁸

Let the *Reminiscences of Old Haddington* (1883), whose author was none other than John Martine, provide the closing words on Methodism in that burgh:

... James McCullagh . . . was the means of establishing a Methodist congregation in Haddington, and in building a chapel in Sidegate St., which for many years was numerously attended. During the incumbency of the Drs M'Allum, senior and junior, both superior preachers, and others, Methodism was extremely popular, and crowds filled the chapel. James M'Cullagh very frequently preached to the body, but at last owing to deaths and removals it dwindled away and the chapel was given up. He frequently rose early on a Sunday morning, walked to Dunbar and preached twice to the congregation of Methodists there, when the minister was absent and walked home again at night. He also used to go to Garvald, Stenton etc and address the villagers there. His zeal for doing good was great. Mr M'Cullagh was much esteemed by the people of Haddington and his memory is held in respect by all those who had the pleasure of knowing him. He died in the 80th year of his age and is buried in Haddington churchyard.⁴⁴ ALAN J. HAYES.

[The author is indebted to Mr. D. Denholm and Mr. S. Angus of the East Lothian District Council, Department of Architectural Services, for their assistance in establishing the site of the chapel, and to Mr. John McVie, W.S., and Mrs. Miller-Thompson, the present owner of the site, for permission to examine the title-deeds. He is also indebted to the Keeper of the Registers of Scotland for permission to reproduce material in the Register of Sasines.]

⁴⁸ *Proceedings*, xvii, p. 109.

⁴⁴ Martine, *op. cit.*

On behalf of the Wesley Historical Society, we offer sincere congratulations to Mr. John Vickers on being awarded the Wheatley Medal for his index to volume 11 of the new edition of the *Works* of John Wesley which has recently been published by the Oxford University Press (see *Proceedings*, xl, p. 119). This medal is awarded annually by the Library Association in conjunction with the Society of Indexers, and is the major award in this field. It is given for an index published within the past three years which is considered by the panel of assessors to be of outstanding quality. One of the terms of reference is that "the index must be the best possible for the work of which it forms a part, and attention will be paid to features novel to standard indexing which serve a useful purpose".

This award is of special interest to us, for this particular index (the fruit of much consultation between its compiler and the General Editor of the new edition, Dr. Frank Baker) is the first of a number of unit indexes which will eventually contribute to the general index to the whole edition in volume 34. It had to establish important criteria and precedents which will be followed in the remainder of the volumes in order to achieve a high degree of consistency in content, arrangement, and format.

Our thanks, as well as our congratulations, are due to Mr. Vickers for a work of outstanding usefulness and merit.

J.C.B.

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IRISH NOTES

Wesley Day, 24th May 1977, was the occasion of a special meeting of the Irish Branch, held by invitation in the Rosemary Street Non-Subscribing Presbyterian church, Belfast. This is the oval-shaped church mentioned with very favourable comment by John Wesley in his *Journal*—Saturday, 9th June 1787, and Monday, 8th June 1789—and in which he preached on the latter date (see *Proceedings*, xvii, p. 57; xxii, p. 25). The present minister, the Rev. D. G. Banham, gave an account of the Rosemary Street church and congregation. The congregation was actually established before the Westminster Confession and the demand for subscription thereto. A liberal attitude was always maintained, so the claim is made that Rosemary Street has always been "non-subscribing". It was mainly in these "New Light" Presbyterian churches that Wesley was invited to preach on his later tours in Ireland, rather than in the more rigidly traditional Calvinistic congregations. Recent restoration has brought out again the magnificent interior of this building, still an architectural gem, just as described by John Wesley. Then the Branch President, Mr. Frederick Jeffery, gave an address on "John Wesley's Belfast". Copies of an old map were distributed, on which many of the old sites could be identified, including that of Cotton Court chapel, built by Belfast Methodists for the administration of the Sacraments when this was still forbidden by the Irish Conference.

On the Sunday morning following, the Donegall Square and Grosvenor Hall Methodist congregations were invited to worship at Rosemary Street. The preacher was the superintendent of the Belfast Central Mission and our Branch Vice-President, the Rev. Dr. Eric Gallagher.

Publications. There has been an increase in the number and quality of local histories. Recent publications include the following, available from the Archivist, Wesley Historical Society (Irish Branch), Aldersgate House, University Road, Belfast, BT7 1NA. Individual prices are shown, but there is a special price of £2 40p. for a copy of each.

County Londonderry—*Linavady Methodist Church: Centenary 1877-1977* (pp. 40) traces Methodist origins at Newtownlimavady from John Wesley's first visit, lists preachers from 1805, and presents local personalities and current activities. Foreword by G. J. Campbell. 60p. post paid.

County Armagh—*Lurgan: "Wild as Colts Untamed"* (Methodism and Society in Lurgan, 1750-1975) (pp. 48) covers the origin of Methodism in Lurgan from 16 years before John Wesley's arrival in 1766, with special reference to Queen Street chapel (at one time Methodist New Connexion and at another Primitive Wesleyan). Lists of ministers; appendix of annual membership. Written by R. Gillespie, with Foreword by R. Greenwood. £1 10p. post paid.

County Down—Belfast, *Cregagh Methodist Church Jubilee, 1927-1977* (pp. 32) reviews growth of Methodist circuit in industrial area from late nineteenth-century "iron church" to present vigorous congregation using first Irish Methodist purpose-built Youth Centre. Compiled by M. G. Kelly, with Foreword by S. D. Ross. 60p. post paid.

County Down—Belfast, *Ormeau Road Methodist Church Centenary, 1873-1973* (pp. 30) traces development from "old silk factory" hall congregation to "Lombardic"-style building no longer in use due to civil disorder and population-drift to suburbs. Compiled by M. G. Kelly, with Foreword by E. A. Edwards. 50p. post paid.

The Annual General Meeting took place in June at Portadown during the Conference of the Methodist Church in Ireland. Membership now is 145.

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Archivist: Mrs. Marion Kelly, 13, Glencregagh Drive, Belfast, BT6 0NJ.

BOOK NOTICES

Partnership in Excellence: A late-Victorian educational venture: The Leys School, Cambridge, 1875-1975, by Derek Baker. (The Governors of The Leys School, Cambridge, 1975: pp. xvi. 272, £6.)

Although this book was issued to mark the centenary of The Leys, it is far from being the typical annalistic school history of interest to none but "old boys". Dr. Baker states that his aim has been "to place the first Methodist public school in its historical and social context and to relate its foundation and early history to the wider . . . world which gave it birth", and few readers will dispute that he has achieved this supremely well.

Both the educational and the Methodist background to "the Cambridge Scheme" are carefully described, producing a context much wider and subtler than the simple removal of university tests in 1871. The foundation of the school is related not only to the increasing social acceptance of Wesleyan Methodism and to the aims of the Wesleyan "aristocrats" who were behind the scheme, but also to the situation in the Cambridge circuit at the time. Most of the book is devoted to the development (and financial difficulties) up to the death of the first headmaster, Dr. W. F. Moulton, in 1898; a mere thirty pages or so suffices for his successors. Dr. Baker makes it clear that the early Leys was significantly different both from contemporary public schools and from the school it subsequently became.

Precisely because the story of the school, its staff and its pupils, is set so firmly in its historical and sociological context, many other aspects of late-Victorian Methodism are illuminated at the same time, so that it is not merely students of Methodist education who will need to read this important work. The book is well produced, and illustrated with 72 pages of plates as well as a coloured frontispiece. Although one could wish for fuller documentation at several points, one can understand the desire not to burden the text with footnotes, but what excuse can there be for the lack of an index in such a wide-ranging work of scholarship? E. A. ROSE.

The Place of Wesley in the Christian Tradition, ed. K. E. Rowe. (Scarecrow Press, Metuchen, New Jersey, 1976: pp. iv. 165, \$6.)

Five papers, given at Drew University in 1976, celebrated the launching of the new complete edition of the *Works* of John Wesley. (The first volume to be published, edited by G. R. Cragg, appeared in February 1976 [See *Proceedings*, x], p. 119.—ED.) The authors were Albert Outler, Gordon Rupp, Martin Schmidt, Michael Hurley (of the Irish School of Ecumenics in Dublin), and Frank Baker (who outlined the principles governing the choice of the Wesley text). Two of the essays were outstanding: "The Place of Wesley in the Christian Tradition", by Dr. Outler; "Son to Samuel: John Wesley, Church of England Man", by Professor Rupp. They are both concerned with placing Wesley, and they don't really agree.

Dr. Outler seems to me to have become a little entangled in his own erudition. It is not hard to show that John Wesley knew all kinds of books, read many of them, and quoted from them when it suited his argument; but it is less easy to show that he was influenced by what he read. He used books, he did not do his thinking with them, like one particular sort of academic. Dr. Outler places Wesley as "the most important Anglican theologian of the 18th century because of his distinctive, composite answer to the age-old question of the nature of the Christian life", an answer which Outler summarizes as "faith working by love leading to holiness". Of course, one sees his drift: the works of the most important Anglican theologian of the eighteenth century *ought* to be in print; but the assertion

puts Wesley, as a theologian, ahead of William Law, Conyers Middleton, and Joseph Butler, quite apart from others like Paley and Daniel Waterland. The assertion won't, in fact, work: there are lines of descent in the history of Anglican theology, between those I have mentioned, and modern Anglican thinking, which can't be demonstrated in Wesley's case. Dr. Outler tries to avoid this answer by labelling Wesley a "folk-theologian", but this seems inaccurate, for Wesley was neither an eighteenth-century Spurgeon, a popular rhetorician (Whitefield would be the obvious parallel there), nor was he a pseudo-scholar like J. N. Darby (this would be to confuse him with Charles Simeon). As for Wesley's doctrine of holiness, on which Outler lays such stress, this cut no ice with such later Anglican theologians as noticed it: they did not think that it was important, they thought that it was misguided. (In any case, perfectionist groups were not reconciling forces between Protestantism and Catholicism: they were as aberrant in the one religious world as the other.)

It is here that Professor Rupp is properly cautious. He quotes Norman Sykes's judgement that "the theological and literary productions of the Evangelical Revival were of little importance or permanent value to the tradition of the *ecclesia docens*". He quotes Alexander Knox's verdict, which goes to the root of Wesley's mind: "I . . . think that he would have been an enthusiast if he could." He grants that Wesley's writings "do not rank with the great works of Warburton, Butler and Paley". Dr. Outler, on the other hand, asserts that Wesley surpassed Butler in knowing that "the old Reformation polarities had ceased to define the Christian future", and presents us with a not unfamiliar but fashionably ecumenical Wesley who already reconciles Protestant and Catholic attitudes to the Christian life. Neither Martin Schmidt nor Michael Hurley can be quoted in support of this, and in any case the most potent obstacles to such unity lie far away from the issues which Dr. Outler is discussing.

Gordon Rupp is wiser. If one has to defend the re-publication of Wesley with a scholarly apparatus (rather exaggerated as far as the text goes), he sees that one should do it on historical, not theological grounds. John Wesley was not the most important Anglican theologian of the eighteenth century, but he was the most important English religious leader of the period, and it is because of the immense long-term influence of Methodism on England and America that one wants to be able to place what its founder said and did accurately in its historical context. "An apostle of England", Professor Rupp concludes, and this would be the soundest approach to a new edition of Wesley's writings. Enough has been written about Wesley's theology; more than enough about the Revival as an antiquarian's dream; but the developing eighteenth-century relationship between Anglican parishes, Wesleyan societies and Dissenting churches (including the Roman Catholic missions whose history has been splendidly illuminated by John Bossy's recent book, *The English Catholic Community 1570-1850*), has not been adequately studied. The new edition can make an important contribution to historical research if the individual editors start from the principle that at the moment Wesley's *Works* are either out of context or in no context at all, and that this is because the best historians of eighteenth-century Wesleyanism knew too little about Anglicanism, and the best historians of eighteenth-century Anglicanism knew too little about Wesleyanism. The problem is how to bring together societies which were already divided in the eighteenth century; to concentrate on Wesley as the theologian of the ecumenical future will tell us very little that is useful about the past.

JOHN H. S. KENT.

NOTES AND QUERIES

1293. BEDFORD ST. PAUL'S CIRCUIT RECORD BOOK.

Miss P. L. Bell, B.A., County Archivist, County Record Office, County Hall, Bedford, writes:

In 1959 the Bedford St. Paul's Methodist circuit deposited its archive at the County Record Office. Included was a volume now catalogued as MB1. It is the first circuit book, entitled "The names, numbers, occupations, residences etc., of the members of Society in the Bedfordshire Circuit, July 1781", and is 4to bound vellum, 210 pp. It contains lists of members, in classes, in 1781, 1782, 1783, n.d., 1785, 1792, 1793, n.d., 1796, 1799, 1800, 1801, and 1804. There are also lists of local preachers and of collections for Kingswood School and other causes, some accounts, and a few memoranda. The lists cover 68 places in the counties of Beds, Bucks, Herts, Hunts and Northants, as far as Wing in Bucks, St. Albans in Herts, Godmanchester in Herts, and Kettering and Wellingborough in Northants. At first all occupations are given, but by the end this is discontinued.

No doubt in the past it would have been possible to publish such a text, but printing costs are now so high that this can no longer be done. However, a member of the Record Office staff made an exact typescript of the whole, and this has been carefully indexed under personal names, places, and occupations. The typescript runs to 181 pages. It would be possible to have these photocopied, put into some inexpensive cover, and sold to those interested. If we could be sure of selling, say, 150 copies, the price might be as low as £2 50p., though if there are only 100 orders, it will be £3 50p. In each case postage is 30p. extra.

If sufficient people interested in buying a copy would write to me at the address given at the head of this note, we could get the sheets photocopied and sent out very quickly.

1294. TITLES OF THE SHORTER SERVICE-BOOKS.

In Notes and Queries 1289 (*Proceedings*, xl, p. 190) the Rev. R. Wesley Hartley has pointed out that various authors including myself have given the wrong title to the shorter versions of *The Sunday Service* which were published in the Wesleyan Church before 1882. I am afraid I must admit that he is right. I simply took the information from the late Wesley F. Swift, who was usually a most careful writer. I have not myself seen many of these books, but I have now looked at an 1864 edition. The title-page has *Order of Administration of the Lord's Supper and Baptism* . . . The front cover, however, has *Administration of the Sacraments* . . ., and the Rev. David H. Tripp informs me that this is not uncommon on the bindings. This helps to explain the error.

A. RAYMOND GEORGE.

Following last year's precedent, there is again no "Conference Handbook" this year, but the *Methodist Recorder* of 16th June carries a concise and well-written article by Dennis H. Harrison entitled "How Methodism came to Hull", but which is in effect an outline history of the various branches of Methodism in the 1977 Conference city from 1746 to the present day. The *Recorder* devotes seven consecutive pages to Conference matter, including photographs, diary of meetings, etc., a comprehensive account of Methodist activity and witness in all parts of the city and its environs, and a descriptive "Chairman's-eye view of the York and Hull District".