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# Proceedings

OF THE

## Wesley Historical Society

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

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### THE CHANGING FACE OF METHODISM

#### III. The Restructuring of the Church

**T**HIS article has the modest aim of briefly outlining the process of the restructuring which mainly preceded the publication of the sixth edition of *The Constitutional Practice and Discipline of the Methodist Church* in 1974, underlining the more significant changes, and relating the new nomenclature to the old.

The three denominations which came together to form the Methodist Church in 1932 each had its own constitution derived either directly or at a remove from John Wesley's original Methodist constitution. The differences between them were not negligible, but neither were they fundamental. A united ad hoc committee appointed by the three Conferences reported in 1922 that, following their preliminary investigations,

it is evident that the difference in practice between our Churches is much less than might be suggested by a comparison of the existing Constitutions.<sup>1</sup>

That assurance helped forward the negotiations for union, which was consummated in 1932 and given legal sanction by the Deed of Union of that year.

Every living organization is constantly being restructured, however gradually, and Methodist Union was inevitably followed by a period of limited restructuring, though probably no alteration or addition was made to the Constitution without a backward reference to the usages of the three former denominations. The Standing Orders were printed, with revisions and additions, in the *Minutes of Conference* from 1932 to 1939, but were not printed in full again until they appeared in a separate publication, *The Constitutional Practice and Discipline of the Methodist Church* (1951), which

<sup>1</sup> *Methodist Union: The Tentative Scheme . . . submitted to the Conferences of 1922. An Annotated Edition, prepared at the direction of the United Committee by the Revs. E. Aldom French, Samuel Horton, David Brook, M.A., D.C.L., and Henry Smith* (pp. 110).

was prepared by order of Conference and edited by Harold Spencer and Edwin Finch. In their introduction, the editors hopefully surmised that after so many years since Union the constitution had become established, and that future changes would probably be fewer and less important. They did not foresee the colossal restructuring that would be taking place twenty years later: even the volume they produced was to go through five revised editions during that period.

### **The process of reconstruction, 1967-76**

In the mid-1960s there were many voices in British Methodism asking for a drastic overhaul of the constitution, and this feeling was eventually focused in a memorial sent to the 1965 Conference from the London (Highgate) circuit:

This Quarterly Meeting, being convinced that the Methodist Church is hindered by over organization and by numerous and unwieldy committees, urges that the whole structure and organization be re-examined, re-planned and streamlined, so that the Church may fulfil the spiritual and evangelistic purpose for which it was raised up.<sup>2</sup>

This memorial, together with certain kindred matters, was referred to the General Purposes and Policy Committee for further consideration, and that Committee set up a working party whose report was presented to the Conference of 1967.<sup>3</sup> The report dealt with the structure of the Church at every level, but it was the sections dealing with the circuit and the local church that the Conference adopted as provisional legislation, requiring the consent of the District Synods before they could be ratified. The most notable feature of the report was its proposal that a Church Council should exercise general oversight over the local church and eventually replace both the Leaders' Meeting and the Trustees' Meeting. It also proposed that a Members' Meeting should be formed in the local church, and that its duties should include the appointment of society stewards, poor stewards, and a general treasurer.

The District Synods were not prepared to accept the blanket proposals for restructuring: two Synods approved the proposals in their entirety, five rejected them completely, and the rest proposed numerous amendments. The 1968 Conference received a flood of memorials on the subject, and referred Nos. 1 to 74 to a new and enlarged committee, which was instructed to report to the Conference of 1970.<sup>4</sup> Among the memorials were requests for a reform of the trust system and for the "outdated terms" Poor Fund and Poor Steward to be changed to Communion Fund and Communion Steward.

In 1969 the Conference received a report on Departmental Structure and Function, and gave general approval to its proposals to re-group the connexional Departments into seven Divisions and to set up a President's Council to develop connexional policy and co-ordinate the work of the Divisions, asking for precise resolutions to

<sup>2</sup> *Minutes*, 1965, p. 64.

<sup>3</sup> *Conference Agenda*, 1967, pp. 563-77; *Minutes*, 1967, pp. 50-4.

<sup>4</sup> *Agenda*, 1970, p. 53; *Minutes*, 1968, pp. 70 f., 88.

be brought to the following Conference.<sup>6</sup> That Conference (1970) approved the proposals then presented as provisional legislation, and these were ratified at the Conference of 1971.<sup>6</sup>

The 1970 Conference further considered the report of the 1968 Committee on the Restructuring of the Church in Districts, Circuits and Societies,<sup>7</sup> which recommended, among other things, the abolition of the "dual control" of the local church by Trustees' and Leaders' Meetings, and the reduction of the self-perpetuating element in the existing organization. It proposed that a twice-yearly Circuit Meeting should replace the old Quarterly Meeting, and that provision should be made for lay chairmanship of certain church meetings; also that a General Church Meeting at the local level, open to church-members and those on the Community Roll, should replace the Society Meeting, which had been restricted to church-members. The Conference gave general approval to the report, and sent it down to the Synods for consideration and comment.

The 1971 Conference accepted the proposals for the new District structure as provisional legislation, and these were ratified by the Conference in 1972 and 1973.<sup>8</sup> The 1972 Conference also sent down the proposals for circuit and local church restructuring to the Districts as provisional legislation. A year later, the 1973 Conference was able to set its seal on these proposals also.<sup>9</sup> The main work of restructuring had been completed at District, circuit and local level, and the new face of Methodism only awaited the passing of the Methodist Church Act, 1976,<sup>10</sup> to end the vestiges of dual control.<sup>11</sup> The virtual completion of the work in 1973 made possible the publication of the sixth edition of *The Constitutional Practice and Discipline of the Methodist Church* (1974)—a massive volume in loose-leaf form. In his valuable Foreword to this edition, Mr. John Hicks explains that the book itself has been restructured to form a natural sequence of Act, Deeds, and then the Standing Orders, which derive their authority from the legal documents. The only "historic texts" reprinted are the *Rules of the Society* (1743), *The Twelve Rules of a Helper* (1753), *The Liverpool Minutes* (1820), and *The Methodist Church Union Act* (1929).

<sup>6</sup> *Minutes*, 1958, p. 27.

<sup>6</sup> "Report on Departmental Structure and Function", *Agenda*, 1970, pp. 27-43; see also "Methodist Giving and Divisional Finance", *ibid.*, pp. 44-52; *Minutes*, 1970, p. 44; 1971, p. 57.

<sup>7</sup> "Report on the Restructuring of the Church in the Districts, the Circuits and the Societies", *Agenda*, 1970, pp. 53-88.

<sup>8</sup> "Report on the Restructuring of the Church: Part 1—In the Districts", *Agenda*, 1971, pp. 18-54; "Report on the Restructuring of the Church: Part 2—In the Circuits and Local Churches", *ibid.*, 1972, pp. 51-109; *Minutes*, 1971, p. 42; 1972, p. 43; 1973, p. 35.

<sup>9</sup> *Minutes*, 1972, p. 45; 1973, p. 36.

<sup>10</sup> See the Rev. George W. Dolbey's article in this series, *Proceedings*, xli, pp. 97 ff.

<sup>11</sup> Further details of the new constitution, including the official agendas, received the approval of the 1973 Conference. See the "Restructuring Working Party Report", *Agenda*, 1973, pp. 57-108. For the on-going discussion about "The Restructuring of the Conference" see *Agenda*, 1974, pp. 479-99.

### The new face of Methodism

The "massive restructuring" of 1970-6, as Dr. Kenneth Greet described it, gave British Methodism a new outward appearance: the connexional Departments became Divisions, the Quarterly Meeting became the (twice-yearly) Circuit Meeting, the Leaders' Meeting and the Trustees' Meeting together suffered a sea-change and became the Church Council, the Society Meeting was enlarged and became the General Church Meeting, society stewards became church stewards, chapel stewards became property stewards, and poor stewards became Communion stewards. The changes were not merely nominal, for there were differences of composition and function in the new Divisions, Councils and Committees, and also in the functions of their officers. At the same time, and in the long view, they may be judged to be marginal except in the case of the Church Council, where a fundamental change had taken place. The ending of the "dual control" of the local church by a democratically-elected Leaders' Meeting and a self-perpetuating body of trustees which had been a feature in all the former sections of Methodism derived from John Wesley's own constitutional structure was probably as great a break with the past as the progressive democratization of John Wesley's Leaders' Meeting had been.<sup>12</sup> The final dropping of the term "society" in the constitution was also a significant change in a way, for it gave the final official approval to Methodism's claim to be a church rather than a movement.

THOMAS SHAW.

<sup>12</sup> The change was made abruptly in the constitutions of the reformed sections of Methodism, but only gradually, culminating in 1908, in Wesleyan Methodism. See G. Eayrs: *Our Founders and their Story* (1907), p. 112; J. R. Gregory: *A History of Methodism*, II, p. 12.

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In aid of Wesley's Chapel Appeal Fund, the World Methodist Council is publishing *A City Road Diary* (pp. 144), by Helen G. McKenny. Miss McKenny was the daughter of the Rev. John McKenny, who was the minister of Wesley's Chapel from 1885 to 1888, and her book is full of personal reminiscences of life at the manse and glimpses of the neighbourhood. It is to be published on 1st November (the day appointed for the re-opening of the Chapel and the 200th anniversary of its opening by John Wesley) at £2 50p. (\$5.50) plus 19p. (38c) postage, but there is a pre-publication offer whereby copies ordered and paid for by 18th October will be supplied at £2 19p. (\$4.90) post free. Overseas copies will be sent by surface mail. Orders should be sent to Mr. John A. Vickers, 87, Marshall Avenue, Bognor Regis, West Sussex, PO21 2TW.

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*The Works of Joseph, Silas and Salome Hocking* is the title of a 29-page booklet by Roger Thorne. It forms a loving tribute to his brother, Michael, who died recently, and who in his lifetime was a collector of the works of the Hockings. This booklet contains a tribute to Michael and a catalogue of the works of Joseph, Silas and Salome Hocking which were in Michael's collection. The list also includes in brackets the titles of known works of the Hockings which are missing from the collection. Perhaps the publication of this booklet will lead to the discovery of some or all of those missing volumes. Copies of the booklet may be obtained from Mr. Roger F. S. Thorne at 11, Station Road, Topsham, Exeter, Devon, EX3 0DS.

## JOHN WESLEY, INCUMBENT?

MANY members of the Wesley Historical Society must have been rather surprised to learn from the late Mr. A. Barrett Sackett's article in Volume xxxix of the *Proceedings* that John Wesley was once the incumbent of a benefice in Wales. Mr. Sackett, whose painstaking researches gave us *John Jones—First after the Wesleys?*, quoted notices which appeared in January 1772 in the *Gentleman's Magazine* and the *Bristol Journal* to the effect that "The Rev. John Wesley, A.M." had been preferred to St. Daniel's, near Pembroke, and then went on to argue that the person so preferred was none other than the founder of Methodism. Nehemiah Curnock had evidently seen those notices in the early years of the century (or at least the one in the *Gentleman's Magazine*), for in a footnote in Volume v of his Standard edition of Wesley's *Journal* he concluded that another John Wesley was once the incumbent of St. Daniel's, and that he must have been presented to the living after 23rd August 1772, for otherwise, he felt, *our* John Wesley would surely have commented on his namesake when writing up his *Journal* for that day. Several years later, the late Alderman L. J. Meyler of Milford Haven, an ardent Methodist and a keen student of Methodist local history, queried Curnock's assumption, and suggested that the founder of Methodism may have officiated at a marriage or a baptismal service at St. Daniel's and then signed the register of St. Mary's, Pembroke—the parish in which St. Daniel's is situated. In point of fact, according to Mr. Sackett, no John Wesley signature appears in the St. Mary's register at all, and no person of that name—neither the Methodist nor any other—was ever vicar of the parish, but John Wesley the Methodist was undoubtedly the incumbent of St. Daniel's, about a mile from Pembroke.

Leaving aside his excursion into the early history of St. Daniel (or Deiniol), his argument runs something as follows :

In 1295 the free chapel of St. Daniel's and the two churches within the borough of Pembroke (St. Mary's and St. Michael's) were annexed to the priory church of St. Nicholas, which then stood "close to" the castle walls. When the priory was dissolved by Henry VIII, it passed, with St. Mary's and St. Michael's, first into the hands of the Countess of Essex and later into those of Viscount Hereford. But St. Daniel's and the land granted or belonging to it were granted in 1535 to the prior's warden, John Griffith, and eventually passed to lay owners or lessees. By 1721 St. Daniel's was described by a contemporary writer, Erasmus Saunders, as "derelict, rarely if ever preached in, and mostly demolished", whilst in 1752, and again in 1754 and in 1763, it was declared in Ecton's *Thesaurus Rerum Ecclesiasticarum* to be "Not in charge". When John Wesley first saw it in 1767, however, it had been in ruin "till lately", which suggests that it had recently been restored; and the following year it was designated in John Bacon's *Liber Regis* as a Methodist chapel. Mr. Sackett added that it was "rather more than a surmise" that the Rev. Howell Davies, a Welsh Methodist clergyman of the Calvinist persuasion, was responsible for its restoration, as he had been at Mounton and Woodstock—the one near Narberth and

the other near Maenclochog. Howell Davies died in 1770. Two years later, in January 1772, came the announcement in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, and to dispel any doubt there might be about the identity of this John Wesley (Mr. Sackett continued), there was the similar but fuller notice which appeared "on the same day" in Felix Farley's *Bristol Journal*. For the John Wesley so preferred was described therein as "Chaplain to the Countess Dowager of Buchan" (as the Methodist was), whilst the John Barnes who preferred him was none other than the author of *The Christian's Pocket Companion*, published in 1765, to which John Wesley—our John Wesley again—had contributed a Preface during his visit to Pembroke the previous July. But why (Mr. Sackett inquired) did Wesley accept such preferment? "Obviously", he replied, because of the need "for a settled place for his preachers in his newly-formed circuit"; because, by accepting a title, he could proclaim to all and sundry his loyalty to the Established Church at a time when that loyalty was suspect; and because he himself felt the need of "a refuge in the landscape away from the tumult of men".

It is a plausible argument. After all, the *Gentleman's Magazine* was a publication of some standing, whilst Felix Farley, who was so sympathetic to Methodism, must surely have known what he was about when he too published that notice and even amplified it; indeed, it may well be that the national journal picked up and condensed the notice from the local newspaper. And yet, serious doubts remain which Mr. Sackett felt unable to share during our interesting and rather lengthy correspondence some years ago. Meanwhile, those doubts persist.

Some of them perhaps require no more than a bare mention. If, for instance, John Wesley at the age of 68, and after devoting thirty-three years to the strenuous task of evangelizing Britain, decided to "settle down" in a benefice, it is rather surprising that he made no reference in his *Journal* to such an important and (to him) revolutionary decision. Why, having thus settled down, did he continue to itinerate, pay merely eight fleeting visits to his church over a period of eighteen years, and thereby provide his critics with an admirable example of the type of absentee incumbent who (in part at least) had made his life's work no necessary in the first instance? Why again did the man who averred that the world was his parish opt (if he had to opt at all) for a microcosm of it in remote Pembrokeshire—of all places? Why was such a haven necessary for his preachers in Pembrokeshire but not (as far as I know) anywhere else? A meeting-house certainly, as at Cardiff, for example, as far back as 1743, but—a benefice? And if, moreover, he felt the need of such a haven himself from the noise and tumult of the world (and who would have begrudged him that?), why did he choose one which involved such a long and tiring journey from London? For it has never been suggested that he turned his back upon the capital to the end of his days. A second "home" in Wales might have been as acceptable to him then as it is to so many of his countrymen today, but—a first! And an ecclesiastical benefice at that! On the face of it, it seems hardly likely.

There remains, however, yet another and more fundamental question: was St. Daniel's in 1772 a benefice at all, or was it rather a dilapidated ecclesiastical building which had recently been restored and was now used by Methodists of all persuasions as a preaching-station or meeting-house? It is more than doubtful whether it was "the earliest Christian settlement in South Wales", but it is safe to assume that a one-time donative (and therefore an independent living) had passed into lay hands soon after the dissolution of Monkton priory; that it had certainly fallen into decay by the early eighteenth century; that, like Mounton, it had been restored, probably in the '60s; and that for many years it was used as a Methodist meeting-house. It was so used by Howell Davies as early as 1744; it was designated as such in 1768 by Bacon in his *Liber Regis*, and again by Fenton in 1810 in his *Historical Tour through Pembrokeshire*; we know that John Wesley used it on several occasions between 1767 and 1790, and Howell Harris on 18th May 1770; and we are told that the Rev. David Jones, Llan-gan (the Methodist clergyman who preached Lady Huntingdon's funeral sermon) preached there on 5th June 1808. Nor is this at all surprising: other churches had been put to similar use, whilst still others had become stables or barns.

The diocese of St. David's in the eighteenth century (second in size only to Lincoln in the whole of England and Wales at that time) had more than its share of lay impropiators—127 out of a total of just over four hundred, according to Walter T. Morgan.<sup>1</sup> True, Mr. Morgan was referring to the year 1835, but the position had not radically changed for very many years. Many of these impropiators pocketed the tithes and paid a pittance to an impecunious curate to serve their cures. Some were even more parsimonious, for, unwilling to part with a penny of their income, they were utterly indifferent to the spiritual needs of the parish, and allowed the church to fall into decay. In 1710, for example, the archdeacon of Carmarthen undertook a visitation of his archdeaconry. When he came to Llan-y-bri, some seven miles from Carmarthen, this is what he had to say:

This is a chapel belonging to Llan 'Stephan. The present Impropiator is Mr. Champion of the Inner Temple, since the Civil Warre 40s a year was paid by the Impropiator as I am inform'd to a Minister for reading Prayers here, upon the Impropiator's withdrawing the Salary Prayers were neglected to be read here, & the Chapel was suffer'd to decay, after it was decay'd William Evans who has the Care of the Seminary of Dissenters at Carmarthen is said to have taken a Lease of the Chapel of the Impropiator at the rent of 10s a year or under, upon which by contribution from the Presbyterians it was repair'd & by them for the space of about 10 years has been kept in repair & made use of for a Conventicle.<sup>2</sup>

And what had happened at Llan-y-bri happened a little later at

<sup>1</sup> Walter T. Morgan: "The Diocese of St. David's in the Nineteenth Century", in *Journal of the Historical Society of the Church in Wales*, xxi, pp. 24-5.

<sup>2</sup> G. Milwyn Griffiths: "A Visitation of the Archdeaconry of Carmarthen, 1710", in *The National Library of Wales Journal*, xix, p. 314.

Mounton, with this difference: the church was leased from the impropriator, not in order to be used as a Dissenting chapel, but as a Methodist meeting-house to supplement worship at one or other of the local churches—Templeton, Narberth, or Robeston Wathen; and leased and then probably restored, not by a dissenter but by an Anglican clergyman, the Rev. Howell Davies—a prickly Methodist indeed, but one who is still deservedly known as “the Apostle of Pembrokeshire”.<sup>3</sup> Did he do likewise at St. Daniel’s? Possibly, for he certainly had the necessary means. On the other hand, if he did, it is difficult to reconcile his bitter antagonism towards John Wesley with his allowing him to use the building in 1767, 1768, and 1769. Moreover, if St. Daniel’s at this time was still an independent benefice, why should *he* rather than the incumbent or the impropriator have spent a penny on its restoration? He may have leased it, he may even have bought it outright and restored it, but he was never its incumbent, for though he was sometimes regarded erroneously as the rector of Prendergast (on the flimsy ground that he occasionally officiated there),<sup>4</sup> there is not a shred of evidence to suggest that anyone ever regarded him as the rector or vicar of St. Daniel’s.

And what of John Barnes? If there is some doubt about Howell Davies’s proprietary interest in St. Daniel’s, there is less about *his*; it is more difficult to reject than to accept the view that he enjoyed some right to the place, however difficult it is to define it to any reasonable degree of accuracy. He is now a far less shadowy figure than he once was, thanks to Mr. Sackett. He was formerly a Moravian—that much is certain. Certain too that, for some reason at present unknown, he had left the Moravians, for their diaries record “the terrible confusion” between “Barnes’s, Whitefield’s and Wesley’s people” in 1764—a phrase which suggests that he had his own followers. And he was certainly not a Calvinist, for another entry in the diaries for 1765 notes that he had been preaching “in Marlas” (Marloes?) in opposition to Mr. Whitefield’s party, whilst Howell Davies on one occasion accused him of “stealing” some of his hearers during his absence at Brighton. Conversely, he it was who probably invited Wesley’s preachers to visit Pembrokeshire in the first instance, and John Wesley evidently entertained a sufficiently high opinion of him in 1764 to write a Preface to his *Christian’s Pocket Companion* and even allow him to include in it some of his own compositions. By 1764 John Barnes, it is safe to say, was anti-Calvinist and pro-Arminian.

What did he buy or lease—a church that had been restored or a benefice which had lapsed? One would give much to know. His will would doubtless throw light on the matter, but Mr. Sackett’s efforts to trace it were in vain. The only John Barnes whose name

<sup>3</sup> *Journal of the Historical Society of the Presbyterian Church of Wales*, xxxii, p. 119. Davies bought the lease from a tenant of Sir Thomas Stepney.

<sup>4</sup> *ibid.*, xx, p. 79. On 30th June 1755 he officiated at the rector’s wedding.

appears in the Probate Index of the St. David's diocese at the National Library of Wales and who died between 1772 and 1791 died in the latter year. He was "late of the parish of St. Michael in the Town of Pembroke", which strongly suggests that he was our man; but if so, it is exasperating to learn that he died intestate. Once more inference is all that is possible, but it would be so much easier to infer did we but know more about the kind of man he was. Did he in all innocence believe that, having acquired a church, he was now the patron of a living? Or was he the sort of person who is far too easily puffed up by his own importance? Proud of the fact that he now held the lease (or more probably the freehold) of an erstwhile church, did he fancy himself as a lay impropiator and rush into print to announce the fact to what must surely have been an astonished England? It would be good to know.

When and from whom did he make his purchase? Possibly from Howell Davies, who had died on 13th January 1770. It is tempting to assume with Mr. Sackett that he bought St. Daniel's from Davies's executor(s) in 1771. On the other hand, in that same year 1770 the three benefices of St. Mary, St. Michael and St. Nicholas were united under the Rev. George Seall. If St. Daniel's had been separated from St. Nicholas' at the Dissolution, this union can have no significance whatever for our problem; but if at some time or other, and for some reason at present obscure, one or other of the benefices had subsequently acquired an interest in the church, it may be that it was not unwilling to part with it at this juncture in its history. Once more, we just do not know.

It is of course equally possible that Barnes had acquired St. Daniel's much earlier, and had allowed Howell Davies and the Calvinists, John Wesley and his fellow-Arminians, and any other type of Methodists to use it, however much opposed he may have been to Calvinism. That would not have been impossible or surprising: Calvinists and Arminians co-worshipped for a time here and there as late as 1770 and even later (as at Brecon and Swansea), and Pembrokeshire at this time was a veritable welter of competing sects<sup>5</sup> who nevertheless sometimes managed to worship together whilst going their own doctrinal way. That may have been the position at St. Daniel's. In August 1768, for example, John Wesley left the congregation there (not the society, it will be noticed) "in tolerable good humour with each other", whilst the following year he referred to "the bigots of all sides" there, which seems to suggest that they were a very "mixed" lot. Barnes must have been aware of this, and of the difficulty of maintaining the doctrinal "purity" of any

<sup>5</sup> "The Welsh Moravians were not the least respectable among the medley of recalcitrant religious groups—Arians, General Baptists, Sandemanians, Rellite and other sporadic Antinomianisms, Muggletonians, semi-mystics, queer local cults and quaint local fanaticisms—which jostled each other in a Pentecostal confusion during the latter half of the eighteenth century in Wales" (R. T. Jenkins: *The Moravian Brethren in North Wales*, p. 16). Many of these groups found a foothold in South Pembrokeshire.

society or congregation, and perhaps of the added difficulty of finding enough meeting-places to go round. Expediency no less than a concern for the spiritual welfare of hungry sheep may have led him to throw wide open the door of St. Daniel's to all and sundry some years before 1772. On the other hand, it is equally possible that by then he himself had thrown in his lot with John Wesley, advised his followers to do the same, acquired St. Daniel's, and "presented" Wesley, not to a benefice, but with a convenient meeting-house where he and his preachers could preach, and where his followers could supplement on weekdays and on Sundays outside church hours their worship at one or other of the three neighbouring churches.

For the fact is (and it is one of the few undisputed and indisputable facts in this puzzling story), one looks in vain in the records for the name of a single incumbent at St. Daniel's throughout the eighteenth century.<sup>6</sup> Still more significantly perhaps, when George Owen came to compile a list of incumbents for his *Description of Pembrokeshire*, he was unable to name anyone at St. Daniel's—and that was as far back as 1594. In short, if we consider the accumulative testimony of George Owen, Erasmus Saunders, Ecton, Bacon, Francis Green, the *Gentleman's Magazine*, and the *Bristol Journal*, the only incumbent at St. Daniel's between 1594 and 1810 was John Wesley. That may seem to some readers to strain credulity to the limit.

What then is the conclusion of the matter? It is quite impossible to say at this stage with any reasonable degree of certainty. Those who are by no means convinced that John Wesley was ever an incumbent in Pembrokeshire have the difficult task of explaining away the evidence to the contrary in the *Gentleman's Magazine* and the *Bristol Journal*. Those on the other hand who accept that evidence at its face value have even more—and more searching—questions to answer. In the present state of our knowledge neither side can claim to have proved its point; there remain far too many imponderables. But one reader at least is inclined to the view that, on balance, the evidence, such as it is, and circumstantial though much of it may be, tends to support those who query the authenticity of the notices in the *Gentleman's Magazine* and the *Bristol Journal* rather than those who accept them as a simple statement of historical fact. After all, newspapers and popular journals have occasionally been known to err!

A. H. WILLIAMS.

<sup>6</sup> Francis Green (ed.): *West Wales Historical Records*, volume III.

[Mr. A. H. Williams, M.A. is the author of *Welsh Wesleyan Methodism, 1800-1858* and of *John Wesley in Wales, 1739-1790*, and the former editor of *Bathfarn*, the historical journal of the Methodist Church in Wales.]

Overseas members who change their address are particularly requested to inform the Registrar, whose name and address will be found in the list of Officers on the second page of cover.

# METHODIST ARCHIVES

## Some Recent Additions

MOST readers of this journal will already be aware of the transfer of material from Epworth House, London, to Manchester, and the subsequent opening, on 5th December 1977, of the Methodist Archives and Research Centre at the Deansgate Building of the John Rylands University Library of Manchester. The purpose of this article—the first of a series which it is hoped will appear annually—is not to offer a general account of the Archives: such surveys have in previous years appeared in a number of periodicals, including these *Proceedings*, and in the Spring 1978 issue of the *Bulletin of the John Rylands University Library of Manchester* there is an article which is intended to give a general conspectus of the collection. However, new material is constantly being added to the Archives, and what follows is a description of some of the more important and interesting items which have been received since the collection came to Manchester.

Pride of place must of course go to the book presented by the President of Conference, the Rev. B. Arthur Shaw, when he was in Manchester for the opening ceremony—a copy of the fourth edition of *The Sunday Service of the Methodists, with other Occasional Services*, published anonymously in London in 1792.<sup>1</sup> This is John Wesley's adaptation of the Book of Common Prayer, of which he thought highly, stating "I believe there is no liturgy in the world, either in ancient or modern language, which breathes more of a solid scriptural rational piety", and he claimed that he made little alteration to the Anglican text. However, there are considerable variations, and Richard Green in his *Bibliography* gives details of these; and indeed Wesley himself adds later that "many Psalms are left out . . . as being highly improper for the mouths of the Christian congregation".<sup>2</sup> The text was originally prepared for the use of the societies in America, and was first published in 1784. The earliest edition at present available in the Library is that of 1786,<sup>3</sup> and in 1970 the Archives acquired a copy of the 1790 edition,<sup>4</sup> this being the first issue of the fourth edition. Two editions date from 1792—one designed for use in America,<sup>5</sup> and the present copy under discussion, which was primarily intended for England and the British Dominions. As usual, *A Collection of Psalms and Hymns for the Lord's Day*<sup>6</sup> is bound at the end of the volume.<sup>7</sup>

From the Local History Library in Salford has come a scrap-

<sup>1</sup> Richard Green: *The Works of John and Charles Wesley: A Bibliography*, No. 376. Dr. Frank Baker, in his *Union Catalog of the Publications of John and Charles Wesley* (Duke University, 1966) differentiates alphabetically between the various editions, and designates this as "edition I".

<sup>2</sup> *Works* (1872 edn.), xiv, p. 304.

<sup>3</sup> Baker, edition D.

<sup>4</sup> *ibid.*, G.

<sup>5</sup> *ibid.*, J.

<sup>6</sup> Green, *op. cit.*, No. 378. Baker, edition D.

<sup>7</sup> For a full account of the various editions of the *Sunday Service*, see articles by the late Rev. Wesley F. Swift in *Proceedings*, xxix, pp. 12-20; xxxi, pp. 112-18, 133-43.

book containing nearly one hundred letters, together with some portraits: this had earlier been the property of Arthur Worsley of Kersal, a former President of the Manchester Reform Club, and for long associated with Pendleton Brunswick chapel. Most of the letters, which range in date from 1849 to 1898, are addressed to Thomas Durley of the Princess Alice Orphanage, New Oscott, near Birmingham, a branch of the Children's Home and Orphanage and Training School for Christian Workers, their subject-matter being mainly the day-to-day administrative details of running the establishment. There is one letter from the founder of the Orphanage, the Rev. Dr. T. Bowman Stephenson, and there are also letters from seventeen other Presidents of Conference. Not all the letters, however, are of primary interest to Methodist historians: there is for instance one from the Rev. Charles Kingsley in which he discusses the correct pronunciation of the title of his novel *Hereward the Wake*.

It was the practice during the nineteenth century for Primitive Methodist probationers to produce a diary for a period normally of three months for presentation to and consideration by the District Synod. One such diary, that of Thomas Campey, has recently been donated to the Archives: it covers a somewhat longer period than usual—15th March 1863 to 13th March 1864—but is in every other way typical, the diary accounting for every minute of the writer's day with special emphasis on private devotions, visiting, and the number of people converted.

During the year I have preached 260 sermons, delivered 32 addresses at public meetings, made 2,105 family visits, travelled 1,840 miles and seen about 30 souls converted . . .

is Campey's own summary of his probationary year at Retford, which was to be followed by long service in the ministry, with memorable diamond jubilee celebrations in Sheffield in 1920. He lived on, indeed, until 1929. Dr. Norman Snaith, to whom I am indebted for much of the above information, considers that Methodist historians have so far largely ignored the information to be gained by studying this kind of diary.

A manuscript journal of considerable interest which has recently been acquired consists of the Rev. William Pollard's notes on his conversations with Dr. Adam Clarke, covering the period from 8th September 1827 to early February 1829. Pollard and Clarke met regularly at the latter's house some two or three times a month, with a break in 1828, and their conversations are naturally concerned mainly with religious matters, though there are also references to other topics, such as Catholic emancipation, the *Edinburgh Review*, the Royal Family, and the Shetland Isles, in which Dr. Clarke had a deep personal interest. The conversations are presented in diary form, and Pollard approaches Clarke very much as a master to whom he is a pupil, setting down minutiae of the discussions at times completely uncritically. It is interesting to note that Clarke regarded himself as better qualified than Moore to write a life of Wesley. He is recorded as saying:

I believe I was the favourite which Mr. Wesley had among his preachers. He favoured me with more anecdotes about himself and his family than any one of them.

Henry Moore's *Life* had been published some two years earlier, and Clarke's astringent criticism of the biography includes his opinion that Moore was not capable of making proper use of Wesley's private papers. This manuscript consists of 172 pages measuring 19 by 11.5 cm. [7½ by 4½ in.], written in a close, neat hand; and it has a distinguished provenance. After Pollard's death in 1839 it became the property of his youngest son, H. H. Pollard, and was then passed to *his* son, Professor A. F. Pollard, the historian. In 1948 the ownership moved to the next generation, first to Graham Pollard, well known as an outstanding bibliographer, and then to his sister, Mrs. M. L. Butler, from whom the Archives received the manuscript.

It is probably generally realized that the majority of the items in the Archives, both manuscript and printed, date from the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries; but this, of course, does not preclude the collection of twentieth-century material which, even if it may not be of immediate interest to the historian, will become of value in the future. The policy of Connexional Archivists for many years has been as far as possible for local records to remain in the locality, and therefore such items are more likely to be found in county record offices and circuit safes rather than at Manchester. District records are an exception, as the geographical area is often larger than that covered by any county record office. Although there is therefore comparatively little manuscript material relating to the local history of Methodism in the Archives, there is, however, a large local-history collection of modern printed books, pamphlets and centenary brochures. Many items of this nature have been received as accessions in recent months, and I should like to appeal to readers to help in ensuring that a copy of every printed history, centenary brochure and souvenir is available in the Archives as soon as it has been published.

Not all the modern material in the Archives is printed, and the following must serve as a selection of those twentieth-century manuscript items which have recently been received. The complete records from 1965 to 1970 of the Renewal Group are now available in Manchester, and these include the account-books, members' register, and eight folders of correspondence. The minute-book of the Leicester and Northampton District Home Mission and Chapel Committee has been deposited: it covers the period from 1932 to 1961 (from 1957 as the Oxford and Leicester District), and includes much information on the acquisition and sale of property. Another item is the meticulously-kept sermon note-book of the late Rev. William H. Brackenbury, in which he recorded in considerable detail the sermon, the text, the readings from the Bible, the hymns and any special features of services from September 1971 to October 1977, a period when he was stationed first at Romiley and then as

supernumerary in the Manchester (Cheetham Hill and Prestwich) circuit. From this well-indexed volume it can be seen that Mr. Brackenbury was obviously a man who liked to be thoroughly prepared, and the way he organized his material will no doubt be of interest to historians in the future.

Some fifty currently-published periodicals and series are now regularly being received at the Methodist Archives, and an attempt is being made to locate copies of nineteenth-century periodicals in order to complete imperfect sets. One of the advantages accruing from the transfer to Manchester is that a number of the items wanting are already represented on the shelves of other departments of this University Library, and are therefore available to scholars. It is now acknowledged that this Library is the leading centre in the North-West for the study of Nonconformity, with outstanding Unitarian and Moravian collections in addition to the fine Methodist material acquired between 1903 and 1973 prior to the successful negotiations which led to the transfer of the Archives.

Nothing can be studied in isolation, and subjects closely related to Methodism are many. The arrival of the Methodist Archives in Manchester ensures that, in future, research workers using the collection can benefit from a service by professional staff who can tap the resources of an immediately-available stock of some three million volumes should any ancillary items be required. D. W. RILEY.

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Members of our Society will rejoice in the knowledge that the President (the Rev. Donald English, M.A.) and the Vice-President (Mrs. Arthur H. Lenton, M.A.) of this year's Methodist Conference are both members of the Wesley Historical Society. We assure them of our best wishes for the strenuous year that lies ahead, and pray that they will find much joy in carrying out the duties which high office will lay upon them.

We also derive much satisfaction from the appointment of Mr. William Leary, B.A. as the new Connexional Archivist. Mr. Leary is well known in our Society as Exhibitions Secretary and for many years the secretary of our Lincolnshire branch. His knowledge of Methodism and his experience as District Archivist will fit him for the work of Connexional Archivist, and we all wish him well.

We gratefully acknowledge having received the following periodicals, some of which come to us on a reciprocal basis with these *Proceedings*.

*The Local Historian*, Vol. 13, Nos. 1 and 2.

*The Journal of the Friends' Historical Society*, Vol. 54, 1976.

*The Journal of the United Reformed Church History Society*, Vol. 2, No. 1, April 1978.

*Cirplan*, Lent 1978.

*Methodist History*, January and April 1978.

*The Baptist Quarterly*, April 1978.

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## ONE HUNDRED YEARS AGO IN ROME

[This article by Giovanni Conti, translated by Roger F. Ducker, marks the centenary of the chapel at Ponte Sant' Angelo, on the bank of the river Tiber, in the heart of Rome. This chapel was inaugurated as a Protestant place of worship on Sunday, 18th March 1877, being then part of the Free Church of Italy, which later merged with the Methodist Church in Italy. This same chapel now accommodates the English-language congregation of the Methodist Church of Italy, for which ministers are appointed by the Methodist Missionary Society.—EDITOR.]

AS I have described elsewhere in a booklet on the history of the church at Ponte Sant' Angelo,<sup>1</sup> it was by no means easy at first, when papal rule of Rome came to an end in 1870, for the leaders of the Free Church to find suitable accommodation for a preaching-place. Financial means were limited, and residential property could not be used owing to the influx of new inhabitants into Rome<sup>2</sup> and to the prejudices which were evident on the part of proprietors.

Recently a Roman Catholic nun, graduating brilliantly at the Faculty of Literature in Rome with a thesis on "The activities of the Protestants in Rome after the end of the temporal power of the Popes", has given a most vivid and comprehensive description of the situation:

1871 was a year full of activity, but also full of difficulties of every kind: the anxiety about premises became tragic, in the face of the housing shortage due to the flooding of the Tiber a short while before, and to the significant increase of the population. On the other hand, the initial mistrust felt by the Romans towards Protestants was turning into outright opposition. Ministers hardly settled into one building before being abruptly turned out again. Sometimes the Protestants were obliged to work in prohibitive conditions, with continual threats of arson against their meeting-places. For all that, however, their courage and tenacity—which certainly revealed profound convictions—did not diminish.<sup>3</sup>

Pastor Francesco Lagomarsino, converted to the Gospel thanks to the witness of the Hon. Bonaventura Mazzarella, and who exhibited all the characteristics of an evangelist, lived through all these considerable difficulties. In papers preserved in the State Archives in Rome, there is included a hand-written note from Alessandro Gavazzi,<sup>4</sup> who sent Pastor Lagomarsino to the then Mayor of Rome, Luigi Pianciani (formerly a colonel in the army of Garibaldi), to appeal for help. This is a brief letter, dated 14th January 1871, and reads as follows:

<sup>1</sup> Giovanni Conti: *The Church at Ponte S. Angelo*; English translation by Roger Ducker (1974).

<sup>2</sup> The city's population in 1870 numbered 226,000, increased to 244,484 by the end of 1871, and continued to grow at a fast rate.

<sup>3</sup> Degree thesis of Sister Maria Teresa Crescini of the "Maestre Venerini" (1972).

<sup>4</sup> Alessandro Gavazzi (1809-99), Garibaldi's comrade and chaplain in the struggle for Italian reunification, had been a monk. Following his conversion to Protestantism, he became a leading evangelical preacher and pastor in the Italian Free Church.

My dear Signor PIANCIANI,

I warmly commend to you the bearer of this letter, my friend and brother Signor Lagomarsino, who wishes to have a talk with you about a matter in which I am sure you will be able to help him. And I shall be most grateful to you.

Believe me sincerely, your devoted friend,

ALESSANDRO GAVAZZI.<sup>5</sup>

In any event, it did prove possible to find premises for worship, first in Via del Seminario, and then in Via del Governo Vecchio. It seems evident that the Lord's hand was quick to aid His witnesses, for *Il Seminatore*, the journal of the Baptist Church (1877, p. 87), wrote:

The number of Protestant places of worship is slowly drawing near to completion. That of the Free Church, Ponte Sant' Angelo, is finished; that of the Wesleyans, in Via della Scrofa, is just being opened;<sup>6</sup> and work is progressing on the Apostolic Church's building in Via Urbana.

Quoting a daily newspaper of the time,<sup>7</sup> it went on:

The new Free Christian Church, which faces Piazza di Ponte Sant' Angelo, has now been brought to completion. This church, together with the schools and other premises devoted to religious education, has been constructed by adapting an old crumbling building with frontages on the Piazza, on Via del Banco di Santo Spirito, and on Via Panico. The work done in carrying out this adaptation is worthy of special attention, both from the artistic point of view, and in view of the difficulties overcome in the construction. Equal skill is apparent in the comfortable and convenient lay-out of the upper floors for the schools and residential apartments.<sup>8</sup>

Sister Maria Crescini, in her thesis, continues in this way:

In 1871, the work passed from Lagomarsino, who had left for Milan, to Ludovico Conti. This new minister had been invited by Gavazzi himself and introduced by him to about a hundred people during a meeting.

Conti, a native of Florence, had himself embraced Protestantism in response to the preaching of Mazzarella, and from 1867 had been responsible for the difficult work of evangelism in Tuscany, using a method of penetration into families. From his monthly reports, it appears that he was fulfilling this work with scrupulous correctness, and above all with the deep conviction of doing good. On the evening of 8th March 1871, when Gavazzi introduced him to the Assembly, he gave Conti a precise charge—which Conti never failed to pursue: expounding the Letter to the Hebrews, where it says that the responsibility of ministers is not only to break down but to build up, the ex-Barnabite said that

<sup>5</sup> Pianciani documents, package 22, letter No. 1. Pianciani (1810-90), formerly a representative in Parliament at Florence, was the first Mayor of Rome. Perhaps Gavazzi approached his old comrade-in-arms so that he might recommend Lagomarsino to someone who could let suitable premises to him.

<sup>6</sup> The chapel of the Wesleyan Church in Via della Scrofa was opened on 23rd April 1877. Even the Catholic satirical journal, *Il Popolo di Roma*, made reference to it, speaking of "A New Coach-house".

<sup>7</sup> *Il Popolo Romano*.

<sup>8</sup> By 1877 the city's population had risen to 247,552.

while he reserved to himself the former function, he entrusted the second to Conti. The new minister was untiring and original in his activities; he gave himself to the preaching; he started both Sunday and Day Schools; he took a great interest in the religious music; and he organized social and devotional activities. It was he who founded and encouraged the weekday educational courses for young people.<sup>9</sup>

And so we come to the inauguration of the Ponte Sant' Angelo chapel on Sunday, 18th March 1877. From *La Famiglia Cristiana* (Florence, 30th March 1877) we learn what happened at that ceremony:

Last Sunday the Inauguration took place of the chapel of the Free Christian Church, situated in the building acquired by that Church in Piazza di Ponte Sant' Angelo. The hall is in a simple and severe style: it is a rectangle of some 100 square metres, with an apse at one end, supported by Corinthian columns, where the pulpit stands. The pews are comfortable, in the style familiar in Scottish churches—that is to say, each one provided with a ledge where the Bible and Hymn Book can be placed; there is room for 150 people to sit comfortably. However, the hall seemed rather small in relation to the whole building, which contains more than 100 rooms, and in which the Schools and the Theological College are accommodated.

At 11 a.m., the service began with a hymn, and the reading of the inaugural prayer of Solomon's Temple.

Then Signor Gavazzi mounted the pulpit, and preached on John iv. 24.

There were present at this service many friends from elsewhere, who had been invited by means of leaflets which also announced for the following Tuesday the opening of the Theological College established on a new foundation and provided with new personnel . . . Thus bit by bit the Churches will establish themselves in a firm and lasting way. May it be that their inner life will likewise be established.<sup>10</sup>

A happy event graced the ceremony—the baptism of a baby girl, Alessandrina Graziosi, performed by Gavazzi himself.<sup>11</sup>

*La Revista Cristiana*, a periodical of the Waldensian Church, quoted a passage from a secular newspaper:<sup>12</sup>

Here and there, says *Il Popolo Romano*, Evangelical churches are being set up, with money sent from England. Yesterday at Ponte [of the Free Christian Church], today another appears in Via della Scrofa, right opposite the Palazzo del Vicario [Palace of the Cardinal-Vicar of Rome]. There you see a demonstration of liberty: to the right the Vicario, with his offices and his priests; to the left, the Protestants. The buildings face each other but do not touch, not because there is a street between them, but because there is between them the liberty which permits all to propagate their views as they wish, within the limits of the law, and using arguments of persuasion.

<sup>9</sup> Conti remained as pastor of the Ponte Sant' Angelo church from 1877 until 1912.

<sup>10</sup> The brethren of the Baptist Church regretted that the inauguration took place on a Sunday, the day on which each Protestant church is committed to its own services—a fact which prevented the number of those who were able to attend from being still larger. (See *Il Semiatore*, 1877, p. 121.)

<sup>11</sup> Baptismal Register of the Free Church in Rome, p. 3, No. 11.

<sup>12</sup> 1877, p. 203, column entitled "Eco delle Riviste Italiane".

*La Famiglia Cristiana* (referred to above) described on 15th February 1878 the impressions reported by a deputation of the Evangelical Alliance, which had had the opportunity to participate in various actions of witness taking place in Rome:

During our stay we had the chance to hear several addresses . . . A sermon which we heard from Signor Gavazzi gave us the joyful assurance that this famous controversialist orator is also perfectly capable of preaching for the edification of a Christian flock. The Free Church is beautifully situated, facing Ponte Sant' Angelo, including also under the same roof the Theological College, the Schools, and the apartments for the professors.<sup>18</sup>

This article, rather like a reporter's notebook, is intended to be nothing more than a vital and throbbing record of the activities of believers who were seriously devoted to the work of evangelism at a time which was difficult and demanding in the Italian capital.

On the day of the inauguration of the chapel, Gavazzi took as his text the words from John iv. 24 (as mentioned above): "God is spirit, and those who worship Him must worship in spirit and truth." These words constitute a serious warning for all at the present time.

The long road we have travelled, and the consciousness that God in His goodness allows the Gospel to be preached even now in the church at Ponte Sant' Angelo, ensure that the words of the Evangelist find an echo in the prayer of Solomon from the passage read at the inauguration service (I Kings viii. 27-29):

Heaven and the highest heaven cannot contain Thee; how much less this house which I have built! Yet have regard to the prayer of Thy servant and to his supplication, O Lord my God, hearkening to the cry and to the prayer which Thy servant prays before Thee this day; that Thy eyes may be open night and day toward this house, the place of which Thou hast said, My name shall be there.

GIOVANNI CONTI.

[Giovanni Conti, an elder of the Waldensian Church, Piazza Cavour, Rome, was born in Rome, the grandson of Pastor Ludovico Conti, who after the death of Alessandro Gavazzi was President of the Free Church of Italy. He is author of various articles, particularly on the history of the Protestants in Italy, and has published two booklets—*La Chiesa di Ponte S. Angelo* (1970), translated into English by Roger F. Ducker, and *Gian Luigi Pascale* (1974), on the occasion of the eighth centenary of the Waldensian movement.]

[Copies of the English translation of Signor Conti's booklet on the Ponte Sant' Angelo chapel (pp. 54) may be obtained from the Rev. Roger F. Ducker, whose address is 00186 ROMA, Via del Banco di Santo Spirito 3, Italy.]

<sup>18</sup> Announcements of public meetings (held by Gavazzi at Ponte Sant' Angelo, by Waldensian pastor Giovanni Ribetti in Via delle Virgini, by Methodist pastor Salvatore Raghianti in Via della Scrofa, and by the Hon. Bonaventura Mazarella in Piazza San Lorenzo in Lucina) were publicized by various daily papers of the time—*La Capitale*, *Il Popolo Romano*, etc. The publicity also drew satirical attacks from a paper which had a short life—*Il Romano di Roma*.

## THE LEGAL CONFERENCE

IN 1954 the Rev. Dr. E. Gordon Rupp gave the Wesley Historical Society Lecture, entitled *Thomas Jackson: Methodist Patriarch*. In the Foreword to the published Lecture he writes:

One of the first encounters I made at Richmond [College] was with Thomas Jackson. Almost accidentally I took home his *Recollections of My Own Life and Times* . . . and found it a deeply moving experience to read the story of the first Theological Tutor and the first teacher of Church history in the college.

The reading of the Lecture whetted my appetite to read Jackson's autobiography, and my experience was the same as Professor Rupp's. Recently I read it again. When I read the book the first time, I made a note of the "Postscript" by Dr. George Osborn, one of Jackson's successors in the theological chair at Richmond College (1868-85) and one of the great authorities on the Wesleys and on the subject of our law and polity. He writes:

The Conference of 1872 was held in London, and he [Thomas Jackson] availed himself of the opportunity of being present once more. His brethren rejoiced to see him, and took the opportunity of paying him a graceful compliment, by choosing him a second time to be one of the hundred Ministers of whom the Legal Conference is composed; a distinction never before conferred on any Methodist Preacher.

When I first read the Postscript it was a point of interest, and I accepted Dr. Osborn's statement that Thomas Jackson's second election to the Legal Conference was indeed a "distinction never before conferred on any Methodist Preacher".

Over a period of about four years now I have been carrying out some research into the Legal Conference of the former Wesleyan Church. I set out for my own interest to compose a book containing the names of all the ministers who had been members of the Legal Conference from its commencement in 1784 to 1932. Having obtained permission from the Secretary of the Conference, I copied out the names of the ministers who ceased to be members and the names of those elected in their place in the years when the changes occurred. I have just completed typing out the lists from my rough draft, and after carefully re-checking my notes from the Journal of the Conference, I find that there were six ministers who were elected twice to the Legal Conference. The list is as follows:

William Ashman	...	...	1787-90	and	1791-9
Thomas Barber	...	...	1784-91	and	1802-12
William Blagborne	...	...	1793-1807	and	1808
Thomas Cooper	...	...	1784	and	1797-1825
Robert Johnson	...	...	1792-4	and	1797-1829
Thomas Roberts, sen.	...	...	1801	and	1803-16

There was no clause in the Deed of Declaration which prevented a second election. The only qualification for membership of the Legal Conference was that a minister should have travelled for "twelve months"—not even in Full Connexion. Two of the original members of the Legal Conference in 1784—William Hoskins

and James Thom—were not received into Full Conference until 1786. In the original Deed there was no clause forbidding supernumeraries from being members of the Legal Conference; there could not be, for Thomas Rankin had become a supernumerary in 1783. He made a special request to John Wesley so to do and to be allowed to live in London, and his request was granted. In 1797, however, a change was made with regard to supernumeraries. A member of the Legal Conference who retired from the active ministry was permitted to remain a member for four years after his retirement. After four years he was regarded as “superannuated”, and his place declared vacant. Thomas Jackson retired from the active work in 1863, and by his own wish ceased to be a member of the Legal Conference in 1865, his place being taken by James Meadmore, who had travelled forty-one years.

As will be seen from the names and dates I have quoted, there was no case of a second election to the Legal Conference after 1808 until Thomas Jackson's appointment in 1872. It is quite clear why Jackson was elected a second time, but there is no doubt that the Conference broke its own rule. As for the six earlier preachers, we know neither why they ceased nor why they were again elected. It is not possible to check the Conference Journal entries for the relevant years, as the names of the Legal Conference are not recorded elsewhere until 1873, from which date they appear in the *Minutes*.

KENNETH B. GARLICK.

Mr. Garlick's painstaking researches in the field of early ministerial stationing and related matters have resulted (as noted in World Methodist Historical Society Notes on page 32 of the present volume of *Proceedings*) in the publication of *Mr. Wesley's Preachers: An alphabetical arrangement of Wesleyan Methodist Preachers and Missionaries, and the stations to which they were appointed, 1739-1818* (pp. 54). It is obtainable, price £2 50p. or \$4.50 (plus postage) from Mr. John A. Vickers, WMHS Publications, 87, Marshall Avenue, Bognor Regis, Sussex, PO21 2TW. It is not necessary to repeat the information already given, but we can—and we do with pleasure—commend this useful and well-produced booklet to all our members. One small point: the Introduction could have mentioned that whilst we have complete lists of ministers, including those who left the work, for the Primitive Methodists and the United Methodists, for the Wesleyans we have lists only of those who died in the work, but no record of those who left.

Another “tool for the job” has been provided by the industrious secretary of our Cumbrian branch, Mr. John Burgess, and is entitled *Methodist Ministers in Cumbria*—Vol. I, The Wesleyans (pp. 33); Vol. II, Primitive Methodists (pp. 36) and United Methodists (including Bible Christian, Methodist New Connexion and United Methodist Free Churches) (pp. 10), foolscap duplicated typescript. Each volume is prefaced by a useful introductory essay. The work appears as Occasional Paper No. 2 of the Cumbrian branch, and may be obtained, price 50p. per volume (£1 for the two) (plus postage) from Mr. John Burgess, 106, Lowry Hill Road, Carlisle. This is a worthwhile publication, and should encourage other branches to “go and do likewise”.

J.C.B.

## BOOK NOTICES

S. E. Keeble: *The Rejected Prophet*, by Michael S. Edwards. (Wesley Historical Society: pp. 72, cyclostyled, with printed cover and title-page, 50p. plus 12p. postage, from the General Secretary or the Publishing Manager.)

Mr. Edwards's 1972 Wesley Historical Society Lecture has at last appeared in a handy though austere format. At 50p. it is a bargain, for it is a book which will often be referred to by students of Methodism and Politics around the period 1889 to 1945. S. E. Keeble, whom Mr. Edwards rightly describes as a seminal influence on contemporary Methodism, was a Methodist social reformer of the political left, rising (as early as 1889) from the ashes of Wesleyan pietism and other-worldliness. Even in his boyhood, Keeble "realised with increasing horror and dismay the unjustifiable contrast between the Christian home and the business world even of Christian men". The formative influences on his political thinking were F. D. Maurice, T. H. Green, Arnold Toynbee, John Ruskin, and Karl Marx. Keeble was probably the first Methodist to read and summarize *Das Kapital*, and his judgement on it was: "I believe there are huge fallacies, but I see great truth."

It was not sufficient for Keeble that Wesleyan Methodism had largely freed itself from inverted pietism and had become aware of the Church's social responsibility, or that the "corridors of power" in Wesleyan Methodism were echoing more to the sentiments of Gladstonian Liberalism than to the old high Toryism of the Methodist fathers: for him the move in social and political thinking in Methodism did not go far enough.

In 1905, Keeble and his friends formed the Wesleyan Methodist Union of Social Service, but here again he generally found himself to the left of his colleagues in the movement and at variance with the columnists in the Methodist press—all of which helps to explain the author's sub-title "*The Rejected Prophet*". Perhaps Keeble's accolade came to him not from Methodism—although in 1908 he was elected to the Legal Hundred—but from Philip Snowden, the Chancellor of the Exchequer in the first Labour Government, who wrote to him in 1924: "I am so glad you have lived to see this, and to know you have in great measure helped to bring it to pass." One of Mr. Edwards's final comments on Keeble is: "If his classic Socialism from the standpoint of the seventies seems anachronistic, it is because the Labour Government of 1945-51 carried out much of what he wanted."

THOMAS SHAW.

*The Story of Woodhouse Grove School*, by F. C. Pritchard. (Woodhouse Grove School: pp. xiv. 411, £7 50p. plus 90p. postage, etc., from the Bursar, Woodhouse Grove School, Apperley Bridge, Bradford, Yorks.)

At least as early as 1781 Wesley raised in Conference the question of providing a school in Yorkshire for the sons of preachers travelling in the northern counties (to supplement what Kingswood had done since 1748), but it was not until 1812 that Woodhouse Grove was founded. It comes as no surprise to us to learn that Jabez Bunting was closely involved with the venture, and as the youthful Chairman of the Halifax District he was well placed to watch the school in its early years. For sixty years (financed by connexional funds and local generosity) entrance was confined to sons of the manse—many of whom, as had been the hope and intention, were to follow their fathers into the Wesleyan ministry. Quite a number achieved eminence both within the Connexion and outside it—William Atherton

(Attorney-General), George Railton (a leading Salvationist), G. G. Findlay, W. F. Moulton, Nehemiah Curnock *et al.*

After a short-lived and unhappy attempt to marry it with Kingswood, the school was put on a new footing in 1883. Under a board of directors (responsible to Conference), it was opened to the sons of laymen at moderate fees, and a remarkable head—Arthur Vinter—strove to give it the image of a (lesser) Victorian public school. Much was achieved along these lines, but in the process Vinter was driven to despair and breakdown by shortage of cash, staffing problems (caused in part by low salaries), inadequate buildings, poisonous drains, and tensions between himself, the local management committee, and the connexional authorities. In the early years of the new century, money from the Twentieth Century Fund, from sale of land to the railway, and from the beginnings of what was to become the “direct grant” brought salvation, but not immediately. It was not until the early 1940s, with the election of Clifford Towlson to the Headmasters’ Conference and the governors’ acceptance of the full Burnham scales of pay, that the endeavour to make Woodhouse Grove a grammar school of quality might be said to have finally succeeded. During the next thirty years the fees rose steeply, but the school accepted a considerable number of free-place pupils whose fees were paid by their local authorities. Recent Government policies have ended all this, and the school has reluctantly become independent, with further increases in fees.

The author, who was headmaster from 1950 to 1972, expresses frankly his belief in what the school has stood for, and his deep disappointment at recent developments. His book is in one sense an apologia for a particular type of secondary education, and no doubt there are many today who will not feel able to share his own clear convictions. (There is in any case a long tradition of divided opinion within Methodism about its boarding-schools—revealed clearly, for instance, in Dr. Waddy Moss’s paragraph on them in the *New History of Methodism* of 1909.) But the story the author has to tell is a fascinating one, and he tells it splendidly. Earlier histories of Woodhouse Grove have emphasized reminiscence and anecdote; Dr. Pritchard goes for documented fact. The result is a solid work of history, very well researched and honest and fair in its judgements. It adds considerably to our understanding both of Wesleyanism itself and of the evolution of Methodist policy regarding secondary education.

There is much solid meat in the book, but there is life and humour also. Character-sketches abound—of the humbler servants of the school as well as of its eminent masters and governors. And the author has a keen eye for detail. Where else, for instance, might we learn that the wife of an early nineteenth-century governor (the Rev. Miles Martindale) took snuff?!

There are many illustrations and several valuable appendices. The book’s jacket deserves a mention. It shows the mid-nineteenth-century main front, leafy and sunlit, in an attractive painting by Tom Kerkham. How hard it is to believe that these very buildings were described as “full of poison” by a sanitary inspector in 1897, or that poor Dr. Vinter could speak of the school the following year as “literally accursed”! It is out of such depths that the modern school has emerged, and Dr. Pritchard has made certain that the sacrificial endeavour will not be forgotten.

One correction (pp. 2-3): it was not the number of Wesleyan societies, but the number of individual members, which rose by 40,000 between 1791 and 1800.

GEOFFREY E. MILBURN.

*Politics and the Churches in Great Britain, 1832 to 1868*, by G. I. T. Machin. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, pp. x. 438, £15.)

It is not easy to "place" the character of this large and learned tome, but in essence it affords a chronicle of religious issues in British politics during a very stormy half-century. The viewpoint is political in the sense that the study is based on the whole range of political correspondence and a formidable array of secondary works, but tends to remain silent about the political importance of religious events never caught in this net. Thus, for example, nothing is said of the Protestant crusade in Ireland, which did so much to shape the evangelical mind; the hostility between Peel and the Tractarians is explained without reference to their clashes in the politics, academic and electoral, of the University of Oxford; the element of political calculation in the policies of Bunting gets not so much as a mention. Moreover, the political viewpoint is not that of a Maurice Cowling treating upheavals in the country as puppets operated by the strings of parliamentary conspiracy, but that of rather tired politicians plagued by the irrational agitations of religious bodies who ought to know better. This makes the passion seem rather more factitious than some at least was: a useful chapter on the Disruption in Scotland, giving the impression that the trouble was caused by a caucus of clerical agitators who did not know what they were about, concludes with the unaccountable facts that they instantly covered the country with stone-built churches, and in five or six years were rivalling the Establishment in the attendances they attracted. Even more oddly, nothing is said about the way religious causes, along with great causes of every kind, were trivialized by the inability of the reformed electoral system over most of its history to produce majorities for anything: the contrast after 1868 is striking.

I do not think that Dr. Machin's attempt to adapt the late Professor Burn's notion of an equilibrium of tension for the mid-century works. These comments, however, arise from one reader's difficulty in focusing clearly Dr. Machin's theme: they do not imply that there is not much erudition and merit in many of the things he treats. There is the best account of the Papal Aggression; the chronicling method at least shows how thick and fast the issues came, even in the late '50s and early '60s, when they were mostly boring issues; and innumerable small errors are corrected on the way. Indeed, the level of learning in the book will compel all who write on "the age of Bunting" to use it. Dr. Machin is scrupulously fair to a good many characters on whom even-handed justice is wasted, and this is one reason why he provides material for a current vogue which he does not himself work up. He draws attention to the point that his churches were developing political theory if not political theology. Why this theology exerted so inept a leverage on reality he does not make it his business to inquire; but any reader of this journal who cared to make it *his* would do well to begin with this book.

W. R. WARD.

*Churches and Churchgoers: Patterns of Church Growth in the British Isles since 1700*, by Robert Currie, Alan Gilbert and Lee Horsley. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, pp. xii. 244, £12 50p.)

In this important book Currie, Gilbert and Horsley have assembled, in some forty-two tables and eighteen figures, the main series of statistics on the growth and decline of British churches since the eighteenth century. Due to the care that the various connexions have traditionally taken in the keeping of statistics, they have been able to give extensive coverage to

Methodism, with tables for growth-rates, density in relation to population, numbers of members, Sunday-school scholars, junior members and members on trial, annual gains and losses, death-rates, and numbers of ministers.

As useful as this data will be to historians for a wide variety of purposes, the most interesting aspect of this work is that the authors have developed the first systematic interpretation of the pattern of church growth in the modern period. Their conclusions will influence—and must now be tested by—all future work in local and denominational history.

The book's central thesis is that church policies and activities have always been less instrumental in shaping gains and losses than changes in society at large, particularly political and social. Church growth is seen as dependent on the formation of a "constituency" of potential members among whom religious attitudes and practices support and enrich a sense of identity as a community, especially as against others with whom they feel socially and politically at odds. The expansion and success that follows for the churches in such communities cannot, however, survive the external changes that tend to destroy their identity with and utility to their membership. The latter half of the nineteenth century is the critical period in this process, with the growing hegemony of rationalist thought, greater material security and higher living standards, the evolution of an urban mass society with its own non-religiously-orientated structures for recreation and community life, in clubs, unions and public houses, and finally the dissolution of the Liberal-Nonconformist and Conservative-Anglican dichotomy in politics. They conclude that the attempts by the churches to counter these changes, notably through the Sunday schools and "revival" campaigns, were ultimately ineffectual in checking a decisive trend towards secularization.

Both as a reference-tool and as a careful and thought-provoking study, marred only perhaps by a tone of inevitability which threatens to belie the complexities of the situation, particularly as seen from inside the churches, this book is indispensable reading for all students of modern British religious history.

DUANE McDONALD.

*The Methodist Contribution to Education in England (1738-1977)*, by Douglas S. Hubery. (Division of Education and Youth: pp. 61, 50p.)

No reasonably well-informed member of the Wesley Historical Society will be encouraged to read on by the statement on the first page of Mr. Hubery's lecture that Nehemiah Curnock "was appointed as editor to the bicentenary publication of John Wesley's *Journal* by the Epworth Press in 1938". The rest of his lecture is considerably more accurate than this opening gaffe would suggest; but, alas! he has committed the cardinal educational sin of dullness—chiefly, perhaps, because he set himself an impossible task. A sufficiently detailed chronicling of events on the wide canvas he has chosen would require many times the space he has allowed himself, and Mr. Hubery would have been better advised to concentrate on a discussion of one or two significant themes. As it is, his dry bones emphatically fail to live.

To make matters worse, the writing is remarkably clumsy, and all too often ungrammatical. Here and there are sentences which fall to pieces whichever way up one holds the page. It would be a misuse of valuable space to quote examples here.

JOHN A. VICKERS.

## NOTES AND QUERIES

## 1306. ACADEMIC THESES ON METHODIST HISTORY.

The following have come to our notice since the lists appearing in *Proceedings*, xxxix, pp. 184-5. We are grateful to Dr. Clive Field and the Rev. Dr. Paul Ellingworth for their assistance in compiling the present list. Other titles will be found in Dr. Field's Bibliography on pages 143-51.

- "The place of Religion in the social structure of two English industrial towns—Rawmarsh (Yorkshire) and Scunthorpe (Lincolnshire)"—W. S. F. Pickering (London Ph.D., 1958).
- "Nonconformity in the Eastern Counties, 1840-1855, with reference to its social background"—J. C. G. Binfield (Cambridge Ph.D., 1965).
- "A Geography of Organised Religion in Liverpool"—W. D. Shannon (Liverpool B.A., 1965).
- "A sociological study of attitudes to the Church in urban areas"—A. Dawson (Liverpool M.A., 1967).
- "Methodism in Yorkshire, 1740-1851"—B. Greaves (Liverpool Ph.D., 1968).
- "Religion and the City, with reference to Bristol and Marseilles, 1830-1880: A study in the Comparative Sociology of Religion"—R. M. Goodridge (London M.Phil., 1969).
- "The impact of Ecumenism on Denominationalism: A sociological study of five Christian congregations in Liverpool"—N. Kokosalakis (Liverpool Ph.D., 1969).
- "The Churches and Society in Leicestershire, 1851-1881"—D. M. Thompson (Cambridge Ph.D., 1969).
- "The Methodist experience in Sheffield, 1780-1820: A study of popular religion and social change"—J. L. Baxter (Sheffield M.A., 1970).
- "Religion and the working classes in mid-19th century England"—H. A. Evans (London M.Phil., 1970).
- "The social and political influence of the Bristol churches, 1830-1914"—D. J. Carter (Bristol M.Litt., 1971).
- "Religion and rural society in South Lindsey, 1825-1875"—J. Obelkevich (Columbia Ph.D., 1971).
- "Religion in Society: A view from a provincial town in the late 19th and early 20th centuries"—S. Yeo (Sussex D.Phil., 1971).
- "Haslingden Road: The social history of a Lancashire Methodist chapel, 1885-1970"—T. J. Blackwell (Lancaster M.A., 1972).
- "The social stratification of two Methodist churches in the Midlands in respect of Leadership, Membership and Adherents: A study of the social structure of the local church"—L. Burton (London Ph.D., 1972).
- "Church and Society in Early Victorian Torquay"—G. S. Duncan (Exeter M.A., 1972).
- "Provision for the relief of the poor in Manchester, 1754-1826"—G. B. Hindle (Manchester M.A., 1972).
- "The growth and decline of Nonconformity in England and Wales, with special reference to the period before 1850: An historical interpretation of statistics of religious practice"—A. D. Gilbert (Oxford D.Phil., 1973).
- "The decline of Methodism in Kingston-upon-Hull in the 20th century"—K. K. Harrison (Hull M.A., 1973).
- "The doctrine of Faith in John Wesley and the Protestant tradition: A comparative study"—R. W. Ireson (Manchester Ph.D., 1973).

- "Religion, Education and Leisure in Primitive Methodism: A study of the social significance of lay predominance within an evangelical sect"—F. J. McKeon (Keele M.A., 1973).
- "Religion and English Society in the First World War"—S. P. Mews (Cambridge Ph.D., 1973).
- "A study of Nonconformity in Edwardian England as revealed by the Passive Resistance Movement against the 1902 Education Act"—J. E. B. Munson (Oxford D.Phil., 1973).
- "The Presiding Elder question: Its critical nature in American Methodism, 1820-1824, and its impact upon ecclesiastical institutions"—E. T. Brannan (Duke Ph.D., 1974).
- "Methodism and Society in Norway, 1853-1918"—A. Hassing (Northwestern University Ph.D., 1974).
- "American Missionaries and the Chinese Communists: A study of views expressed by Methodist Episcopal Church Missionaries, 1921-1941"—M. L. Thornberry, jun. (Boston University School of Theology Ph.D., 1974).
- "Miners, Merchants and Missionaries: The roles of missionaries and pioneer churches in the Colorado Gold Rush and its aftermath, 1858-1870"—A. C. Cochran (South Methodist University Ph.D., 1975).
- "Transition: A study of United Methodist Clergy of Southern California—Arizona Conference who have left the Parish Ministry"—J. C. Forney (School of Theology at Claremont, California Rel.D., 1975).
- "Black Leadership in the United Methodist Church: An historical review and empirical study"—J. E. Del Pino (Northwestern University Ph.D., 1976).
- "H. L. Mencken's controversy with the Methodists with special reference to the issue of Prohibition"—L. O. Kline (Duke Ph.D., 1976).
- "The Methodist contribution to Education in the Bahamas"—C. V. Williams (Lampeter Ph.D., 1977).  
EDITOR.

## 1307. LOVEFEAST CUPS.

Lt.-Com. N. Bartlett, of Eaton Cottage, Eaton Hill, Baslow, Derbyshire, writes:

The use of specially-made vessels at Lovefeasts seems to have been confined to the nineteenth century, although the Lovefeast was adopted by John Wesley from the Moravians as early as 1747. Of the nine or ten cups I have recorded, none is dated before 1841, and most seem to date during the '70s and '80s.

The styles of these cups range from elegant urn-shapes to truly massive tankards. Some carry texts, some verses; commonly the name of the chapel and the date are given. Primitive Methodists not infrequently overprinted ordinary mugs with the letters "PM", and left it at that. One example is known of a single-handle mug, inscribed with the word "Lovefeast" within a heart. Verses such as "Even now by faith we join our hands" and "How happy every child of grace" have been noted, and a transfer-printed representation of Wesley is known. There is some reason to think that the fashion for these vessels may have begun with the cups produced in 1841 in celebration of the centenary of Methodism. These depict the Centenary Hall and Mission House in Bishopsgate Street, which was opened at the beginning of that year, and no evidence has come to light of any earlier cups, so that one is forced to the conclusion that household vessels were used throughout the eighteenth century.

The next intriguing question concerns the rarity of Lovefeast cups today. Apart from the occasional museum-specimen, they seem to have vanished. Can there be some, here and there, still at the back of vestry-cupboards? Or where chapels fell into decay, did they pass into the hands of local Methodist families? When the Lovefeast was at the peak of its popularity, the 1851 Religious Census gave a figure of 8,622 chapels of the various Methodist bodies: Wesleyan 5,725, Primitive Methodist 2,049, Bible Christian 387, Methodist New Connexion 269, United Methodist Free Churches 177, Independent Methodist 15. A recent "intact" discovery of a set of cups in a vestry-cupboard at Wickersley, near Rotherham, suggests a normal provision of four cups to each chapel. We thus arrive at the considerable total of 34,488, not counting any used in private houses licensed for worship—of which 2,145 are given in the Census returns. If these places had only two cups each, the grand total of 38,778 cups could have existed at the time. If half of these became broken or lost, there would still be 19,000 around. Can any reader suggest what has happened to them?

The Lovefeast seems to have been in steep decline by the '80s. The account from a Sheffield newspaper, about 1870, of a Primitive Methodist lovefeast shows that the original solemnity of the occasion had given way to the flippancies of a concert show. After describing the singing of a hymn with the unusual refrain (in allusion to heaven) "There's room for more, there's room for more", the writer continued:

During the singing of this hymn, and at other times several babies set up little tunes on their own private account which did not harmonise at all with the rest of the music. Their mothers did their best to keep them quiet, and succeeded as well as could be expected, especially one good woman who, instead of giving up the mug of water to the officer who handed it round, kept it by her during all the service for the use and benefit of her privileged infant.

Here lies one clue to the demise of the Lovefeast.

#### 1308. HISTORICAL INSCRIPTIONS AT POPLAR.

The Rev. Douglas A. Wollen, of Poplar Methodist Mission, London, E.14, writes:

On moving to their new home at Trinity Church in the East India Dock Road of East London, the Poplar Methodist Mission found a beautifully-inscribed stone in the sanctuary floor as follows:

Ad  
maioram  
Dei gloriam

THIS CHRISTIAN  
CHURCH AND THIS  
SANCTUARY ALIKE BEAR  
WITNESS TO THE SURE MERCIES  
OF GOD AND TO THE STRENGTH OF  
OUR CONGREGATIONAL FELLOWSHIP

TRINITY CHAPEL IN POPLAR  
BUILT 1841 DESTROYED  
1944 REBUILT 1950

The City of God  
Remaineth

+

So the Methodists thought it fit to add two more stones—on either side of this central one—incribed as follows:

ON  
MARCH 28TH  
1772  
JOHN WESLEY  
CONSECRATED THE  
NEW METHODIST  
PREACHING - HOUSE  
IN HALE STREET  
NEARBY

ON  
TRINITY SUNDAY  
1976  
POPLAR METHODIST  
MISSION AFFECTIONATELY  
KNOWN AS - LAX'S - MOVED  
HERE FROM THE SITE  
IT HAD OCCUPIED  
ACROSS THE ROAD  
SINCE 1848

1309. ENJAMBEMENT AND THE WESLEYS.

In her article in *Proceedings*, xli, pp. 73 ff., Dr. E. M. Hodgson takes to task Dr. Henry Bett, Dr. Frank Baker and others, who have taken, *inter alia*, the use of enjambement, or run-on lines, as a criterion by which to distinguish between the poems of John and Charles Wesley. It is only one of over a dozen criteria, and must be considered along with others, but it is this one test which Dr. Hodgson is mainly considering.

Now there is no question at all but that Charles Wesley did not "confine his thought within a single line-unit". One has only to quote the opening lines of the first hymn in the *Methodist Hymn-Book*:

O for a thousand tongues to sing  
My great Redeemer's praise,

or the opening lines of one of our favourite—and one of Charles Wesley's greatest—hymns:

And can it be that I should gain  
An interest in the Saviour's blood?<sup>1</sup>

to realize that Charles ran on from one line to the next very easily and very frequently. Whilst some hymns have almost all of the lines end-stopped, e.g.

Jesus the good Shepherd is;  
Jesus died the sheep to save;<sup>2</sup>

and so on, through nearly the whole hymn, it would be intolerably monotonous if there were no variations.

Has Dr. Hodgson then established her thesis that enjambement cannot be used as a criterion? By no means!—because it all depends upon what we mean by enjambement. And whilst a thought that is spread over two or more *complete* lines certainly makes use, in a manner of speaking, of enjambement, that is not the sense normally given to the word. One example quoted in her article:

Plunge in the depth of Deity  
A soul that to Thy bosom flies  
From sin: possess of this high prize . . .

illustrates perfectly the sense in which it is, strictly speaking, used, viz. when the thought ends *in the middle, not the end*, of a succeeding line. Dr. Bett expresses the matter succinctly when he says:

Nearly all his [Charles Wesley's] sentences are coterminous with a line. They may last for one line, or for two or three, but they nearly always end with the end of a line.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> MHB (1933) 371, v. 1.

<sup>2</sup> *ibid.* 621, v. 1.

<sup>3</sup> *The Hymns of Methodism* (1945 edn.), p. 24.

It is in fact this distinction which Dr. Hodgson has ignored, for most of her examples of Charles's enjambement are of sentences (or clauses) *which end with the end of a line*. But compare these with the following taken from the hymns of John :

Yet free as air Thy bounty streams  
On all Thy works ; Thy mercy's beams  
Diffusive as Thy sun's arise.<sup>4</sup>  
Fountain of good ! All blessing flows  
From Thee ; no want Thy fullness knows :<sup>5</sup>  
I thank Thee, who hast overthrown  
My foes, and healed my wounded mind.<sup>6</sup>

Occasionally this appears in reverse, so to speak, and again it is John rather than Charles who writes thus :

On Thee we cast our care ; we live  
Through Thee, who know'st our every need :<sup>7</sup>  
Wait thou His time ; so shall this night  
Soon end in joyous day.<sup>8</sup>  
O source of life ; live, dwell, and move  
In me, till all my life be love !<sup>9</sup>

In these cases, the incomplete line precedes the full line ; the enjambement comes after, rather than before, an incomplete line—though the last example illustrates both forms !

And there is another form which again, I think, Charles Wesley would not use, or but rarely :

Till sweetly Thou hast breathed Thy mild  
And lowly mind into my breast !<sup>10</sup>

Here John has divided the two adjectives of a common noun between the two lines.

These are examples of enjambement as the term is commonly understood by Dr. Bett and others ; generally speaking, the essence of the argument is not the presence or absence of end-stopped lines, but of a major break in a line following (or sometimes preceding) a run-on line. And these are very rare in Charles. Charles thinks in terms of lines and couplets, John in terms of stanzas. These longer groups of lines are John's unit of thought.

But Dr. Hodgson has done well to draw once again our attention to the art of the Wesleys.

OLIVER A. BECKERLEGGE (Unit editor of  
the Oxford edition of Wesley's *Works*).

### 1310. "A FULL, FREE, AND PRESENT SALVATION".

The phrase above-quoted is an honoured one in Methodism. Primitive Methodist stewards used to be asked to fill in an annual schedule concerning their ministers, and one of the questions was "Does he preach a full, free, and present salvation ?"

Can any reader say what is the origin of the phrase ? Does it go back to Wesley ? If it does, what is the Wesley reference ?

OLIVER A. BECKERLEGGE.

<sup>4</sup> MHB 67, v. 2.

<sup>5</sup> *ibid.* 67, v. 5.

<sup>6</sup> *ibid.* 445, v. 4.

<sup>7</sup> *ibid.* 47, v. 6.

<sup>8</sup> *ibid.* 507, v. 9.

<sup>9</sup> *ibid.* 573, v. 3.

<sup>10</sup> *ibid.* 169, v. 3.

## 1311. "O HAPPY DAY".

The Rev. Paul Ellingworth, of 56, Craigton Road, Aberdeen, writes :

As I sang "O happy day" (MHB 744) in our Covenant Service, it occurred to me that the chorus affixed to this hymn could not possibly be by Philip Doddridge. This is to some extent confirmed by the recommendation of *Samson* (MHB 418, LM without refrain) as an alternative tune, and still more by the fact that the hymn is printed without the chorus in the "Supplement" section of the 1876 *Wesley's Hymns with New Supplement* (No. 912)—published twenty-one years after the first known appearance of the tune *Happy Day*. Can any reader shed any light on the composer of the tune and the author of the chorus ?

Mr. G. Edward Jones, lay secretary of the Methodist Church Music Society, to whom the above query was submitted before publication, confirms that the words of the chorus are not by Doddridge; they are not included in Orton's posthumous edition (1755) of Doddridge's *Hymns founded on various texts of Holy Scriptures*. The authentic ending of verse 4 is

With ashes who would grudge to part  
When call'd on angels' bread to feast ?

No one appears to know the origin of the words of the chorus. Mr. Jones suggests that these words, together with the tune [O] *Happy Day*, may have originated either at an American camp meeting or as a "call hymn" in British Methodism. The tune appears in the *Wesleyan Sacred Harp* of 1855 (the late Mr. J. T. Lightwood in *The Music of the Methodist Hymn-Book* says that this is "the earliest known printed copy . . . no composer's name being given"), and is attributed in the 1905 hymn-book of the Episcopal Methodist Church in China to "Edward F. Rimbault 1867". Rimbault (1816-76), a pupil of Samuel Wesley, was appointed organist at the Swiss Church, Soho, at the age of 16. Mr. Jones, however, comments: "The nature of the tune does not suggest an author of Rimbault's accomplishments, although it could have been an early effort."

Further information, especially on the origin of the words of the chorus, would be welcome.

## 1312. CURRENT RESEARCH ON METHODIST HISTORY.

The Rev. David F. Clarke, of 7, Malmesbury Road, Coventry, writes to say that the title of his thesis referred to on page 93 of the present volume (Notes and Queries 1295) should now read "An Isolated Holy Community: Methodism in the Upper Eden Valley, Westmorland", and that he would still welcome further information on the subject, particularly in the form of old letters, articles, circuit magazines, etc. having their source in the Upper Eden Valley.

## 1313. METHODIST HEXAGONAL CHAPELS.

Mr. C. R. Moody, of Lynton, Doncaster Road, Brayton, Selby, North Yorks, writes :

At Monk Fryston chapel in the Selby circuit, services are now held in the schoolroom. As the decoration in the chapel itself deteriorates, it becomes increasingly apparent that it was hexagonal when built in 1845. In 1875 it was "squared off" at one end, and the schoolroom added. Further research in the foundations has confirmed the six-sided shape. John Wesley stated his preference for *octagonal* chapels. Can any reader say whether there are or have been in Methodism other hexagonal chapels, or was Monk Fryston unique ?

## 1314. TWO LINKS WITH BERNARD MANNING.

Lovers of Bernard Manning's *Hymns of Wesley and Watts* will recall the opening of his first essay, in which he describes the chapel at Caistor (Lincs) where, as a boy staying with his grandfather, he beguiled the hours when the sermon was boring by devouring the old volumes of Wesley's hymn-books in the corner of the pew. And to be replaced but not discarded hymn-books, and to boring sermons, we owe some of the most delightful and scholarly studies of Charles Wesley.

It was with real joy, therefore, that on a recent visit to Caistor and its chapel I found on the wall behind the back pew a little brass plaque with this inscription :

IN HIS BOVHOOD  
BERNARD MANNING, M.A.,  
(SOMETIME FELLOW OF JESUS COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE)  
SAT IN THIS PEW AND HERE LEARNED TO LOVE  
WESLEY'S HYMNS.

While in the neighbourhood, I recalled another memory of Bernard Manning. In his last essay (p. 132) he describes the ruins of Bardney Abbey, and tells how

you may see, unharmed because it was only of use to pious men, the altar of the five wounds of Christ, with its five signs of the Cross; one in each corner and one in the centre.

I sought out therefore the ruins, but found there was no more than the site; the rough contours of a field plainly mark out the foundations of walls and pillars, but no more. One or two flat tombstones are being daily scuffed by the hooves of the cattle; and I looked in vain for the "unharmed" altar. Where is it now? Has it been removed to some museum for protection?

Wesley Historical Society members can perhaps hardly undertake an archæological "dig" (though indeed there would be little digging to do); but it is tragic to see the site so neglected. Can we protest in the right quarter?

OLIVER A. BECKERLEGGE.

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The *Methodist Recorder* Supplement of 15th June 1978 (pp. 12) which now serves as a substitute for the former Conference *Handbook* contains several items relating to Methodist history in and around Bradford. There is a profile of William Grimshaw by the editor of these *Proceedings* and a notice about our Society's Exhibition, "The other Haworth", displayed during Conference in the foyer of the Bradford Central Library. Another article takes "a long look back to when it all began", and deals with the Wesleys' visits to the district, together with references to John Nelson, William Darney, Jabez Bunting, William Booth, and the founders of Primitive Methodism. A curious misprint in this section confuses "Branwell" (son of Patrick Brontë) with "Bramwell" (son of William Booth). The Supplement also contains a review by Martin Yeomans of Dr. F. C. Pritchard's book on Woodhouse Grove School.

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*From the Rock to the Hill* is the title of a short history of Methodism in Salcombe, South Devon, 1807-1978 (pp. 32), written by the Rev. Francis V. Burns, and published on the occasion of the golden jubilee of the Allenhayes Road chapel. Copies, price 50p. plus 12p. postage, available from the author at The Manse, Pendeen, Herbert Road, Salcombe, S. Devon.