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# Proceedings

OF THE

## Wesley Historical Society

*Editor:* E. ALAN ROSE, B.A.

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Volume 49

May 1994

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### JAMES CAUGHEY'S CHALLENGE TO WESLEYAN CONCEPTS OF MINISTRY AND CHURCH GROWTH; 1841-1846

James Caughey was an immigrant Irishman who was ordained as a minister by the Troy Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church of America in 1836. Success as a revivalist preacher in Massachusetts and the provinces of eastern Canada, reinforced by a divine vision, emboldened him to visit the British Isles. He arrived in England in 1841 in time to visit the Wesleyan Conference meeting at Manchester where he received an invitation to conduct a series of protracted meetings (revival services conducted daily in the same church for periods of between a few weeks or a few months) in Ireland. He returned to England in October, 1842 to commence a series of very successful protracted meetings – mostly in the north of England where, at Liverpool, Leeds, Hull, Sheffield, Huddersfield and York in particular ‘his meetings interrupted a period of decline or only limited growth and contributed to marked increases in membership.’<sup>1</sup> Caughey was something of an anomaly

<sup>1</sup>Richard Carwardine, *Trans-atlantic Revivalism: Popular Evangelicalism in Britain and America 1790-1865* (Greenwood 1978) p.111. As a result of the revival meetings held in Leeds between the second week of May, 1843 and the second week of July, 1843 the four Wesleyan circuits gained 529 new members. Between 1840-1843 they had lost about 500 members between them. Caughey's ministry had succeeded in reversing the downward trend of the preceding three years, and in making good the number of members lost. The figures are given in James Caughey, *Caughey's Letters*. Vol 2 (1845) pp. 234-235.

in the British connexional system. He was a popular freelance who was satisfying a popular need in certain areas of Methodism; but since he had no responsibilities for pastoral care or circuit administration he was not amenable to connexional supervision or control<sup>2</sup>. It was reported that when a superintendent minister had told Caughey that he did not want him to accept an invitation to hold protracted meetings in his circuit Caughey had replied with 'an uncourteous letter, threatening exposure in print.'<sup>3</sup> Objections were also raised about his methods. He was accused of using 'decoy penitents to lead others forward to the communion rail, and of pretending to miraculous knowledge about individuals in his congregation.'<sup>4</sup> The Wesleyan Conference of 1846 'After a long conversation, full of conflicting opinion' accepted the proposal of Jabez Bunting that 'the Bishops of the Troy Conference be written to, and requested to recall Mr. Caughey.'<sup>5</sup>

James Caughey was not an exceptional figure in North America. One who knew him in that country expressed surprise at the success he had achieved in England and Ireland, for his method of holding protracted meetings was common in North America where there were 'many such parties as Mr. C. and many more able and striking than himself even in his own way.'<sup>6</sup> According to John Kent the importance of Caughey's career in England must not be underestimated for 'He remained a hero in Methodist circles long after his departure to the United States in States in 1849.' For many he was a victim of 'the despotic Wesleyan ministry' who banished him for the crime of being an itinerant revivalist preacher. The third Fly Sheet distributed in 1847 made an eleven-point comparison between Caughey and Robert Newton entirely in the American's favour to show that 'Caughey was censured by the Wesleyan Methodist Conference for working as an itinerant evangelist while

<sup>2</sup>It is well known.. that every Pastor appointed by the Conference has to undergo an examination, twice every year, - at the District-Meeting and Conference as to his moral character, belief of our doctrines, approval of our discipline, and his ability for the pastoral work..and on a satisfactory answer to such questions, depends the power of the Conference to appoint to the occupancy of the pulpits. But in Mr. Caughey's case no such questions can be put: he is accountable to no tribunal! [William Vevers. *Wesleyan Methodism Vindicated and The 'Christian Witness' Refuted..in two letters addressed to the Editor.* (1847)pp. 21-22]

<sup>3</sup>Samuel Coley, *The Life of the Rev. Thos. Collins* (1863) p.263

<sup>4</sup>Owen Chadwick. *The Victorian Church 1829-1859* (Part One 1966) p.378

<sup>5</sup>Coley. *Life of Collins* p.264

<sup>6</sup>W. R. Ward, *Early Victorian Methodism: The Correspondence of Jabez Bunting 1830-1858* (1976) p 340

Newton was being praised for doing much the same thing.<sup>7</sup> The popular sense of injustice over Caughey's expulsion seems to have been deeply and persistently felt for when Henry Smart came to write his account of Thomas Cook's early ministry in 1892 he felt constrained to defend the appointment of Cook as a connexional evangelist in 1882 by repeating the original accusation against Caughey whom he acknowledged as having been 'undoubtedly a man of God, and his ministry here was blessed. But he was not a member of the English Conference, nor was he amenable to our ecclesiastical courts. By appointing Mr. Cook to the office of connexional evangelist, the Conference secured itself against the occurrence of irregularities...'<sup>8</sup>

Caughey's real offence was to claim that his career as an itinerant revivalist preacher was the true, original model for concepts of the Methodist ministry and of Methodist church growth. An opinion shared by supporters like J. P. Haswell who regarded him as 'a messenger from God to recall us as a Church to the spirit and self-devotedness of our Fathers.'<sup>9</sup> Caughey's early experiences of revivals at Liverpool and Leeds between November, 1842 and July, 1843 led him to consider the question of what constituted the identity of Methodism, and the role of revivals in expressing that identity. He found the answer in an extract from the Annual Address of the British Conference to the Wesleyan Methodists in 1840 which said, 'Some churches regard revivals of religion as gracious singularities in their history; we regard them as central to our existence. If a regular series of divine visitations, issuing in the conversion of sinners be not vouchsafed to us, we must either change the spiritual constitution of our discipline, or we shall pine away from the tribes of Israel'<sup>10</sup> Caughey was emboldened by these words to declare that revival, as practised by himself, was the continuous, indispensable activity through which Methodism achieved self-fulfilment.

Methodism, from the beginning, has been a system of aggression against the devil and his works; let her keep to this, and she will multiply her numbers, and increase both in power and influence. Whenever and wherever she loses this distinguishing feature in her economy, she must dwindle away into insignificance... It is not enough that Methodism is enabled to stand on the defensive, and hold her own...Acquisition should never be effaced from her banners. The devil's territory must be

<sup>7</sup>John Kent, 'The Wesleyan Methodists to 1849' in *History of the Methodist Church in Great Britain* edited by Davies, George, and Rupp. Vol 2 (1978) p.234

<sup>8</sup>H. T. Smart, *Thomas Cook's Early Ministry* (1892) p.74

<sup>9</sup>Ward, *Early Victorian Methodism* p.342

<sup>10</sup>Caughey, *Letters*. p.244

invaded till earth and hell are aroused against her aggressive movements. Then, and not till then, shall Methodism be in the meridian glory of her usefulness<sup>11</sup>

Caughey seems to have regarded revivals promoted by protracted meetings as a continuous process within the life of Wesleyan Methodism with the intervals between revivals used as periods for the training of the new converts. This kind of sustained effort needed the whole-hearted support of both the ministers and the leading officials of the churches. It was this commitment that Caughey found wanting despite the sentiments expressed in the 1840 Conference Address. The lack of commitment was very evident to Caughey in the large numbers of church members who were converted during the revivals. Given that membership of the Methodist Church was open to anyone who evinced a sincere desire to flee from the wrath to come and to be saved from their sins, and that meeting regularly in class was continual evidence of their desire for salvation, it should not have come as a surprise to Caughey that so many of his converts came from within the ranks of the churches. In British Methodism, however, meeting in class was the condition of membership whereas in the United States it was not the case.<sup>12</sup> In the United States the public preaching from the pulpit, and the teaching given in the class-meeting, was designed to exert the maximum pressure on members and adherents alike to be converted. That such pressure was not exerted in England seemed to Caughey like criminal neglect of a solemn duty. He did not deny that the normal agencies of church life in Britain did achieve conversions, did draw people into the membership of the church, and did help to form respectable moral characters; but this was still a feeble, sickly state of existence lacking the power to influence society in general since people were not being reborn by the Holy Spirit, therefore not growing in sanctified grace. To one observer of church life in the United States the system of continuous revival so ardently commended by Caughey was a sign of spiritual weakness, not of spiritual strength. J.P. Hetherington, who served on Canadian circuits from 1818-1845, was reported as saying that,

Religion is so generally low in the States, that these extraordinary proceedings are necessary at intervals to impart even the appearance of life.. the same people are converted over and over again.. they proceed

<sup>11</sup>Caughey, *Letters*. p. 329

<sup>12</sup>Davies, George, Rupp. *History of the Methodist Church in Great Britain*, Vol 4 (1988) pp.530-532

at intervals to this converting task as deliberately and as mechanically as a builder to raise a house; and nowhere is true and fervent and established piety more scarce, than where these proceedings are most frequent.<sup>13</sup>

The same kind of criticism had been made by Jabez Bunting of the poor quality of the religious lives of Methodists in the West Riding of Yorkshire when the gruesome fact that six of the seventeen Luddites hanged at York in 1813 were the sons of Methodists had confirmed him in his opinion that the progress of Methodism in the county had 'been more swift than solid; more extensive than deep, more in the increase of numbers, than in the diffusion of that kind of piety which shines as brightly and operates as visibly at home as in the prayer meeting and the crowded love feast.'<sup>14</sup> Caughey was reviving old controversies and threatening the integrity of the Wesleyan ministry which was an uneasy alliance between those who favoured the concepts of ministry and church growth he was advocating, and those who favoured steady, unspectacular growth through the exercise of the pastoral office. To a young and ardent James Everett in 1807 the choice had been simple.

It is possible to go round the circuit in the regular and quiet discharge of duty, without a burning desire for the salvation of souls, without which the genuine spirit of the Christian ministry evaporates. Nothing short of the life of God in my soul will preserve alive the flame of zeal on behalf of others; and nothing short of seeing others saved can satisfy me.<sup>15</sup>

Ten years earlier Jabez Bunting had written to John Barber at Rotherham bemoaning the lack of converts at Oldham under his preaching, to which Barber had replied,

We are sometimes ready to think no good is doing unless sinners are awakened and converted to God; but this is an error. For good is done when the weak are strengthened, the tempted succoured, the wavering confirmed, and the children of God fed with food convenient for them. And this, perhaps, is as much, if not of more importance than the awakening of sinners. At the same time remember that some men are particularly called to this work; and you may be of this number.<sup>16</sup>

Bunting was not one of their number, and developed a distaste

<sup>13</sup>Ward, *Early Victorian Methodism* p.340-341

<sup>14</sup>W.R. Ward, 'The Religion of the People and the Problem of Control 1790-1830' *Studies in Church History* Vol 8 (1972) p.247

<sup>15</sup>Richard Chew, *James Everett: A Biography* (1875) p. 64

<sup>16</sup>T.P. Bunting, *The Life of Jabez Bunting D.D.* (edited G.Stringer Rowe 1887) p.97

for what he called 'the rant and extravagance of what is called Revivalism,' It was Bunting, however, who cemented an enduring if somewhat uneasy consensus of opinion regarding the combination in one ministry of the difficult task of being both evangelist and pastor. He did this at the Liverpool Conference of 1820 when the first reported decrease in the number of members - some 4,688 - since the statistics had been officially registered in 1768 filled the preachers with guilt. The penitent preachers consecrated themselves and their families afresh to God in order to :

preach the vital doctrines of the Gospels; give themselves exclusively to the work of saving souls; and consider themselves called to be Home Missionaries charged with the task of extending and enlarging - as well as keeping - the circuits to which they were appointed by using the time-honoured methods of field-preaching, prayer-meetings, watch-night services, band-meetings, and days of solemn fasting and prayer.<sup>17</sup>

These resolutions were enshrined in the famous Liverpool Minutes which were written by Jabez Bunting as the President of the Conference: 'Since they set forth the ideal of a Methodist preacher's life and work, for very many years it was the custom to read them through at the first Preachers' meeting in every Circuit and at every May Synod in its Pastoral Session. It is interesting to see that the ideal is rather that of a pastor of the flock of Christ than that of a wandering evangelist.'<sup>18</sup>

Caughey's challenge not only threatened the integrity of the Wesleyan ministry but also the survival of Wesleyan Methodism as a viable institution in the modern industrialised, urbanised, capitalistic world that was emerging in the nineteenth century. When Caughey arrived in England in 1841 Wesleyan Methodism had become, to quote Abel Stevens, 'a great organic system, a Church, consolidated at home and constantly extending abroad . . . settled in its policy, thoroughly organised in its financial and missionary operations . . . a grand aggregate result of the marvellous events and heroic labours which have hitherto crowded its history.'<sup>19</sup> This

<sup>17</sup>Abel Stevens, *The History of the Religious Movement of the Eighteenth Century called Methodism* Vol. 3 (edited W. Willey 1868) p. 187

<sup>18</sup>A.W. Harrison et. al., *The Methodist Church: Its Origin, Divisions, and Reunion* (1932) p.64. Hence the earlier reference to an uneasy consensus. In *Evangelism and Pagan England* (1954 p.23) J. Ernest Rattenbury mentions how 'a popular classification of ministers' in the nineteenth century 'labelled some as 'edifying'; and others as 'evangelistic' .. ' J.G. Mantle in his life of *Hugh Price Hughes: A Strenuous Life* (1903 p.40) describes how 'Revivalism' as it was called at Richmond College was discounted to the extent that 'Mr. Hughes, among others, laughed it to scorn.'

Methodist administration had to come to terms with the problems raised by a changing social context with its demographic changes, urbanisation, the problem of maintaining social order in towns, increasing competition from the Church of England, and the need to give the Methodist laity a greater share of involvement in the financial management and support of the Church.<sup>20</sup> Wesleyan Methodism was fortunate to find in the person of Jabez Bunting an administrator capable of dealing with the complexity, scale, and rationality required to manage that hugely expanded connexion. It was due to Bunting that: one in every four vacancies in the Legal Hundred was filled by young preachers who had travelled fourteen years; an equal number of laymen and ministers sat in Connexional committees; the President of Conference called together influential laymen before the opening of Conference to discuss critical items on the agenda; laymen were admitted into District Meetings and it was 'through the wise administration of Bunting' that 'the various connexional funds were placed on a permanent basis.'<sup>21</sup>

These administrative changes required the minister to become a professional administrator as well as a 'revivalist' or a 'pastor', and it was Bunting's great achievement to get both wings of the Methodist ministry not only to acknowledge the worth of what the other party was doing but also to accept the need for all alike to exercise a professional administration of the business affairs of the Connexion. When Thomas Collins was appointed as the superintendent of the St. Albans Circuit in 1845 he wrote:

When, as a visitor, I go out to a place, I have only salvation work to do, but a Superintendent going the round of his Circuit, specially if the Circuit be in difficulties, cannot act as a mere evangelist: foundations have to be examined, institutions kept in order, and finances looked after. Nevertheless, as opportunity serves, I try as hard as ever for the conversion of souls.<sup>22</sup>

T.P. Bunting warned of the danger of valuing the ability of the administrator over the revivalist by saying of both his father and of Robert Lomas that although both were 'conversant with, and interested in questions of Connexional finance' their competence in such

<sup>19</sup>Stevens, *History of Methodism* pp. 183-184

<sup>20</sup>Adapting comments originally applied to the Church of England by K.A. Thompson. *Bureaucracy and Church Reform* (1970) p.xiv

<sup>21</sup>Maldwyn Edwards, *Methodism and England 1850-1932* (1944) pp.10-11

<sup>22</sup>Coley, *Life of Collins* p. 248

matters was held subordinate to competence in spiritual ones for 'Peculiar aptness for inferior duties will not supply the lack of proper qualifications for the higher - strictly speaking, indeed, the sole work of the ministry.'<sup>23</sup> Both parties were agreed that revival, whatever its form, and however it was achieved, was, to quote Thomas Collins, 'Godly labour, followed by gracious success.'

The banishment of Caughey seems to have triggered off the shock wave of the Fly-sheets controversy which shook but did not shatter, the edifice that Bunting had erected, for the first of the anonymous fly-sheets dedicated to 'detecting, exposing, and correcting abuses' appeared in 1846.<sup>24</sup> The expulsion of James Everett, Samuel Dunn, and William Griffith in 1849, and the accompanying schism which cost Wesleyan Methodism a third of its membership by 1854 according to Benjamin Gregory<sup>25</sup> did not break the ranks of the Wesleyan ministry. Bunting, as Elsie Harrison so eloquently pointed out, by building on the foundation of voluntary loyalty given to Wesley by the preceding generations of Methodist Preachers, 'concentrated on the creation of a powerful Conference and the elevation of the Pastoral Office. He shaped and welded, chastised and browbeat his brethren in order to obtain a company of officers utterly loyal to Methodism and the Kingdom of God.'<sup>26</sup> Thomas Collins voted against the Conference resolution for the recall of James Caughey, but when the vote went against him, he said,

Because the majority decide what does not please me, should I impute ill motives to them? - Where then is my charity? Am I to allow my mind to brood over the disliked result, taking no note of any marks of moderation in the method? - Where then is my candour? Am I, so soon as my private will is thwarted, to turn rebel? - Where then is my submission? - Where my loyalty? How, if such conduct were common, could any church hold together?<sup>27</sup>

The return of Caughey in 1859 to take part in the great flood of revival which had surged across the Atlantic from North America in 1857 to engulf all the major religious denominations of the British Isles - it added 78,220 new members alone to the Wesleyan Connexion between 1857-1862 - must have raised spectres of 1846

<sup>23</sup>Bunting, *Life of Bunting* p.333

<sup>24</sup>Oliver A Beckerlegge, *The United Methodist Free Churches: A Study in Freedom* (1957) p.30

<sup>25</sup>Benjamin Gregory, *Sidelights on the Conflicts of Methodism, 1827-1852*. (1897) p.494

<sup>26</sup>Elsie Harrison, *Methodist Good Companions* (1935) p.59

<sup>27</sup>Coley, *Life of Collins* p.265

and the following years, but the New Connexion and Primitive Methodists joined forces with the Wesleyans in barring access to their pulpits not only to Caughey but to other itinerant revivalists like the Palmers who were not one of their own preachers subject to regular discipline.<sup>28</sup>

This sharing of the Wesleyan distaste for imported or home grown free-lance revivalists by the Primitive Methodists endorsed the wisdom of Bunting's policy of steady growth through the efficient use of the existing Methodist system. The Primitive Methodists learned very quickly, despite their commitment to the exclusive work of revivalism, that their itinerant preachers needed to be more than mere 'soul-savers'. The rapid expansion of the Connexion in the early 1820s led to a large number of men being recruited who were inexperienced in church affairs, and who created societies composed of members as inexperienced as themselves so that a crisis occurred between 1824-1828 that 'was brought about by defective discipline and financial recklessness or slackness' which was cured only by weeding out the unsuitable preachers.<sup>29</sup> They were succeeded by men like John Parrish and James Garner. Of James Parrish it was said,

His position was unique and interesting. He exercised his thoughtful and energetic ministry whilst our church was in a transition state, passing from the older to the newer Primitive Methodism. He was one of those far sighted, tactful, judicious leaders who helped to give steadiness to the movement. And thus in our time (1910) have come to our beloved and progressive church important reforms and advances without any serious eruptions.

James Garner was the superintendent minister who told the young probationer stationed on the Liverpool Circuit in 1859 that if he meant to be an efficient administrator then he must give heed to the temperament and idiosyncrasies of the people with whom he would have to deal.<sup>31</sup> The young probationer was James Travis whose circuit career demonstrated that being an administrator meant building chapels and schools, raising the money to fund them, and recruiting the members to fill them. Travis was instrumental in erecting fifteen chapels and six schools in the nine circuits on which he served; raising a sum of not less than £20,000 to finance these schemes - apart from the ordinary current expenses of running a circuit; and in adding 850 new members over and above

<sup>28</sup>J. Edwin Orr, *The Second Evangelical Awakening* (1949) pp.194-196

<sup>29</sup>H.B. Kendall, *History Of The Primitive Methodist Church* (1919) p.68

<sup>30</sup>W.J. Robson (editor), *Silsden Primitive Methodism* (1910) p.253

<sup>31</sup>James Travis, *Seventy-Five Years* (1914) p.20

those required to make good the losses through the wastage of death, removals and withdrawals. It was Travis who said,

Primitive Methodism, in its origin, was purely and simply an evangelising movement, but it gradually grew into an organised Christian Church. It had not passed its formative period as a Church before some of its leaders, both ministerial and lay, began to discuss the necessity of giving some training to its ministers in order that they might be better qualified to teach as well as to evangelise, and to edify as well as to convert.<sup>32</sup>

In 1885 a young Arthur Guttery could be happily expressing the philosophy of the Liverpool Minutes in a letter to a friend: 'Our circuit is doing well. We are having conversions and, at the end of the year, shall have, I believe, a respectable increase. This quiet growth is my preference, because it pre-supposes stability and firm endurance. Churches . . . that grow very fast usually die as quickly.'<sup>33</sup>

In conclusion it can be said that James Caughey's challenge to Wesleyan Methodism in the 1840s was to adopt the American concepts of the minister as a 'soul-saver', and of the Church as an institution for the preservation and promotion of revivalism. These concepts were outmoded by the rapid growth of Methodism to the status of a national and international religious movement requiring a comprehensive type of ministry on the Anglican parochial pattern<sup>34</sup> capable not only of saving souls but of exercising those managerial skills required for administering the expanding range of Connexional funds and enterprises. 'One of the achievements . . . of Bunting's generation', says John Kent, 'was to give structure and depth to the idea of Wesleyanism as a national Connexion.'<sup>35</sup> And, it can be added, to Primitive Methodism, by imitation, as well.

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<sup>32</sup>ibid p.51

<sup>33</sup>J.G. Bowran, *The Life of Arthur Thomas Guttery D.D.* (1921) pp.41-42

<sup>34</sup>'Service to the national community, seeking necessarily the salvation of its individual members but much more besides ... is still the grand pursuit of the Church of England.' G.F.A. Best, *Temporal Pillars* (1964)p.513

<sup>35</sup>*History of the Methodist Church in Great Britain* Volume 2 p.227

## 'WHO GYVES ME THIS WYFE?'

One of the most perplexing changes that John Wesley made in the marriage service of the *Book of Common Prayer* as edited for his 1784 *Sunday Service of the Methodists in North America* was his elimination of the giving away of the bride. All editions of the Prayer Book had required that the minister ask the question, 'Who giveth this woman to be married to this man?' This question was derived from the medieval York liturgy, which required the minister to ask, 'Who gyves me this wyfe?'

### The Tradition

John Wesley argued strongly that Christians should not marry without the consent of their parents. In his anthology *A Christian Library* Wesley published an essay called 'The Whole Duty of Man' which casts the issue in economic terms:

Of all the acts of disobedience, that of marrying against the consent of a parent, is one of the highest. Children are so much the goods, the possessions, of their parents, that they cannot, without a kind of theft, give away themselves, without the allowance of those that have the right in them . . . .<sup>2</sup>

Wesley also describes the issue in economic terms in his comments on Genesis 2.24.

See how necessary it is that children should take their parents consent with them in marriage; and how *unjust* they are to their parents, as well as *undutiful*, if they marry without it; for they *rob them* of their right to them, and interest in them, and alienate it to another fraudulently and unnaturally.<sup>3</sup>

During his career, Wesley had a number of opportunities to counsel people regarding parental consent in marriage. In 1767, he

<sup>1</sup>F.E. Brightman, *The English Rite: Being a Synopsis of the Sources and Revisions of the Book of Common Prayer with an Introduction and an Appendix* (London: Rivingtons, 1915) 2, pp. 804-5.

<sup>2</sup>John Wesley, *A Christian Library: Consisting of Extracts from and Abridgements of the Choicest Pieces of Practical Divinity Which Have been Published in the English Tongue* (London: T Cordeux, 1821), 12, pp. 145-46.

<sup>3</sup>John Wesley, *Explanatory Notes upon the Old Testament*, (Bristol: William Pine, 1765; reprint, Salem, Ohio: 1975), i, p.13. See also Wesley's comments on Exodus 22:17, Numbers 30:5, and Judges 14:2.

wrote to one woman that it would be best for her to marry, but he added, 'I should scruple doing this without a parent's consent.'<sup>4</sup> The following year, writing to a prospective bride, Wesley inquired if both she and her intended had the consent of their parents, for 'without this there is seldom a blessing.'<sup>5</sup> In 1781, Wesley wrote to one of his preachers named Elijah Bush and strongly cautioned him against marrying without parental consent :

I was much concerned yesterday when I heard you were likely to marry a woman against the consent of your parents. I have never in an observation of fifty years known such a marriage attended with a blessing. I know not how it should be, since it is flatly contrary to the fifth commandment. I told my own mother, when pressing me to marry, 'I dare not allow you a positive voice herein; I dare not marry a person because you bid me. But I must allow you a negative voice: I will marry no person if you forbid. I know it would be a sin against God.' Take care what you do.<sup>6</sup>

In Wesley's own family life we can find other examples of his insistence upon the importance of parental consent in marriage. In 1735, Westley Hall came to John Wesley and asked him to preside at Hall's marriage to Wesley's sister Patty that very morning. But Wesley advised Hall first to ask the consent of Hall's own father and of Patty's uncle, John and Patty's father having recently died.<sup>7</sup> When Charles Wesley sought to marry Sally Gwynne in 1748-49, her mother was at first delighted with the prospect and exclaimed that she 'would rather give her child to Mr. Wesley than to any man in England.' But later she had reservations about Charles's ability to provide adequately for her daughter. The matter was resolved when John Wesley intervened and guaranteed in writing to provide Charles and Sally with a hundred pounds a year.<sup>8</sup>

### Changing Times

Given Wesley's insistence, repeated so frequently throughout his life, that Christians ought not marry without the approval of their parents, why, then, did he eliminate from the wedding service the

<sup>4</sup>*The Works of John Wesley*, Third Edition, Complete and Unabridged (London: 1872; reprint, Grand Rapids: 1984), xii, p.359.

<sup>5</sup>*Standard Letters*, v, p.109.

<sup>6</sup>*ibid.*, vii, pp.83-84.

<sup>7</sup>*Standard Journal*, viii, p.150

<sup>8</sup>Frank Baker, *Charles Wesley: As Revealed by His Letters* (London: 1948), pp. 60, 63-66.

liturgical expression of that approval, namely, the giving away of the bride?

First of all, we should note that even Wesley allowed some exceptions to the rule about parental approval. The *Large Minutes*, the plan of discipline for British Methodism during Wesley's lifetime, specified two situations in which a woman might marry against the wishes of her parents.

Q. 20. Ought any woman to marry without the consent of her parents?

A. In general she ought not. Yet there may be an exception. For if, (1.) A woman be under a necessity of marrying; if, (2.) Her parents absolutely refuse to let her marry any Christian; then she may, nay, ought to, marry without their consent. Yet, even then, a Methodist Preacher ought not to marry her.<sup>9</sup>

Secondly, like other English Protestant theologians, while he insisted on parental consent in most cases, Wesley also advised parents to be sensible.<sup>10</sup>

As children ought not to marry without their parents consent, so parents ought not to marry them without their own. Before the matter is resolved on, ask at the damsel's mouth, she is a party principally concerned; and therefore ought to be principally consulted.<sup>11</sup>

We have already seen that in his own case, Wesley believed that his mother had the authority to forbid him to marry a particular person, but she could not *command* him to marry anyone.

The spiritual welfare of their child should be the chief concern of the parents in considering a prospective marriage partner. 'Parents, in disposing of their children, should carefully consult their furtherance in the way to heaven.'<sup>12</sup> Wesley was especially concerned about the number of parents who made decisions concerning a

<sup>9</sup>Wesley, *Works*, viii, p. 308. Early American editions of the *Discipline* revised the last sentence to read, 'Yet even then a Methodist preacher ought not to be married to her.' This makes it clear that Methodist preachers were not prohibited from presiding at such weddings. See Frederick A. Norwood, editor, *The Methodist Discipline of 1798: Including the Annotations of Thomas Coke and Francis Asbury*, Facsimile Edition (Rutland, Vermont: Academy Books, 1979), p.157.

<sup>10</sup>Michel Despland, 'Norms and Models in Early Modern France and England: A Study in Comparative Ethics,' *The Journal of Religious Ethics* 10 (Spring 1982): p.81.

<sup>11</sup>Wesley, *Old Testament Notes*, i, pp. 95-96.

<sup>12</sup>*ibid.*, i, p. 90

marriage partner for their child solely on the basis of financial considerations. Wesley emphasizes this point in his sermon 'On Family Religion':

Therefore, if you are wise, you will not seek riches for your children by their marriage. See that your eye be single in this also: Aim simply at the glory of God, and the real happiness of your children, both in time and eternity.<sup>13</sup>

Wesley does, therefore, place some limits on the authority of parents regarding the choice of a marriage partner for their children. But are these limitations adequate to explain Wesley's removal of the giving away of the bride from the wedding service, especially since he so strongly argues that, in most cases, children ought not to marry without the approval of their parent? Probably not. Theological considerations alone are not enough to explain Wesley's actions; we gain a more comprehensive picture of the situation if we examine the changing social environment as well.

Between 1660 and 1800, marriages arranged by the parents gradually disappeared and marriage by choice, with parental consent, became the norm. (This, of course, was the practice that Wesley, himself, supported.) Only among the very rich and powerful did parents continue to select marriage partners for their children.<sup>14</sup>

Parents rarely attended the marriage ceremonies of their children. One historian describes the situation in this way:

The wedding itself was largely left to the peer group. Fathers did not usually give away their daughters; it was brothers or friends who accompanied the bride to church. Among the property holders, parental involvement was largely confined to the negotiations at the betrothal stage. As far as they were concerned the marriage was complete once the portions and dowry had been arranged.<sup>15</sup>

John Wesley himself gave the bride away at a wedding he attended in 1759.<sup>16</sup> Charles Wesley notes in his description of his own wedding, 'Mr. Gwynne gave her to me (under God.)'<sup>17</sup> Had it

<sup>13</sup>Wesley, *Works*, vii, p.85.

<sup>14</sup>John R. Gillis, 'Married But Not Churched: Plebeian Sexual Relations and Marital Nonconformity in Eighteenth-Century Britain,' *Eighteenth Century Life* n.s. 9, no. 3 (May 1985): p.31.

<sup>15</sup>John R. Gillis, *For Better, For Worse: British Marriages, 1600 to the Present* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1985), p. 60.

<sup>16</sup>*Standard Journal*, iv, p. 361.

<sup>17</sup>Charles Wesley, *The Journal of the Rev. Charles Wesley, M.A.: with an Introduction and Occasional Notes by Thomas Jackson* (London: John Mason, 1849), 2, p.55.

been customary for the bride's father personally to take part in the wedding rite, it is less likely that Charles would have found Mr. Gwynne's participation noteworthy. By the time Wesley prepared the *Sunday Service* in 1784, 'Less was made of the prenuptial formalities, and fathers seemed to have been much less involved at every stage of the marriage process.'<sup>18</sup>

Another social reality that must be kept in mind is that nearly a third of all marriages ended by death within fifteen years. Twenty-five per cent of all weddings were a remarriage for one of the partners.<sup>19</sup> Widows, of course, were not expected to seek parental approval, but were free to choose their own partners and contract their own marriages.<sup>20</sup> John Wesley himself intended to marry the widow Grace Murray and ultimately did marry another widow, Molly Vazeille. In neither case was there any male relative who needed to be consulted about the wedding plans.

This, then, was the situation at the time Wesley prepared the *Sunday Service*. The reformer Martin Bucer had said of the giving away of the bride, 'It is declared by this rite that only those marriages should be consecrated in church which are contracted with the consent of the parents,'<sup>21</sup> but by the late eighteenth century, the giving away of the bride had ceased to signify any such thing. The parents of the bride were rarely present for the wedding. In the case of widows, parental consent was not even required. Even Wesley had to acknowledge that, in some cases, it was better to marry against the wishes of one's parents. Unfortunately, we have no statement from Wesley himself regarding the giving away of the bride, so we can only speculate as to why he eliminated this part of the marriage liturgy. But given what we know about the wedding customs of the day, we can only conclude that Wesley must have felt that the giving away of the bride had been superfluous.

BUFFORD W. COE

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<sup>18</sup>Gillis, *For Better, For Worse*, p. 150.

<sup>19</sup>Lawrence Stone, *The Family, Sex and Marriage in England 1500-1800* (New York: Harper & Row, 1977), pp.55-56.

<sup>20</sup>Gillis, *For Better, For Worse*, p. 18.

<sup>21</sup>E.C. Whitaker, *Martin Bucer and 'The Book of Common Prayer'* (Great Wakering, England: Mayhew-McCrimmon, 1974), p. 122.

## METHODIST ARCHIVES AND RESEARCH CENTRE: A PROGRESS REPORT

It is now sixteen years since the Methodist Archives and Research Centre transferred from London to Manchester. Since the last progress report appeared in these *Proceedings* in 1987, there have been considerable changes in the organization of the Library's resources devoted to the MARC. Some notable items have been acquired, while a further substantial proportion of stock has been catalogued and calendared, and lists produced.

Space allows for the recording of only a portion of the more significant items received by the Methodist archives over the last six years. A couple of items highlight the close early link between the Library established by Mrs Rylands and the world of Methodist scholarship. The important collection of material associated with the one-time Rylands Professor of Biblical Exegesis, Professor A.S. Peake of Hartley (Victoria) College, to which attention was drawn in the last progress report, has been further supplemented by the purchase of Peake's lecture notes. The first printed copy of Peake's *Commentary on the Bible* represents another useful addition to our holdings on Peake.

A collection of correspondence of another notable twentieth-century Methodist scholar, the Rev J. Ernest Rattenbury (1870-1963), has been deposited in the Archives. As will be well known by readers, Rattenbury was not only the author of seminal studies of Charles Wesley's hymns but had a very active pastorate in city missions and was a founder of the Methodist Sacramental Fellowship.

Another relatively modern Methodist figure represented in recent accessions to the Archives is the artist Frank Owen Salisbury (1874-1962), Salisbury was a prolific painter of portraits and historical scenes. His subjects included members of the Royal Family and six United States Presidents. Reared as a devout Methodist, Salisbury also painted three portraits of John Wesley along with portraits of Charles and Susanna Wesley, Thomas Coke, Francis Asbury and others. A handlist of this impressive collection has been compiled by a previous archivist, Alison Peacock.

A growing number of private diaries and preaching notes of nineteenth- and twentieth-century Methodist ministers and local preachers has been received. Of particular note are the diaries of the Wesleyan minister, J. George Stuart (1850-1930), which give

detailed accounts of mission work in Cornwall and Tyneside between 1879 and 1883. They represent an invaluable source for the social and cultural historian as well as student of ecclesiastical history. A transcript copy of the Journal of George Coles (1791-1858) of Buckingham, with an accompanying commentary, was received from Shirley Porter of New York. Coles was a Methodist émigré to the United States in 1818. To this can be added the manuscript autobiography of the Rev A.L. Gray and the interesting manuscript journal and sermon notes of the Rev. H. Hudson, a nineteenth-century Wesleyan missionary in India. We also received the fascinating Preacher's Register of Alfred Lamb, 1872-95, and from Mrs Hopkin of Liverpool, the preaching notes of her father Robert Hopkin, a local preacher in Staffordshire and Yorkshire, 1928-72. Forty-one volumes of diaries kept by the Wesleyan Methodist minister the Rev. Edward J. Simons (1863-1934) donated by Miss Ford of Maidenhead, represent a potentially rich documentary resource.

Primitive Methodist records have been less systematically preserved than those of other branches of Methodism. Therefore two deposits from this quarter are particularly valued. From the Rev John E. Hirst was received a small but topical collection relating to the Primitive Methodist minister, John Henry Hirst (1871-1929), and his imprisonment following non-payment of rates as a protest over the Education Bill. Barbara Hickman kindly donated a valuable collection of papers relating to her father, Mr W.S. Hickman, a Primitive Methodist local preacher. One of the most significant collections received has been that of the unpublished papers of Joseph Barlow Brooks (1874-1952), a prominent Methodist New Connexion minister in Lancashire. A comprehensive account and handlist of this collection has been produced.

Historical documents relating to ministerial training have been deposited. We are particularly proud of a collection of photographs of Wesley College, Headingley, 1934-7, with historical notes, which came to us from the Rev Geoffrey Litherland of Gloucester. Albums and individual photographs of delegates to various late-nineteenth and early twentieth-century Wesleyan Methodist Conferences have also been deposited.

The Methodist Archives are particularly rich in holdings relating to the early history of Methodism in the eighteenth and early-nineteenth centuries. A number of items recently received add to the strength of our holdings in this period. Some might regard the Hull chapel Treasurer's minute book, 1770-88 - the earliest example known to be extant - as the single most important item deposited in the Methodist Archives over the last six years. Another item received, a John Wesley scrapbook, is of perhaps equal significance. The scrapbook comprises about thirty original letters, mainly corre-

spondence between Wesley and one of his early preachers, Thomas Taylor. Several individual John Wesley letters, acquired at different times, are also deserving of mention. Of these, too numerous to detail in full, pride of place might go to a letter from John Wesley to Thomas Greathead in January 1791 shortly before his death. Six letters of Sarah Wesley and Charles Wesley junior have also been acquired and added to the extensive Wesley family collection. Also of note has been the acquisition of individual original letters of the 'apostle of Methodism' Thomas Coke, and of Adam Clarke, both of which supplement extensive existing collections. A batch of 151 miscellaneous letters has been purchased, which together form a significant addition to the Preachers' Letters and Portraits Collection. Fourteen eighteenth-century items have been identified, including letters by such leaders of the Evangelical Revival as James Hervey, Rowland Hill and William Romaine. The majority are concerned with early-nineteenth century Wesleyan Methodism. 141 different authors are represented, including prominent names such as Valentine Ward and James Everett, and some not previously listed in the catalogues of the Methodist Archives. There is also a rare letter by John Ryland, Secretary of the Baptist Missionary Society, addressed to Christopher Kitchen, Baptist missionary in Jamaica.

Methodism took early and deep root in the city and environs of York following John Wesley's initial visit in 1747. The first Methodist chapel was erected in the city in 1759. By 1791 Methodist societies in York and in thirty-five surrounding villages made up the so-called York Round. The early days of York Methodism are well documented in John Lyth's *Glimpses of early Methodism in York* (1885). The deposit of the Lyth family papers by Mrs Lee of Leyburn thus represents an invaluable rich source for historians of Methodism in the city. Moreover, an exciting recent addition has been made to our holdings of Lyth papers with the deposit of a York Methodist scrapbook connected with Mary Lyth by Mrs Joan Thorpe of York via a well-known collector of ephemera, Mr John Townsend of Marple. The scrapbook comprises a fascinating collection of Methodist documents, such as early class tickets, relating to York. The cirplanologist will be able to find details of early preaching plans. There is also ephemeral material such as election handbills relating to the 1807 York parliamentary election at which William Wilberforce stood on an anti-slavery platform. The scrapbook sheds light on the social and political life of the city as well as the history of Methodism therein.

The history of Methodist involvement in army and navy life through chaplaincies is well documented in other items received. Eighteen letters were donated by Albert S. Hullah, army chaplain

and prisoner-of-war, written from camps in Italy and Germany in the Second World War. From the Forces Board, fifty boxes of chaplaincy material comprising about two thousand items relating to overseas chaplaincies have been received. The collection has been listed.

The Archives have supplemented their records relating to Methodist education. An interesting scrapbook of early records relating to Trinity Hall School, Southport, 1871-1970, was received from Mrs Margaret Rawcliffe of Llandudno. Further educational items received comprise documents, including photographs, on Hunmanby Hall School, Yorkshire. A large collection (fifty boxes) of records from the Division of Education and Youth is also worthy of note.

We have received an increasing body of administrative papers. These include material concerning the Division of Ministries, the Home Mission Division, the Division of Social Responsibility, the Property Division, the Local Preachers' Mutual Aid Association, the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society, the Wesleyan Deaconess Order, the Union of 1932, Epworth House Publishing Company and the Wesleyan Reading Room, City Road, London, 1780-1980.

The appointment since 1987 of a full-time archivist, funded by the Methodist Church and the increase of Library staff resources devoted to the Methodist Archives in 1990, has facilitated a major programme of detailed cataloguing and a calendaring of collections. The eighteenth and early-nineteenth century Methodist collections in the Archives are rightly regarded as the richest of their kind in the world. Hitherto however, accessibility was impaired because exclusive reliance had to be made on sometimes outdated finding aids and individual card entries in the main catalogues. The concerted cataloguing programme of the last three and a half years has resulted in the production of thirteen fully-indexed calendars and finding aids of papers of substantial potential benefit to research scholars. The full richness of various collections is now more readily accessible. The following represents a list of collections calendared since November 1990:

### **Individuals:**

Wesley family Volume 1	218pp	18th/19th century
Wesley family Volume 2	174pp	18th century
Wesley family Volume 3	182pp	18th/19th century
Charles Wesley Volume 1	186pp	18th century
Thomas Coke	173pp	18th/19th century
Joseph Benson	48pp	18th/19th century

Adam Clarke	87pp	18th/19th century
Hugh Bourne & William Clowes	19pp	19th century P.M.

**Institutions:**

Hartley Victoria College	45pp	19th/20th century
Divisional Records	45pp	19th/20th century
Hunmanby Hall School	8pp	20th century
Epworth House Deeds	6pp	20th century
Property Division	In Progress	

(supplements to material transferred in 1981, already listed).  
Further Divisional Records In Progress.

Each calendar and list has been produced according to rules and methods similar to those used in other John Rylands Research Institute projects. Each contains a detailed summary of the documents within the collection, accompanied by comprehensive indexes by name, place, and subject. Publicity advertising the calendars for sale has been made widely available. Several institutions in this country and overseas have subscribed. Enquiries concerning the content of the above publications should be directed to Dr Peter Nockles or Mr Gareth Lloyd, Methodist Archives and Research Centre, John Rylands University Library of Manchester, 150 Deansgate, Manchester, M3 3EH (Tel. 061-834-5343). Orders should be directed to the Administration Dept., John Rylands University Library of Manchester, Oxford Road, Manchester, M13 9PP (Tel. 061-275-3749).

An edited version of the Coke catalogue, with an introduction by Dr John Vickers is to appear in the autumn 1994 number of the *Bulletin of the John Rylands University Library of Manchester*. The current cataloguing of the listing of the large archive relating to the administration of Methodist chapels and associated properties should facilitate the handling of the increasing number of enquiries concerning converted chapels.

All the above calendars and finding aids not only provide valuable access to the collections they list but also constitute essential selection tools for the major microfiche project *The people called Methodists*. This series is published by the Inter Documentation Company with the aim of reproducing a vast range of original source materials from the world's major Methodist collections. A recent instalment now makes available for the first time on microfiche a wide range of catalogues facilitating access to the holdings of the Methodist Archives. Further details can be obtained from IDC, P.O. Box 11205, 2301 EE Leiden, The Netherlands.

Serving a similar dual function is the Nineteenth-Century Short

Title Catalogue Theology Database project. During the period 1990-3, Ms Brenda McDougall catalogued more than 9,300 nineteenth-century British theological books and pamphlets. The catalogue records have been produced according to UK MARC AACR2 standards and are to be made available in machine-readable form through the Library's On-line Catalogue which can be accessed via the JANET computer network. The project is now complete and a bound handlist of Methodist Tracts and Pamphlets has been compiled. The handlist comprises the Chronological Sequence, 1801-1914, Reform Collections, 1803-56 and the Hobill Collection. Another handlist comprising the Richmond College pamphlets will soon be made available.

Great emphasis has been placed on promoting the academic profile of the Methodist Archives in recent years. Presentations and contributions have been given at a wide range of conferences and meetings, and contacts and links forged with numerous individual Methodist scholars as well as other libraries and academic institutions, especially in the United States. The Methodist Archives are now represented on several newly constituted archival and historical bodies such as the Religious Archives Group. Towards the end of 1994 an exhibition devoted to Charles Wesley is to be held in the Deansgate Building of the John Rylands Library, while a travelling facsimile version will be displayed at Wesley College, Bristol, Westminster College, Oxford and elsewhere, from May 1994 onwards.

What of the future? Considering the size of its collections, the Methodist Archives remain somewhat understaffed compared with similar establishments in Canada and the United States. Nevertheless, the situation has been considerably improved since 1987. This welcome development has coincided with an increased accessibility to collections and a notable expansion and promotion of activities at the Deansgate Building over the last six years through the work of the John Rylands Research Institute. Much has been achieved in this period, though much remains to be done.

P. B. NOCKLES

(Dr Peter Nockles is an assistant librarian at the John Rylands University Library of Manchester with responsibility for the Methodist Archives. His monograph, *The Oxford Movement in Context* will be published later this year)

## BOOKS IN THE METHODIST ARCHIVES OWNED BY CHARLES WESLEY JUNIOR<sup>1</sup>

In the course of looking through the remains of Charles Wesley's personal library, I came across these books, most of which one can confidently say belonged to his son, Charles Wesley Jr. There may well be others which I failed to notice, but these form an interesting sampling. Many of them were passed on to the younger Charles Wesley by his father, presumably for educational purposes; 1776 seems to have been a particularly good year for donations from father to son. That Charles Wesley should have *owned* some of these books, let alone thought them suitable reading for an impressionable adolescent, would have been alarming to the hagiographical school of Methodist historians who wished to see Charles as well as John as staunch Evangelical Protestants.

Here are not only William Law (nos. 2 and 3), accepted rather uneasily as *A Herald of the Evangelical Revival*<sup>2</sup>, but also Ignatius Loyola (no. 1), Fénelon (no. 7), and Pascal (no. 6), though the latter seems over the years to have been considered an honorary Protestant, albeit a rather Calvinistic one. The Roman Catholic element is balanced by a Classical (and ethical) one: the most striking item here is Christopher Smart's translation of Phaedrus' Aesopian *Fables* (no. 8), published two years after the celebrated *Song to David*. (Judging by the date on the flyleaf [May 1772], this came into Charles Wesley Jr.'s possession when he was only fourteen, and not necessarily via his father.) Epictetus (no. 10) and Marcus Aurelius<sup>3</sup> (no. 12) are both in translation, which is just as well, since one assumes the younger Charles Wesley didn't have anything like his father's classical learning.

<sup>1</sup>This information was obtained during my visits to the Methodist Archives in the John Rylands University Library, Deansgate, Manchester, in 1988 and 1989. I am most grateful to Miss Alison Peacock, then Methodist Archivist, and to the staff of the Reading Room at Deansgate, for their unfailing kindness and helpfulness. My errors and omissions will, I hope, be corrected by those with easier access to the Archives than I.

<sup>2</sup>See the book of that name by Eric Baker (London: 1948).

<sup>3</sup>Curiously, though this copy is dated 1756 by the elder Charles Wesley, his *Journal* for 18 March 1751 says: 'I finished Marcus Antoninus, having learnt from him, I hope, some useful lessons....' (*The Journal of the Rev. Charles Wesley*, ed. T. Jackson [Kansas City, Mo.: Beacon Hill Press, 1980 (repr. of 1849 ed.)], II, 79.) Possibly the 1751 reading was of the Greek text or of a borrowed copy.

That there should be 'musical' pieces in this small collection is unsurprising, and the biographical sketch of Handel (no. 5), annotated by Charles Wesley Jr., is exactly what one might expect, but *Songs in the Opera of Croesus* (no. 9; see my note 7 below) is a little out of the way. Presumably the younger Charles had a large collection of music; is this a tiny tip of a vast iceberg?

I have given the Methodist Archives shelf number (MAW/CW) for each item, and I have endeavoured to reproduce accurately all the handwritten matter on endpapers, flyleaves and title-pages. To save space, the slash (/) has been used to indicate the end of a line of handwriting, except for no. 6, where the layout is of interest.

1. BOUHOURS, Dominic, S. J. *The Life of St. Ignatius, Founder of the Society of Jesus*. London: Henry Hills, 1686.

MAW/CW 16

Top of title-page: 'C. Wesley 1750'

Former front left endpaper (book rebound), in CW's hand: 'Charles Wesley jun' /1776'

2. LAW, William. *A Practical Treatise upon Christian Perfection*. 4th ed. London: William Innys, 1741.

MAW/CW 56

Title-page: 'Reb. Gwynne/May 1754'

Former front left endpaper (book rebound), in CW's hand: 'C. Wesley [Jr.] / (Left[?] by his good Aunt)/Charles Wesley jun' /1776'

3. [LAW, William]. *A Practical Treatise on Christian Perfection*. *Extracted from a late Author by John Wesley*. Newcastle-upon-Tyne, 1743.<sup>4</sup>

MAW/CW 57.1

Former front left endpaper (book rebound): 'Charles Wesley [Junior]/March 1788.'

<sup>4</sup>This passage on p. 8 is marked in pencil in the margin:

What is there that deserves a serious thought, but how to get well out of the World, and make it a right Passage to our eternal State? [I, xiii]

(Cf. *A Collection of Hymns* [Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1983], No. 42, ll. 25-27:

Nothing is worth a thought beneath  
But how I may escape the death  
That never, never dies!)

4. MARSHALL, Walter. *The Gospel-Mystery of Sanctification, Open'd in Sundry Practical Directions*. 4th ed. London: John Marshall, [1692].

MAW/CW 22

Front left endpaper (top): 'C. Wesley'

Below, in CW's hand: 'Charles Wesley junr/1776'

5. *Memoirs of the Life of the Late George Frederic Handel*. London: Dodsley, 1760.<sup>5</sup>

MAW/CW 325

Title-page: '1760 C. Wesley [Jr.] the Gift of his/Rev<sup>d</sup>. Father'

6. [PASCAL, Blaise] *Les Provinciales*. Cologne: Pierre de la Vallée, 1657.

MAW/CW 7

Flyleaf:

C Wesley

E. A. P<sup>o</sup>.

Dec. 1. 1756

Ex dono Rev<sup>d</sup>. Amici

Lindsey

Charles Wesley junr'

1776

[still in CW's hand]

Title-page: 'C. Wesley 1756'

7. [RAMSAY, Michael]. *The Life of François de Salignac De la Motte Fénelon, Archbishop and Duke of Cambrai*. London: Vaillant and Woodman, 1723.

MAW/CW 208

Flyleaf: 'C. Wesley [Junior?]/Sarah Wesley [Junior]'

8. SMART, Christopher. *A Poetical Translation of the Fables of Phaedrus*. London, 1765.

MAW/CW 135

Flyleaf: 'Charles Wesley Junior/ 1772 May'

<sup>5</sup>*British Library Catalogue to 1975* includes a book with this title (276. h. 47), published by Dodsley in 1760, and attributes it to John Mainwaring. But this is an octavo volume of 208 pages, much larger than the little book which belonged to the younger Charles Wesley.

<sup>6</sup>Presbyter of the Church of England.

9. *Songs in the Opera of Croesus, as they are Perform'd at the Queens Theatre.* London: Walsh and Hare, n. d.

MAW/CW 327

Front left endpaper: Bookplate (coat of arms) of Isaac Heaton. On the bookplate, under Heaton's name: 'The gift of that worthy Gen<sup>m</sup>. to/Charles Wesley [Junior?]'

10. STANHOPE, George, trans. *Epictetus his Morals, with Simplicius his Comment.* 4th ed. London: Sare, 1721. (Dedication dated 1694/5.)

MAW/CW 45

Top of title-page: 'C. Wesley 1756'

Front left endpaper, in CW's hand: 'Charles Wesley jun' / 1776'

11. STERNHOLD, T., J. HOPKINS, *et al.* *The Whole Book of Psalmes: Collected into English Meeter.* London, 1663.

MAW/CW 183.3

Front left endpaper of collection (CW 183.1-3): 'C. Wesley'

Then, still in CW's hand, 'Charles Wesley jun' / 1776'

12. THOMSON, James, trans.<sup>8</sup> *Commentaries of Marcus [Aurelius] Antonin[us].* London: Corbett, 1747.

MAW/CW 65

Top of title-page: 'C. Wesley 1756'

Front left endpaper (CW's hand): 'Charles Wesley jun' / 1776'

13. WESLEY, John, ed. *A collection of Moral and Sacred Poems*, vol. 2. Bristol: Farley, 1744.

MAW/CW 184

Top of title-page: 'C. Wesley [Junior?]'

<sup>7</sup>*The British Library Catalogue to 1975 lists Croesus, King of Lydia. An opera, as it is acted at the Queen's-Theatre in the Hay-Market.* London: Jacob Tonson, 1714. (11714. aa. 23. [9.]) This opera, probably *Creso* by Giovanni Battista Bononcini (1670-c. 1750), can probably be identified with 'the Opera of Croesus.'

<sup>8</sup>This is *not* the celebrated poet James Thomson, author of *The Seasons*, but another James Thomson.

14. [YOUNG, Edward]. *The Centaur not Fabulous*. London: A. Millar and R. & J. Dodsley, 1755.

MAW/CW 74

Top of title-page: 'C. Wesley 1756'

Former front left endpaper (book rebound): 'C. Wesley Jan. 29, 1756/The gift of Miss Molly Hotham./ [Space] / Charles Wesley jun'./1776'

Title-page: 'C. Wesley 1756'

JAMES DALE

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## BOOK REVIEWS

*Religion and Urban Change: Croydon, 1840-1914*, by Jeremy Morris (Royal Historical Society Studies in History, 65, The Boydell Press, 1992, pp. xi, 236, £29.50. ISSN: 0269-2244, ISBN: 0 86193 222 6)

This fluently-written and tightly-argued book, which began life as a University of Oxford D. Phil. thesis in 1985, is a solid addition to the growing body of published and unpublished local studies of religion in late nineteenth and early twentieth-century Britain. However, it differs in two important respects from many of these other works. First, its geographical focus is not the industrialized or working-class environments which have so often attracted the attentions of other scholars, but a community which developed as a middle-class dormitory suburb for London, whilst continuing to function as the unofficial capital of East Surrey, and which, despite a measure of social decline associated with rapid demographic growth (the population of the borough rose from 17,000 in 1841 to 191,000 in 1921), still derived its tone from lower middle-class (mainly clerical and retailing) or, at the end of the period, respectable working-class occupations. Second, the author's primary intention has not been to describe the internal life of the local churches nor the beliefs and practices of their members and adherents, although there is obviously material which relates to these topics, but to set those churches and their clerical and lay leaders within the broader secular context of civic management and the value systems of urban elites. This is essentially seen as a study in 'the appropriation and manipulation of power by middle class groups in the Victorian town'.

It is this second characteristic which gives the volume its distinctive argument and relevance. Taking issue (especially in chapter 1) with much of the recent published historiography of the effects of urbanization on

Victorian and Edwardian organized religion, although seemingly not conversant with the full range of doctoral theses bearing on the subject and also writing too early to anticipate the final results of Robin Gill's research on secularization (see his *The Myth of the Empty Church*, SPCK, 1993), Dr Morris finds a possible alternative explanation to church decline in the rise of reformed local government and the consequent progressive depoliticization of religion. This was a process, he argues, which in Croydon passed through three overlapping phases.

At the outset, in the 1840s and 1850s, religious and political structures were still closely entwined, and reinforced through sectarian conflict. Local government was provided for in the parochial system, comprising the vestry and a number of specialized boards, which was under the sway of an Anglican and Conservative oligarchy (with a particularly crucial political role for the vicar and the churchwardens), against which a steadily growing Nonconformist and Liberal minority struggled in the 1850s and 1860s, for example over church rates and the management of local charities. Thereafter, in the 1860s, 1870s and 1880s, hope was often pinned in voluntarism, working through a network of religious and philanthropic agencies, to contain the social problems arising from Croydon's rapid urbanization; the prominent role played by the churches in the temperance movement is a classic example of the importance which they attached to a moral solution to society's ills. By the 1880s it was clear that voluntarism could not provide the answer on the scale that was required, with many of the agencies running into financial difficulties, and to the discredit of the churches which had nailed their colours so firmly to its mast. Finally, therefore, beginning with the incorporation of Croydon in 1883, collectivist policies began to gain ground. The Council rapidly became the principal organ of change and influence over the lives of the inhabitants, usurping nearly all the churches' extra-spiritual functions (even in respect of burial grounds, public libraries, and education), and resulting in their marginalization. Simultaneously, the coincidence between municipal leadership and ecclesiastical leadership disappeared; not only was the mayor rather than the vicar the civic figurehead, but councillors and other municipal leaders tended to withdraw from positions of authority in the churches, causing them to suffer a crisis of lay manpower and funding, and leaving clergy and ministers in an increasingly dominant position in shaping ecclesiastical affairs. The 'decline' of the Church is thus depicted, not as the inevitable consequence of underlying secularizing trends associated with urbanization, which eroded its membership and attendance base (that erosion came some years later, in absolute terms), but as the outcome of specific local circumstances of a socio-political nature, which limited the functions and reduced the status of the churches within the borough. It was 'as much as anything a product of the structural relocation of religion away from its assumed supremacy as the central active force in community affairs to a particular role earmarked as "spiritual", decisively separated from other areas of local life'.

This line of argument has heavily influenced the structure of the core section of the book (chapters 5, 6 and 7), which is thematic and chronological. The volume is not arranged along denominational lines, except to an extent in chapters 3 and 4, which set the local ecclesiastical scene, and

which contain accounts of the Church of England, Nonconformity, 'unorthodoxy' and Roman Catholicism, in addition to a methodologically somewhat inadequate discussion of church attendance and membership statistics. In terms of their share of total church attendance, Nonconformity and 'unorthodoxy' made significant progress in Croydon during the second half of the nineteenth century, entirely at the expense of the Anglicans, doubtless as a consequence of the relative growth of the lower middle-class and artisanal population which constituted their natural recruiting-ground; however, Dr Morris makes no attempt to follow the example of other local studies by using marriage register or census data to establish the social class basis of their congregations. Within Nonconformity, Methodism gets no special treatment, despite the fact that the town was the head of a Wesleyan circuit from 1827, divided into two from 1898, and of a Primitive Methodist one from 1849. Such references as there are to Methodism are far more likely to relate to the Primitive Methodists than to the Wesleyans, even though in 1902 the latter were five times as numerous as the former. Some of the apparent omission is made good in two complementary articles by Dr Morris: 'The Nonconformist Experience in Croydon' in *Proceedings of the Croydon Natural History and Scientific Society*. Vol. 18, No. 3, December 1992, and 'The Origins and Growth of Primitive Methodism in East Surrey' in these *Proceedings*, Vol. 48, No. 5, May 1992. In *Religion and Urban Change*, by contrast, the author's real interest lies less in the local ecclesiastical detail than in getting us to consider the merits of a fresh, or at least a largely repackaged, conceptual framework within which to explore the relationship between urbanisation and secularization in Victorian and Edwardian Britain. Although he may not have said the last word on the subject, Dr Morris has certainly done much to determine the future contours of scholarly debate.

CLIVE D. FIELD

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*Companion to the United Methodist Hymnal*, by Carlton R. Young. (Abingdon Press Nashville, 1993, pp940, \$34.95, ISBN 0 687 09260 4)

This large volume is excellent value and should be on the shelves not only of musicologists but also of discerning Methodist readers, for three reasons. First, it is an excellent reference tool supplementing existing works available to the British public, such as the *Companion to Hymns and Psalms*. This book has a very useful opening survey of Christian hymnody, including helpful work on the German hymns and contributions on the World Church elements of the new collection, notably the African, Asian and Hispanic American components. The historical section is particularly well-documented.

Second, the work provides a fascinating insight into the process of creating a hymnal, reflecting the theological tensions within the Church, wrestling with differing views of militaristic and sexist language as well as the imagery of God. Third, it is fun to read, full of the humour and wit of Dr. Young in presenting his material, spiced with parodies of hymnody from the pens of Pratt Green, Brian Wren and others and letters from the

public on the subject of hymns which must not be excluded.

Two minor criticisms, however. I wish that the typography of the book had been improved to differentiate more clearly the texts and the tunes. And why was the section on the Psalter so disappointingly thin? After all, that is one of the more notably different features of the hymnal and deserves more comment.

These points excepted, the *Companion* is worth every dollar - a tribute to the scholarship of Dr. Young and his collaborators in this impressive project.

T. MACQUIBAN

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*Our Chapel* (The North of England Open-air Museum, pp.48, £2.50 or £3.00 by post from the Open-air Museum, Beamish, Co. Durham, DH9 0RG).

In a previous issue of these *Proceedings* (xlviii, p.25) we noted the opening of a re-built Methodist Chapel in the Beamish Open-air Museum in County Durham. *Our Chapel* is the title (apt title!) of an excellently produced brochure to accompany this noteworthy project. Introduced by Peter Lewis (Director of the Museum) and compiled by Lloyd Langley (Social Historian who was responsible for the reconstruction of the chapel) the brochure is profusely illustrated and thus gives a vivid picture of Methodism when it was an influence to be reckoned with in the colliery villages of the county. Some of the chapter headings well indicate the scope and depth of the survey - John Wesley and his influence, Methodists and the Road to Respectability, The Chapel and Sabbath Observance, The Methodist Sunday School, The Social Life of the Methodists, The Work at Home, Foreign Missions, The Temperance Movement, The Role of Women, Politics and the Nonconformist Conscience, The Methodists and Others. Detailed references with each chapter, a list of books for further reading and the acknowledged oversight of Geoffrey Milburn all combine to make this a reliable and very readable essay in local history.

JOHN C. BOWMER

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Barton, D. (Editor) *Hints to trustees of chapel property and chapel keepers' manual* by John Wills. (The Chapels Society 1993 [Reprint of the third edition c. 1884 with an introduction by David Barton] pp.32, Copies £3 from the Editor, Hillcrest, Bent Lane, Darley Hillside, Matlock DE4 2HN.)

Only a small handful of original copies are known of this important work. Its reprinting by the Methodist Publishing House for the Chapels Society is tangible evidence that initiative and modern technology can make short-run publications possible. Frequently we must approach chapel buildings archaeologically, using as best we can, the physical evidence to deduce how and why they were designed and used. Often we admit defeat. No one wrote down what everyone knew but now they are all long dead. Wills was nothing if not practical and his hints and tips give

a contemporary insight into the problems of damp, cleaning, ventilation, warming, lighting, chapel-keeping and acoustics (faith comes by hearing). Tiny congregations struggling to maintain Victorian edifices will be surprised to read that 110 years ago the business of looking after chapel buildings was worse and very laborious. 'There are thousands of buildings going to decay today - especially in villages and small towns'. The implicit answer of course, was to be found in the person of John Wills architect of Derby, who lists the 115 chapels he has built without an echo, to mention just one advantage. The air in some towns is so polluted that windows should not be opened, dry closets should be regularly emptied, the chapel should be at 50 degrees for the morning service and 55 to 58 for the evening, the gas should not be turned down too suddenly for the sermon and chapel keepers should be alert for a look or whisper from an official. These are just some of the practicalities of late Victorian chapel life in Wills's booklet. The original advertisements are from an heroic era when specialist contractors offered a Swiss village or military encampment for bazaars or fancy fairs. Others offered church seats and mission seats (a distinction) and yet other patent warming apparatus. The introduction is a brief picture of Wills as an architect, listing his 150 chapels, the first at Tarvin (1875) and the last at Bishopsteignton (1907).

ROGER F. S. THORNE

## SHORTER NOTICES

*Sources for the History of English Nonconformity 1660-1830* by Michael Mullett. (British Records Association: Archives and the User series No 8, 1991, pp. 116, £6.75. ISBN: 0 900222 09 3)

This is an attempt to survey the records, chiefly archival, of Protestant Nonconformity from the re-establishment of the Church of England to the repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts. After a general introduction, a chapter is devoted to each of the principal Dissenting traditions: Baptists, Independents, Methodists, Presbyterians/Unitarians and Quakers. A number of smaller bodies are covered in a brief final chapter. Mr Mullett does not wholly succeed in the difficult task of characterising Methodist records from Conference down in a mere sixteen pages. At circuit level he does not distinguish between local and travelling preachers and at chapel level he concentrates on trust records at the expense of those generated by the leaders' meeting. Nevertheless, many will be grateful for his summary of the information to be found in District Minute Books and he is well aware of the existence of the non-Wesleyan bodies. It is hard to see the point of the hopelessly skimpy lists of selected deposits which are appended to each chapter.

The book probably tries to do too much. Although far from comprehensive in the range of material surveyed, it is both interesting and informative. The text is enlivened by many short, but well-chosen extracts from

registers and minute books, which convey far more than a general description could do. What a pity there are so many typographical errors!

*Islington Chapels* by Philip Temple. (RCHME, 1992, pp.xi,156, £9.95. ISBN: 1873592 06 X)

This large-format paperback is an architectural guide to Non-conformist and Roman Catholic places of worship in the borough of Islington. It covers the whole range from 'back-street Bethels' to such monuments as the Leysian Mission and Union Chapel. No cut-off date has been applied so that even the most modern buildings are included. The approach is thorough and professional: a seventeen-page introduction is followed by large maps and a gazetteer describing 75 buildings, grouped in postal districts, notes on demolished buildings, a glossary and a very full bibliography. There are many excellent clear illustrations.

Six pages are devoted to Wesley's Chapel, giving an exemplary history of the various improvements and restorations up to 1979. Mr Temple is properly cautious about the identity of the architect. Altogether, these pages form the best architectural account of the chapel now available. The book is beautifully produced and excellent value.

*Religious Dissent in East Anglia* by Norma Virgoe and Tom Williamson (eds). (UEA, Centre of East Anglian Studies, 1993, pp.170, £6.00 post free from the Centre, University of East Anglia, Norwich, NR4 7TJ. ISBN: 0 906219 31 0)

Methodists will find much to interest them in this collection of essays first presented as conference papers in 1991. East Anglia has long been a stronghold of Nonconformity and this is reflected in the variety of approaches and subject matter shown here. While there is an emphasis on buildings and architecture, Alun Howkins gives us an excellent study of chapel culture around 1900 based on Wesleyan and Primitive Methodist sources. Elsewhere we see Methodism in the context of Old Dissent, symbolised by the print of the Octagon Chapel on the cover. 'Mapping Non-conformity in Norfolk' includes the distribution of Wesleyan and Primitive Methodist chapels in 1851 and shows how the Reformers were confined to the north and west of the county.

Other graphs compare Methodist building activity in the nineteenth century with that of Old Dissent. That activity included Lutyens' tiny masterpiece at Overstrand and the Primitive Methodist Temple at Great Yarmouth, both recalled by Christopher Stell in the opening chapter of this stimulating symposium.

E. A. ROSE

## NOTES AND QUERIES

## 1473. TWO CATHOLIC METHODISTS

Whilst reading the papers of John Neville Figgis, C.R. (1866-1919) in the Borthwick Institute in York, I came across a letter written in March 1915 to Dr Walter H. Frere, then Superior of the Community of the Resurrection at Mirfield and subsequently Bishop of Truro. The letter was from William George Peck and William Whitehead, ministers in the Blackburn circuit of the United Methodist Church:

...We are two ministers of the United Methodist denomination who by much reading and reflection have come to feel our need of Catholic communion. We were led to approach Dr Figgis after reading his two books, 'Civilisation at the Crossroads' and 'The Fellowship of the Mystery'. At his recommendation we have recently read Lacey's 'Catholicity'. We know what our hearts want. We have no bitterness towards our own denomination. We are on perfectly friendly terms with our own people, but we find ourselves convinced of the claims of the Catholic Church. Can we be 'Catholic' and Non-conformists? That is our problem and we find it very vexing. It is exceedingly real to us, though most of our fellow-ministers seem to regard it as mere self-hypnotism upon our part.

To enter the Church of England would bring us relief, although we are not so young as to imagine we should find Paradise therein; but to enter the Church of England would be a somewhat difficult matter for us. At least I imagine so - I refer not to difficulties within *us* but in circumstances.

If you could spare time to grant us an interview we should be very grateful. We have no special claims upon you. We can only say that we surely feel the need of guidance. We want to do the right thing - and our present position is difficult enough...

*(Mirfield Deposit (Additional) J.N. Figgis 3. 5/21)*

William Whitehead had been received into Full Connexion in 1910; after leaving Blackburn he served in the Cowling and Preston (Orchard) circuits but returned to the ministry in 1923. He was ordained priest in the Church of England in 1924 and served as Vicar of Holy Trinity, Colne from 1927-40 and as Vicar of Goosnargh with Whittingham from 1940-44.

W.G. Peck had been received into Full Connexion in 1909; after leaving Blackburn he served in the Newcastle-on-Tyne (Sandyford) and Leeds East circuits until resigning from the ministry in 1925. He too was ordained priest in the Church of England and was Rector of St John the Baptist, Hulme, Manchester, from 1929-36. He then became Director of Clergy Schools for the Industrial Christian Fellowship. Before he left Methodism he had written *The Coming Free Catholicism* (1918), *From Chaos to Catholicism* (1920) and *The Value of the Sacrament* (1922). He later wrote a number of books of a devotional nature and about Christian faith and the social order.

ROBERT E. DOLMAN

## 1474. THE SINGERS' PEW

Mr Alan Beith's Note on this subject (1470, *Proceedings* 49, p.139) will bear a little amplification. It is noticeable that the singers' pews to which he refers are all in chapels near the Border. When I was in Scotland some 45 years ago, in Govan and then in Greenock, I met with what were called the 'choir boxes', an arrangement almost the same as Mr Beith describes; they were in front of the pulpit, with the communion table inside and as Mr Beith says, the choir turned to face the congregation for the hymns. At the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, the choir would vacate their seats, which would then be occupied by the stewards who were assisting me in the distribution of the elements; I should take my seat behind the table, facing the congregation.

Mr Beith compares the arrangement to what is found in Welsh chapels where deacons occupy those seats. And that of course gives us the clue to the similar Methodist arrangement either side of the Border. For they are modelled on Scots Presbyterian lines (as is so much of our Scottish Methodism) and the 'choir box' is the Scots' elders' pew, now used for the choir. In Greenock, incidentally, it meant that when the choir occasionally sang an anthem, I could slip down and join the basses if they were short!

OLIVER A. BECKERLEGGE

## 1475. PRIMITIVE METHODIST POSTCARDS

Colin Dews (Note 1469) refers to the postcards produced by the Book Steward for the Primitive Methodist Centenary in 1907. In addition, there were probably a number of privately produced cards. Some may have been reproduced in very limited numbers, while others may simply have been private photographs printed in postcard form, as was the custom of the time. I have a faded sepia postcard which is inscribed by hand 'Rev G. Parkin, MA, BD, preached at No 2 Stand.'. It is dated 27 May 1907 and postmarked 29 May.

In contrast to the 1907 and 1910 Centenary celebrations, few if any souvenirs survive from the Jubilees of 1857 and 1860. The Congleton Circuit resolved to maintain a monopoly on sales at the 1857 Jubilee Camp Meeting but such sales may have been confined to basic provisions. A Jubilee medal was struck in 1860 (illustrated in Kendall) and an example was proudly worn by the late Rev Tom Meadley on appropriate occasions. Obviously long pre-dating postcards, it is just possible that somewhere a forgotten photograph of the 1860 camp meeting may survive.

JOHN ANDERSON

## 1476. A MANUSCRIPT LIFE OF JOSEPH BENSON

J. Alfred Sharp's *Catalogue of Manuscripts and Relics* . . . (1921) lists on p.2 a four-volume manuscript Life of Joseph Benson by his son, the Rev. Samuel Benson. This is also referred to by John Telford, e.g. in the Introduction to his Standard Edition of Wesley's letters (Vol.1 p.xx) and there seems little reason to doubt that he had seen the manuscript. But it cannot now be traced at the Methodist Archives Centre. I would be grateful to hear from anyone who can give me any help in locating it.

MARSH W. JONES

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Gregory Hall, 810 South Wright Street, Urbana, IL 61801, U.S.A.

## 1477. ANN BURTON OF SWANNINGTON

Undoubtedly the most distinguished person to be born in the small village of Swannington in the nineteenth century was the hymn writer the Rev. Dr. Henry Burton (1840-1930) whose obituary in the *Methodist Recorder* begins '... preacher, poet, saint'. He would have been quick to repudiate any claim to sainthood but it was a description which he himself had applied to his own grandmother.

Ann Burton (née Merriman 1770-1832) was born in Shepshed, Leics and after her marriage to James Burton in 1800 lived the rest of her life in Swannington. Henry Burton wrote of her:

My grandmother was a saint of no mean order, who in 1814, founded the first Juvenile Missionary Society in Methodism, and whose life was published under the title, *Cherished Remembrances of a Beloved Mother*.

Could anyone help in tracing this life, probably it was no more than a pamphlet. The author was not necessarily one of her children but their names so far as I have established them were: James, Mary Ann [Marianne, Wardle formerly Kidger], Sarah [Broadbent], Eleanor [Pare], William Gilbert, and Henry.

Any other information would be very welcome. A number of Ann Burton's descendants became Methodist ministers or in the case of the girls married into the ministry. A brass tablet was erected in Swannington Wesleyan chapel c 1910 with the following inscription: 'To the memory of James Burton, who gave the first Wesleyan Methodist Chapel in Swannington, and of Ann Burton, his wife, who in this village formed the first Juvenile Missionary Association in the Wesleyan Methodist Church, this Tablet is erected.'

D.L. HALE

58 Main Street, Swannington, Coalville, Leics, LE67 8QN

## BOOK REVIEW

*John Wesley and the Moravians* by H. McGonigle. (Wesley Fellowship Occasional Paper no. 8, 1993, pp32, £2.25 incl. postage ISBN: 0 86071 422 5)

The importance of John Wesley and the importance of the Moravians in his development continue to ensure that their relationship receives extensive treatment both in general works about Wesley and the Moravians and in specific studies (including my own in these *Proceedings* and elsewhere). However, many of these studies are lengthy, detailed, out of print or otherwise not readily accessible to the general reader. Dr McGonigle and the Wesley Fellowship have performed a useful service in producing this modestly-priced 32-page booklet.

Inevitably, the survey is selective. There are, too, a number of points of detail at which one might quibble. Some are significant, such as the description of both Peter Böhler (e.g. on p.13) and the 1740 Fetter Lane extremists (e.g. on p.16) as 'English Moravians' (the former was not English and the latter were not Moravians). Most, such as the location of Moravia 'on the western side of what is now Czechoslovakia and on its borders with Germany' (p.4) or the assertion that *Unitas Fratrum* was 'a new designation evolved' (p.5) for the *Jednota Bratrská* (rather than simply the same name in Latin), are of little import. To mention them all would be tedious. An evangelical gloss can occasionally be detected, but only in one statement – 'It was from England that evangelical truth reached Bohemia' (p.4) – do Dr McGonigle's loyalties get the better of his objectivity.

These are merely quibbles, however. Dr McGonigle's booklet is a well-written and useful survey, based on a careful reading of the most significant printed sources, primary and secondary. He is at his best, and has insights to offer, when expounding the theological differences between Wesley and Zinzendorf. The booklet is nicely produced, and the text is fully, yet concisely, annotated.

C. J. PODMORE

## LOCAL HISTORIES

*Hoghton Methodist Church, Lancashire bicentenary handbook 1794-1994* (20pp) Copies, price £2.25 post free, from Mrs D. Malley, 43 Chapel Lane, Hoghton, Preston, Lancs, PR5 0RY.

*Bodmin Methodist Society 1769-1828* by Colin Podmore. Copies, £1.20 post free, from the author at 11 Sandra Way, Bodmin, Cornwall, PL31 2PP.

*Methodism in Belper* by George Barrass (93pp). copies, £3.50 post free from the author at 26 The Fleet, Belper, Derbyshire DE5 1NU.

*Methodism in Carlisle*, a commemoration of 70 years of . . . Central Methodist Church (36pp). Copies, £2.25 post free, from Mrs T. Dixon, 47 Eldred Street, Carlisle, CA1 2AS.

*A Greater Wonder: a history of Methodism in Barwick* by Arthur Bantoft (iv, 45pp). Copies, £3.25 post free, from the author at 541 Leeds Road, Scholes, Leeds LS15 4DN.

*A History of Methodism in Chard* by Roger F. S. Thorne (22ppA4). 1994. Copies, price £1.60 post free, from the author at 31 St Mary's Park, Ottery St Mary, Devon, EX11 1JA.

## THE ANNUAL LECTURE

Will be delivered in the  
 Convent of the Little Sisters of the Poor  
 (formerly Wesley College), Headingley, Leeds  
 on  
 Monday, 27 June 1994 at 7.30 p.m.  
 by  
**Professor David Hempton PhD**

'Motives, Methods and Margins in Methodism's Age of Expansion'

Chairman: Dr Edward Royle MA.

The Lecture will be preceded by TEA\* for members at 5 p.m.  
 and the Annual Meeting at 6 p.m.

*\* Please notify the General Secretary of your intention to be present*

**Travel Directions:** The Convent is set back on the east side of Headingley Lane about two miles from the city centre. It is close to St Michael's Parish Church and nearly opposite the former Christian Science Church now used by Leeds Girls' High School. Headingley Lane forms the A660 from Leeds to Otley. Car access is via North Grange Road (*not* the main drive) and there is adequate parking.

Headingley Lane is well served by public transport, and the following buses all start at the Central Bus Station and stop in Albion Street opposite the St John's Centre: Nos 1, 1B, 28, 92, 780, 782, 783, and 784. It should be noted that bus routes and services may be changed at short notice.