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Primitive Parliamentarians, the Great War, and its Aftermath

Pronouncedly Pacifist?

In 1919, the Primitive Methodist historian H. B. Kendall claimed that, before the Great War, ‘Primitive Methodists had come to be probably the most pronouncedly Pacifist [sic] denomination in the land save the Society of Friends.’¹ Writing in 1932, as Primitive Methodism was subsumed within the newly created Methodist Church, B. Aquila Barber repeated the claim.² Yet over 150,000 Primitive Methodists served in the armed forces during the Great War, including several thousand as army chaplains. Tortuously, Kendall defended and praised the ‘sacrifice’ of those who served in what he compared to a ‘crusade’, while simultaneously attempting to show how the Church had maintained a pacifist tradition by defending individual conscience and endorsing the prevention and replacement of war by international arbitration.³ By contrast, Michael Hughes has recently suggested that, rather than being a ‘peace church’ as Kendall proposed, the Connexion was one in which a ‘commitment to peace loomed large’.⁴ From 1915 to 1918, Primitive Methodist Annual Conferences consistently supported the war against Prussianism but opposed conscription, and defended the rights of conscientious objectors. Some members of the Connexion even argued for a negotiated peace but only a small minority, over a hundred individuals, endured imprisonment as conscientious objectors.⁵ The Church is more appropriately described as pacifistic, rather than pacifist. Pacifism, as opposed to pacifism, ‘sees the prevention of war as its main duty and accepts that, however upsetting to the purist’s conscience, the controlled use of armed force may be necessary to achieve this’.⁶

This essay offers an insight into individual Primitive Methodists’ responses to the Great War by investigating the attitudes and actions of Church members who sat in the House of Commons during or after the war. Most were lay preachers or Church officials. All were either Liberal or Labour MPs and many of these Primitive Parliamentarians were also trade union leaders.

¹ H. B. Kendall, *History of the Primitive Methodist Church* (London: Primitive Methodist Publishing House, 1919), p. 163.

² B. Aquila Barber, *A Methodist Pageant: A Souvenir of the Primitive Methodist Church* (London: Holborn Publishing, 1932), pp. 264-5.

³ Kendall, *History of the Primitive Methodist Church*, pp. 164-70.

⁴ Michael Hughes, ‘Dilemmas of the Nonconformist Conscience: Attitudes towards War and Peace within Primitive Methodism’, *Wesley and Methodist Studies*, vol. 5 (2013), pp. 75-96.

⁵ Michael Hughes, *Conscience and Conflict: Methodism, Peace and War in the Twentieth Century* (Peterborough: Epworth, 2008); ‘The Development of Methodist Pacifism’, *Proceedings of the Wesley Historical Society*, vol. 53 (October, 2002), pp. 203–215; Alan Wilkinson, *Dissent or Conform? War, Peace and the English Churches: 1900-1945* (London: SCM Press, 1986), pp. 29-42; 90.

⁶ Martin Ceadel, *Pacifism in Britain: 1914-45* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1980), p. 5.

A Stormy Petrel: Jim Simmons

J. M. Turner suggested that Charles James Simmons (better known as Jim), a Labour MP from 1929-31 and 1945-59, was typical of Primitive Methodism with its 'Quaker-like style, a concern for social righteousness and social justice'.⁷ Simmons certainly personified Primitive Methodism's conflicted and conflicting responses to the First World War, even if his actions were more dramatic than most of his co-religionists. Like Siegfried Sassoon, he attained notoriety for his public protest against the war while in uniform. Unlike the poet, this rank-and-file 'stormy petrel', as fellow Labour politicians described Simmons, has not remained in the public consciousness.⁸ His parents were committed Primitive Methodists and Liberals, and Simmons sustained their religious commitment by becoming a lay preacher when a teenager. However, in 1909, aged sixteen, disillusioned with the Liberals, he joined the Independent Labour Party (ILP): an organization whose ethical socialism he considered compatible with the 'warm, human and inspiring' spirit of Christianity. During this period, he heard George Lansbury speak and regarded the Labour MP and pacifist as a formative influence. However, Robert Blatchford, editor of the socialist paper *The Clarion* - an atheist, patriot, and former soldier - was a parallel but contradictory inspiration. Despite regarding himself as a pacifist, for the whole of his political career Simmons was engaged in a complex 'Mental Fight' regarding his attitude to war and peace.

In January 1911, persuaded by Blatchford's writings, he enlisted in the Worcester Regiment, Fifth (Special Reserve) Battalion. Immediately after the First World War began, he volunteered for overseas service and was serving in France by January 1915.⁹ However, reading ILP literature that questioned the justness of the war challenged Simmons' initial patriotic zeal: his 'mind was in a ferment' about 'the origin . . . and "righteous" nature of the struggle'.¹⁰ However, he did not try to extricate himself from the army, as he confided in his diary:

I am off to the front, and in a way I am glad for though I have come to oppose all war I am no coward and wish to prove it, I am coming back to fight a greater and nobler battle . . . for Humanity, Justice and Freedom. I am coming back, God willing, to win my way as a man who fears no convention, accepts Christ as my personal saviour but looks with disdain on the earthly church.¹¹

⁷ J. M. Turner, 'Methodism in England: 1900-1932', in Rupert Davies, Raymond George and Gordon Rupp (eds), *A History of the Methodist Church in Great Britain* (London: Epworth Press, 1983), p.332.

⁸ Jim Simmons, *Soapbox Evangelist* (Chichester: Janay Publishing Company, 1972), p. 51; Caedel, *Pacifism in Britain*, pp. 58-9.

⁹ Simmons, *Soapbox Evangelist*, pp. 2-4, 11-13 and 19-20. For Simmons' army service, see also: Public Record Office, World War One Soldiers' Documents, WO 363, 0091. Simmons' own description of his military service has been checked against the latter.

¹⁰ Simmons, *Soapbox Evangelist*, p. 21.

¹¹ *ibid.*, p. 22.

Simmons' confession reflected the havoc and confusion that the war created among Primitive Methodists, although he was travelling in the opposite direction to his Church. At its conferences of 1913 and 1914, this Church made impassioned cries for a reduction of government expenditure on armaments and a greater emphasis on social reform.¹² In 1914, delegates protested against the contemporary arms race:

The spirit underlying this is utterly sordid, and war scares are manufactured by the great syndicates whose only object is to add to their already swollen dividends. These huge commercial trusts are amongst the direct foes of the Christian gospel, and of the social progress of nations . . . this Conference views with dismay the ever increasing expenditure on armaments, and regards this as not only a menace to the world's peace but as a waste of public money which ought to be spent on Social Reform long overdue.¹³

Unsurprisingly, the outbreak of war later that year tested the Church's pacific spirit as much as it strained Simmons' allegiances. In June 1915, a former President of Conference reflected on how Primitive Methodists had 'heard [and responded to] the call of the nation'. Primitive Methodist beliefs were 'averse to war', but its young men had enlisted to fight 'for the right' despite 'hating war'. For the first time, there were Primitive Methodist army chaplains, an innovation welcomed by the Church as a demonstration of its assimilation into the mainstream of national life. However, he hoped that this conflict would remind humanity of 'the unrelieved evils of war' and prevent repetition.¹⁴ Conference believed that the war was just and necessary because 'the brutal arrogance and lawless ambition of a military caste, and a materialistic philosophy', had left the British little opportunity to avoid a fight. Delegates abhorred Germany's treatment of Belgium, the killing of civilians and the use of poison gas. The large number of Primitive Methodist volunteers, enlisting because of their devotion to the Empire and desire to defend the weak and oppressed, demonstrated that there was no need for conscription.¹⁵ Simmons' own sense of duty and subsequent actions exhibited a greater complexity of loyalties.¹⁶

On 17 March 1915, shrapnel hit Simmons in the left thigh. In May, following hospital treatment, he returned to his unit in time to take part in a failed attack on German lines at Richbourg. Following his unit's repulse, Simmons found himself trapped in 'no-man's land' for over five days. Until he could crawl to the safety of British lines, he ate raw turnips found in shell holes and drank sparingly from his water bottle. He consoled himself by reading the New Testament that he always carried with him. Unsurprisingly, following this ordeal, Simmons suffered from

¹² *Primitive Methodist Conference Minutes (PMCM)*, (1913), p. 251; (1914), pp. 9 & 245.

¹³ *ibid.*, (1914), p. 245.

¹⁴ *ibid.*, (1915), pp. 4-6.

¹⁵ *ibid.*, (1915), pp. 244 & 250.

¹⁶ Wilkinson, *Dissent*, pp. 29-38.

debility and rheumatism and returned to England for rest and recuperation.¹⁷ During his rehabilitation in Stacksteads, Lancashire, he preached to the boys and men's classes of a Baptist chapel, speaking against the war and arguing for a negotiated peace. When one member of the congregation rose to move a vote of thanks, a prominent member of the congregation interrupted: 'There will be no vote of thanks, this young man has dared to desecrate this house of God by suggesting we make peace before the Germans are utterly destroyed.'¹⁸ Despite increasing disillusionment with the war, Simmons re-joined his Battalion to serve in Gallipoli and Egypt. In Suez, he organized rank-and-file discussion groups, at which agenda items included the causes of the war and appropriate terms for a just peace. His officers also suspected Simmons of encouraging others to refuse an order to participate in a training march, one scheduled during the heat of the day and in full kit. Furthermore, he had written an anti-conscription letter to a Birmingham city councillor, intercepted by the censors. Unsurprisingly, his superiors considered Simmons a threat to army discipline and transferred him to the Western Front.¹⁹

In May 1916, during 'the shambles of Vimy Ridge', Simmons was wounded again. This time a bullet shattered his ankle and then lodged in the sole of his foot, ensuring his return to 'Blighty'. By December of that year, complications with the wound required the amputation of the lower third of his leg.²⁰ During 1917, still in uniform, he was an active participant in ILP agitation for a negotiated peace. In the wake of the Russian revolution of February 1917, a socialist movement conference was held in Leeds during June; delegates promoted the establishment of workers and soldiers' councils, sometimes referred to as soviets.²¹ The conference resolved to work for a negotiated 'peace without annexations or indemnities and based on the rights of nations to decide their own affairs . . .'²² The ILP asked Simmons to arrange a similar conference in Birmingham, but an injunction issued under the Defence of the Realm Act prevented this from taking place. For the next four months, Simmons campaigned for peace; wearing his army uniform and balancing precariously on his one remaining leg, he denounced the war, profiteers, munitions manufacturers, and politicians who refused to consider a negotiated peace. He considered that he had 'a special duty to speak for my inarticulate comrades who were still risking life and limb on the battlefield'.²³ Consequently, in September 1917, Simmons faced arrest, imprisonment in Chester Castle and the threat of court-martial. In prison he prepared a speech for his defence, which closed with a quotation from Edmund Burke: 'It is not what a lawyer tells me I may do but what Humanity, Reason and Justice tell me I OUGHT to do'.²⁴

¹⁷ Simmons, *Soapbox Evangelist*, pp. 22-23.

¹⁸ *ibid.*, p. 23.

¹⁹ *ibid.*, pp. 24-26

²⁰ *ibid.*, p. 27.

²¹ *ibid.*, p. 29; *Dictionary of Labour Biography*, vol. XIII, p. 340.

²² Carl Fremont Brand, *British Labours' Rise to Power* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1941), p. 94.

²³ Simmons, *Soapbox Evangelist*, pp. 29-30.

²⁴ *ibid.*, pp. 31-3.

This particular oration, unlikely to influence a military tribunal, was never delivered as Ramsay MacDonald had successfully campaigned for his release, which the army finalized by discharging him in November 1917.

Continuing his anti-war campaign as 'Ex-Private Simmons', he enlightened audiences about the cruelties of the army's Field Punishment No. 1: commonly referred to as 'crucifixion' because the victim was fixed in a similar position.²⁵ One historian described this punishment as 'a particularly poignant reminder of their faith' to Christian conscientious objectors or war resisters such as Simmons, almost a sacrilegious act that confirmed them in their opposition to the war and militarism.²⁶ Re-arrested in March 1918, and charged with contravening the Defence of the Realm Act on four counts, a court sentenced Simmons to three months hard labour in Armley Gaol. During his incarceration, he picked oakum and sewed mailbags, monotonous tasks relieved by reading the prison Bible through twice and Weymouth's translation of the New Testament several times. Following his release, the ILP employed him as a local organizer; as part of his duties, Simmons represented conscientious objectors at military tribunals. He was also a prominent activist in the National Union of Ex-Servicemen (NUX), a socialist organization formed to defend veterans' rights. Members of this organization initially feared that the British Legion was a cat's paw for the government and did not trust it to defend working class interests. The NUX claimed a membership of almost 100,000 at its peak during 1920, after which it merged with the British Legion, the latter no longer viewed suspiciously as a right wing organization.²⁷ Thomas Cape, the Primitive Methodist MP for Workington from 1918-45, took up the cause of the NUX in Parliament. On three occasions during 1919, he argued unsuccessfully with Winston Churchill for its inclusion on the committee appointed to disburse the United Services Fund.²⁸ Similarly he expressed concern in the House of Commons regarding Earl Haig's appeal for ex-servicemen to 'stand united' against a threatened miners' strike in 1920.²⁹ Cape, along with the majority of Primitive Methodist MPs, was a trade union official – as were the vast majority of Primitive Methodist MPs during the period between 1885 and 1932.

Not so bound to the abstract idea of pacifism

Simmons' protest in uniform was unique among those Primitive Methodists who were Members of Parliament during and after the Great War. However, a minority of other Primitive Parliamentarians campaigned against the war or its continuation: Ben Spoor, who represented Bishop Auckland from 1918 to 1928, Alfred Hill, Leicester West's

²⁵ *ibid.*, pp. 33-4.

²⁶ Lois S. Bibbings, *Telling Tales About Men: Conceptions of Conscientious Objectors to Military Service During the First World War* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2009), p. 210.

²⁷ Simmons, *Soapbox Evangelist*, pp. 35-44; David Englander, 'The National Union of Ex-Servicemen and the Labour Movement, 1918-1920', *History*, vol. 76, no. 246 (February, 1991), pp. 24-42.

²⁸ *Hansard*, HC Deb 28 October 1919 vol. 120 c466; 25 November 1919 vol. 121 cc1611-2; 02 December 1919 vol. 122 c202.

²⁹ *ibid.*, HC Deb 25 October 1920 vol. 133 c1307; *Grey River Argus*, 19 October, 1920, p. 3.

MP from 1922 to 1923 and Tom Richardson, MP for Whitehaven from 1910 to 1918. In a 1925 history of the Labour Party, Ben Spoor was described as ‘by conviction a Pacifist, but he was not so bound to the abstract idea of pacifism as to refuse his services when he could be devoted to the real service of his fellow men’.³⁰ From May 1916, Spoor gave succour to those in uniform by running the YMCA facilities for troops stationed in Salonika - a service for which he was awarded and accepted the OBE in 1918. However, General Croft MP questioned the appropriateness of this award in Parliament; his objection was that, before his war service, Spoor had spoken at a meeting of the Union of Democratic Control, an organization Croft considered disloyal.³¹ In fact, rather than encouraging outright and conscientious objection to war, the Union was an organization that believed the war was the result of the secret international diplomacy that had preceded it; consequently, its members promoted an honourable and negotiated peace that would avoid humiliating any of the combatant nations.³² In 1920, then an MP, Spoor unashamedly but unsuccessfully nominated the Union for the Nobel Peace Prize.³³ After the Armistice, he argued for the establishment of a League of Nations and a fair peace with Germany, denouncing the Versailles Treaty as ‘a breach of faith’ with that nation.³⁴ During the 1920s, Spoor continued to support the peace movement, acting as part-time secretary of the National Peace Council, subscribing to the No More War Movement and its promotion of international demonstrations.³⁵

Alfred Hill, a lay preacher and prominent member of a local peace society, was so opposed to the war that he took part in a demonstration against it on the first Sunday in August 1914. He declared:

I am very proud that on the occasion of the South African war, the forces of Labour protested against it. I trust that at this time we will not be the only body to sound the chords of peace. I want the workers to know that you have nothing to gain by the war, but everything to lose. The whole world should be one great brotherhood and the nations of the world should refuse to lift a hand against their brother man. Workers should refuse to take a step that would lead to death and destruction, unless they felt that step they were taking should assist the class to which they belonged. It is when the workers of the world realise that spirit of brotherhood then war will be impossible.

³⁰ Herbert Tracey (ed.), *The Book of the Labour Party: Its History, Growth, Policy, and Leaders*, vol. III (London: Caxton, c. 1925), p. 269.

³¹ *Hansard*, HC Deb 23 July 1918 vol. 108 cc1660-1W.

³² Marvin Swartz, *The Union of Democratic Control in British Politics During the First World War* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1971), pp. 25, 66-82.

³³ <http://www.nobelprize.org/nomination/peace/nomination.php?action=show&showid=1181>.

³⁴ *The Times*, May 22, 1919, p. 14. Also, see *Hansard*, HC Deb 20 April 1921 vol. 140 cc1907-71.

³⁵ Martin Caedel, *Semi-Detached Idealists: The British Peace Movement and International Relations, 1854-1945* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), pp. 249 & 260; *Maoriland Worker*, vol. 12, no. 275, 31 May, 1922, p. 6.

Despite using his considerable oratorical talents in the cause of peace, Hill faced abuse for his unpopular stance.³⁶ Similarly, Thomas Richardson spoke on public platforms against the war and in favour of a negotiated peace. On at least one occasion, he was stoned and forced to flee from angry crowds for daring to exercise his rights to free speech. In Parliament, together with Barnet Kenyon, the Primitive Methodist MP for Chesterfield from 1913 until 1929, Richardson voted against the Military Services Bill of 1916, which introduced conscription. However, Charles Fenwick, and John Wilkinson Taylor – two Primitive Methodist MPs representing north-eastern constituencies – voted for the measure, against their Church’s official opposition to conscription. Fenwick’s support would appear to be out of character for a long-time advocate of international arbitration to prevent war. However, his membership of the Parliamentary Committee established to advise the tribunals that heard appeals against conscription, may suggest that he wished to ensure these bodies observed the right to conscientious objection. He had certainly expressed his opposition to enforced military service in the past.³⁷ Despite differences of opinion within the Church, Conference continued to oppose conscription for the duration of the war and upheld the rights of conscientious objectors, requesting that government ensured the fairness of tribunals.³⁸ Richardson consistently supported the rights of conscientious objectors – speaking on behalf of individual COs six times during 1916 alone. He was also concerned at wartime restrictions of civil liberty, most obviously manifested in police confiscation of Independent Labour Party literature. His anti-war, campaigning was unpopular with constituents and, consequently, he lost his seat in the 1918 election. A disappointed man, he lived in Canada for some years after the war.³⁹

Perhaps Barnet Kenyon is the Primitive Methodist MP whose response to the war was most congruent with the Church’s policies. Despite voting against conscription during early readings of the Military Services Bill, it may be significant that he was absent for the final vote as he was assisting simultaneously in the government’s recruitment drive. He reported to the *Aldersgate Magazine* that he had received reassurances that conscientious objectors would receive fair treatment. Notwithstanding his recruitment activities, he was the first MP to raise the issue of underage boys enlisting in the army, making this the subject of his maiden speech. Utilising his trade union credentials, he also toured the country encouraging munitions’ workers to greater efforts. He took great pride in addressing over 150,000 of these war workers during the course of the conflict. After the Armistice, he took up

³⁶ *Leicester Pioneer*, 27 June 1924; Ned Newitt, *A People’s History of Leicester* (Derby: Breedon Books, 2008), p. 105.

³⁷ *Dictionary of Labour Biography*, vol. IV, p. 147; *Hansard*, HC Deb 21 April 1887 vol. 313 c1404; 12 January 1916 vol. 77 cc1617-740; 15 November 1916 vol. 87 cc760-1; Howard Evans, *Sir Randall Cremer: His Life and Work* (London: Fisher Unwin, 1909), pp. 136-7.

³⁸ *PMCM*, (1916), pp. 222-4; A. S. Peake, *Prisoners of Hope* (London: Allen and Unwin, 1918), pp. 125-7.

³⁹ *Hansard*, HC Deb, 21 August 1916 vol. 85 cc2256-7; 24 October 1916 vol. 86 c926, 2; November 1916 vol. 86 cc1843-4W; 30 November 1916 vol. 88 cc500-1W; 14 December 1916 vol. 88 cc888-9W; 31 December 1916 vol. 88 cc1592-4; *The Times*, December 6, 1918, p. 10; John W. Graham, *Conscription and Conscience: A History, 1916-19* (London: Allen and Unwin, 1922), p. 59.

the cause of disabled soldiers who had difficulties in claiming war pensions.⁴⁰ Kenyon's direct support for the war, coupled with protection of conscientious objectors, was typical of other Primitive Parliamentarians. John Cairns, Morpeth's MP from 1918 to 1923, received an MBE for his recruitment work but he also supported the release and re-employment of conscientious objectors after the war.⁴¹ He was not alone in receiving official recognition for his war efforts. Vernon Hartshorn, who sat for Omore from 1918 to 1931, co-operated fully with the government in maintaining industrial peace for the duration despite opposition from more militant union colleagues. His loyalty earned him an OBE in 1918.⁴² Similarly, Frederick Caesar Linfield, a former Vice-President of Conference and Mid-Bedfordshire's MP from 1922-24, received an MBE for his contributions to the work of the Ministry of Munitions' Invention Department. However, he later became active in the National Council for the Prevention of War.⁴³ Perhaps, like George Edwards, the Primitive Methodist agricultural trade unionist and MP for Norfolk South from 1920 to 1924, his attitude to war changed. As described in his autobiography, *From Crow Scaring to Parliament*, in 1914 he felt that, 'like most other Labour leaders, that according to the information I had at my disposal [my emphasis], we had no other alternative but to enter the war'.⁴⁴ He spoke at recruiting meetings in the belief that the real enemy was the militaristic spirit manifested in the German state. In order to defend the interests of his class, he served on tribunals set up under the Military Services Act but found the task distasteful. This experience changed his perspective and he became confirmed in the view that 'force was no remedy'.⁴⁵

In 1918, Conference stated its support for this 'righteous' war, praised its members who were fighting for a just peace rather than 'national aggrandisement', repudiated militarism and hoped that a League of Nations would be established after the war to prevent any recurrence of the brutal conflict that was nearing its end. Delegates beseeched the government to look after returning maimed and wounded soldiers and appealed for the just treatment of conscientious objectors.⁴⁶ In accord with this, William Lunn, MP for Rothwell from 1918-42, promoted the League, argued against any further foreign wars and supported the interests of troops awaiting demobilisation or those already returned to civilian life. Like Spoor, he championed the Union of Democratic Control and pleaded the cases of conscientious objectors who were still

⁴⁰ *Aldersgate Magazine*, (1920), p. 103; *Dictionary of Labour Biography*, vol. I, pp. 208-9; *Hansard*, HC Deb 22 June 1915 vol. 72 cc1043-4.

⁴¹ *Aldersgate* (1920), pp. 187-9; *Hansard*, HC Deb 05 May 1919 vol. 115 cc598-9W; 15 May 1919 vol. 115 c1760; 5 June 1919 vol. 116 cc2257-8W; 30 October 1919 vol. 120 cc903-4W.

⁴² *Dictionary of Labour Biography*, vol. I, p. 151; *The Spectator*, March 22, 1919; W. L. Cook, 'Hartshorn, Vernon (1872-1931)', rev. Robert Ingham, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004).

⁴³ *The Times*, July 17, 1928, p. 16; *West Sussex Gazette*, June 1939, quoted in the Linfield's family history magazine, *Longshot*, vol. 11, no. 2, December 2005.

⁴⁴ George Edwards, *From Crow Scaring to Westminster: An Autobiography* (London: The Labour Publishing Company, 1922), p. 190.

⁴⁵ *ibid.*, pp. 191-2.

⁴⁶ *PMCM*, (1918), pp. 3, 194, 201-4.

imprisoned. Lunn used his parliamentary position to raise issues regarding the involvement of British troops in Russia, sent there after the Armistice with Germany to fight against the embryonic USSR.⁴⁷ Alfred Waterson, the first Co-operative Party MP, was another Primitive Methodist to protest at this new military entanglement. Soldiers serving in Russia were all, supposedly, volunteers but there were many clear cases of British troops there under duress.⁴⁸ However, Waterson's most vociferous parliamentary interventions were his regular criticisms of the role of the Black and Tans and their vicious campaign to subjugate the nationalist movement in Ireland.⁴⁹ He argued that force was no solution: 'You may crush the nation by sword, gun or cannon, but the problem will yet have to be solved'.⁵⁰ Waterson attributed his political attitudes to 'the teachings of the Carpenter of Nazareth'.⁵¹ As Arthur Richardson, an MP from 1906-10 and 1917-18 claimed, stressing the symbiotic nature of his political and religious beliefs: 'PM made me an MP'.⁵²

On the home front, while not disregarding wartime problems such as profiteering, Arthur Richardson and Samuel Finney, an MP from 1916 to 1922, were most voluble in the pursuit of those traditional shibboleths of Primitive Methodism: gambling and temperance. Richardson was concerned at the introduction of premium bonds and the increased wartime propensity of women to drink alcohol, and Finney advocated absolute prohibition on the French and Russian model, pleading wartime shortages of foodstuff as a justification for such an unpopular move.⁵³ Lunn proposed the taxing of brewers' excessive profits - essentially as war profiteering.⁵⁴ By contrast, one of their co-religionists expressed concern at the reduction of beer supplies, Waterson, made his maiden speech on the issue, expressing 'the indignation and unrest to which the continuance of a reduced supply is everywhere giving rise'.⁵⁵ As John Day Thompson, ex-President of Conference recognized in 1916, the war was changing social mores, even those of Primitive Methodists. Its own soldier members would be less 'tape-bound and unconventional', a tendency apparent before the war but that would be more marked after their military service.⁵⁶ A noteworthy demonstration of this was

⁴⁷ *Aldersgate*, (1920), p. 426. Lunn's Parliamentary speeches for 1919 and 1920 were so numerous that readers are directed to the online Hansard for examples. <http://hansard.millbanksystems.com/people/mr-william-lunn/> (accessed on 13/7/13).

⁴⁸ *Hansard*, HC Deb 01 July 1919 vol. 117 cc755-6; 10 July 1919 vol. 117 cc2029-30W, cc2033-4W and c2039W; 10 December 1919 vol. 122 c1331W; 18 December 1919 vol. 123 cc687-9W.

⁴⁹ *Dictionary of Labour Biography*, vol. XII, p. 295.

⁵⁰ *Hansard*, HC Deb 20 October 1920 vol. 133 cc925-1039.

⁵¹ *Aldersgate*, (1920), p. 779.

⁵² Arthur Richardson quoted in W. T. Stead, 'The Labour Party and the Books that Helped to Make It', *Review of Reviews* (1906), p. 579.

⁵³ *Hansard*, HC Deb 6 August 1918 vol. 109 cc1236-81; 21 March 1918 vol. 104 cc1137-8; 22 March 1917 vol. 91 c2052; 05 June 1917 vol. 94 c32W; 27 June 1917 vol. 95 cc368-9; 28 June 1917 vol. 95 cc501-2.

⁵⁴ *ibid.*, 26 March 1919 vol. 114 c421W.

⁵⁵ *ibid.*, 14 February 1919 vol. 112 c443.

⁵⁶ *PMCM* (1916), p. 10.

Ben Spoor's well publicized alcoholism, which resulted in his prosecution for drunk-driving and, ultimately, his death from an alcohol related illness in 1929.⁵⁷

Into the Nuclear Age with the Stormy Petrel

Soon after his election to Parliament in 1929, Jim Simmons spoke out against the ubiquitous military displays associated with Armistice Day Services, suggesting that ex-servicemen regarded this overt militarism as an 'insult'.⁵⁸ In March 1930, he argued that those MPs who insisted that winning the armaments race deterred rather than stimulated military aggression - the contemporary equivalent of the mutually assured destruction proposition - were:

still living in the light of the Old Testament idea of 'An eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth', but some of us on these benches are living in the light of the New Testament, living in the light of the Nazarene, and we want to try to bring that spirit into this country. I say that a disarmed nation would be the safest nation in the face of war. It would be the safest nation because it could offer no provocation; there could be no aggression, either committed or contemplated. It would be impossible to stir up the war fever in an enemy country against a disarmed country; they could not use a disarmed country to incite fear among the people, that fear which is so necessary to rouse the war passions and to keep the fires of war burning.⁵⁹

For Simmons, his religious and political convictions were synonymous. Out of office from 1931 to 1945, he was equally critical of the government for its re-armament policy, failure to support republican Spain and appeasement of Hitler.⁶⁰ During the Second World War, two of his sons were conscientious objectors while two others served in the forces. He asserted, seemingly paradoxically, that he was equally proud of them all.⁶¹ Returning to Parliament in 1945, as a junior minister for pensions he defended the rights of ex-servicemen, ensuring disabled soldiers of all ranks and army widows received financial assistance.⁶²

Long after Methodist Union, Simmons still considered himself an 'old Primitive Methodist' and, although his response to war had been more dramatic than other Primitive Parliamentarians, he shared their propensity be 'not so bound to the abstract notion of pacifism'.⁶³ His complex, sometimes contradictory and inconsistent attitude to war and the armed forces reflects that of Primitive Methodism itself. In one of his final parliamentary speeches, Simmons articulated a pacifist position for a nuclear age and, perhaps, justified J. M. Turner's claim that he was 'typical of Primitive

⁵⁷ 'Mr Ben Spoor Fined: Drunkenness in charge of a motor-car', *Manchester Guardian*, August 5, 1927, p.3 and 'Inquest on Ben Spoor', *The Times*, December 27, 1927, p. 8.

⁵⁸ *Hansard*, HC Deb 23 July 1929 vol. 230 cc1072-3.

⁵⁹ *ibid.*, HC Deb 18 March 1930 vol. 236 cc2050-2.

⁶⁰ Simmons, *Soapbox Evangelist*, pp. 98.

⁶¹ *ibid.*, p. 151.

⁶² See <http://hansard.millbanksystems.com/people/mr-charles-simmons/1949> for examples.

⁶³ Simmons, *Soapbox Evangelist*, p. 172.

Methodism' and its traditions - combining a respect for individual conscience with a pragmatic, shifting and mutable approach to national defence but one that reflected its desire to prevent war:

Finally, I believe that it would be a disaster if the methods of nuclear war made our Army too weak and ineffective to do the normal job of an Army - if the soldier of the line became defunct. The deterrent is the deterrent only as long as it is held in reserve, held as a very last resort. If we so weaken our striking power in conventional warfare after making it clear that we intend to rely entirely on the deterrent the potential enemy will know that we actually have no deterrent at all. A border incident or the defence of the status quo in Berlin would, in these circumstances, lead to nuclear war straight away. Personally, I have not much faith in the nuclear deterrent in the hands of several nations. In my humble opinion, it is an effective deterrent only if it is within the control of a supranational authority, and I should like to see negotiations begun between all the nations which now have the nuclear weapon to see whether it could be handed over entirely to the control and authority of the United Nations. The threat of its use without the possibility of its counter-use by the aggressor is, in my opinion, the only effective way of deterring the aggressor without destroying civilisation.⁶⁴

MEL JOHNSON

NOTES AND QUERIES

1600: CHARLES BELL (1846-99)

I am starting to investigate the career of the Wesleyan architect Charles Bell. Born in Grantham, he practised in London from 1870, and was responsible for a wide range of public buildings in many parts of the country, including 'over 60 Wesleyan chapels', according to his obituaries. Epworth, Gloucester, Leicester, York, Oxford and many London churches were among his commissions. He was also a representative to Conference, and a member of the Connexional Temperance Committee. Any information about his life and work would be gratefully received.

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⁶⁴ *Hansard*, 3 March 1959 vol. 601 cc391-2. Also see HC Deb, 30 November 1954, col. 54.

The Micro-calligraphic portrait of John Wesley

Louis Rosenthal Gluck, a Prussian Jew who immigrated to Great Britain in 1836, produced a unique portrait of John Wesley in the mid nineteenth century. The technique Gluck used was the thousand year old Jewish calligram art form which is ‘a word or piece of text in which the design and layout of the letters creates a visual image related to the meaning of the words themselves’.¹ Mrs Anna Melissa Onstott (née Long) (1869-1944), the historian of John Street Methodist (UMC) Church, New York, in 1932,² wrote an article in these *Proceedings* entitled: ‘A script picture of John Wesley’.³ The article reviewed the micro-calligraphic art form, included some biographical notes on Louis Rosenthal Gluck, some comments on the style of the portrait, and some of the differences between the original version and the William Milner re-issue of the portrait.

Micrography

Micrography is defined in the *Oxford English Dictionary* as the ‘art of writing in microscopic characters’. The *OED* citation tells us that the word was first used in 1905 in the *Daily News* where a report referred to ‘The achievements in micrography of Mr. Sofer, who is giving the King a portrait composed of a biography of 44,000 letters’.⁴ The word micrography comes from the Greek Μικρογραφία meaning small writing. The alternative word micro-calligraphy also comes from the Greek καλλιγραφία meaning (small) ‘beautiful writing’.⁵ Micrography is: ‘Minute writing arranged in geometric shapes or drawn as outlines of objects, animal or human’ and ‘is one of the most characteristic of Jewish art forms’, stretching back to the late ninth century when Jewish masorah scribes in Tiberias perfected the technique. The masorah scribes became skilled in the new art of writing marginal notes in the Hebrew Bible.⁶ The art of minuscule writing by the soferim scribes was also a tradition which led to the development of micrography. Among their many legal and ritual responsibilities, the scribes also wrote in disciplined minuscule letters the mezuzot, which is the doorpost parchment scroll described in Deuteronomy 6: 4-9.⁷ Today, in order to be valid, the mezuzot have to be hand-written. Printed versions are not considered to be of spiritual

¹ <http://oxforddictionaries.com/definition/english/calligram?q=calligram> (accessed 25 July 2013).

² Donald H. Ryan, ‘Mrs Anna Onstott’, *Proceedings of the Wesley Historical Society*, vol. 57 (2010), p. 280.

³ Anna Onstott, ‘A Script Portrait of Wesley’, *Proceedings of the Wesley Historical Society*, vol. 19 (1935), pp. 129-32.

⁴ <http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/117978?redirectedFrom=Micrography#eid> (accessed 25 July 2013).

⁵ *ibid.*

⁶ Gerald R. Ward (ed.), *The Grove Encyclopaedia of Materials and Techniques of Art* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2008), p. 395.

⁷ Lelia Avrin, ‘Interfaces & Grotesques: The Art of Hebrew Micrography’, *Jewish Heritage Online Magazine* (August, 2013); <http://jhom.com/topics/letters/micrography.html> (accessed 24 August 2013).

value. The art of writing in minuscule letters to produce a picture, poem or phrase is still practised today. Modern examples can be readily seen on the internet and examples include Barak Obama's face created by words and phrases he has used such as 'hope', 'change' and 'yes we can'. Another example is a portrait of Ronald Reagan which was created using the words of his speech delivered on 12 June 1987 at the Brandenburg Gate in West Germany.⁸

Overshadowing Jewish, Islamic and some Christian art is the second commandment in Exodus 20: 4 and Deuteronomy 5: 8: 'You shall not make for yourself an idol, whether in the form of anything that is in heaven above, or that is on the earth beneath, or that is in the water under the earth'. However, the traditional Jewish and Islamic interpretation of this commandment seems to miss the point it is making. As John Wesley succinctly put it:

The second commandment is concerning the ordinances of worship, or the way in which God will be worshipped, which it is fit he himself should appoint. Here is, the prohibition; we are forbidden to worship even the true God by images, *Ex. 20: 4, 5*. First, the Jews (at least after the captivity) saw themselves forbidden by this to make any image or picture whatsoever. It is certain it forbids making any image of God. 'To whom then will liken God or what likeness compare with him' *Isa. 40:18, 25*. It also forbids us to make images of God in our fancies, as if he were a man as we are. Our religious worship must be governed by the power of faith, not by the power of imagination.⁹

While the Hebrew Faith is considered to be an iconic religion, practice has not always strictly followed the commandment given to Moses on Sinai in Exodus 20: 4. In Exodus 25: 18 we see God giving precise instructions to Moses: 'You shall make two cherubim of gold; you shall make them of hammered work, at the two ends of the mercy-seat'. On Moses' return from the mountain in Exodus 32 we see his fierce reaction to the creation of the golden calf. However, in Numbers 21: 4-9, following the Lord's instruction, he carved a bronze snake in order to cure snake bites: 'Make a poisonous-serpent, and set it on a pole; anyone who is bitten can look at it and live'. It was not until Hezekiah (726-697 BC) that the idolatrous nature of the snake (Nehushtan) is seen and destroyed (2 Kings 18: 4). In Exodus 31: 1-18 the Lord tells Moses that he has 'called by name Bezrael son of Uri son of Hur, of the tribe of Judah: and I have filled him with the divine spirit, with ability, intelligence, and knowledge in every kind of craft, to devise designs, to work in gold, silver, and bronze, in cutting stones for setting, and in carving wood, in every kind of craft'. King Solomon's first temple in Jerusalem, recorded in I Kings 7, had many images of animals, as well as the cherubim. From the time of Moses, therefore, there has been a tension between the use and the prohibition of images.

⁸ <http://gawno.com/2009/05/micrography-text-art-and-typography/> (accessed 24 August 2013).

⁹ John Wesley, *Explanatory Notes upon the Old Testament* (Bristol, 1765), p. 287.

Early Jewish micrography was the conflation of figurative and sometimes abstract designs, all of which added meaning to the text. Running alongside Jewish art are Islamic art forms which again use words to create highly elaborate designs. In both the early and more modern mosques one can see the beauty of this art form which decorates both the buildings themselves and the various objects within them. In England in the mid nineteenth century micrographic pictures of people started to become popular, especially of Moses and other Jewish leaders. During this time a portrait of Queen Victoria which was made up of 170,000 words and the picture of John Wesley made up of 13,745 words were published by Louis Rosenthal Glück. Until the invention of the technique of producing pictures and text by lithography in 1798 each image was a 'one off' work of art. As lithography improved, micrographic art was able to be reproduced in larger quantities and at a price many could actually afford.

Louis Rosenthal Glück

The micrographic, or as Glück called it, the 'caligraphic' picture of John Wesley is signed in the bottom left hand corner: 'Written by Glück Rosenthal'. The artists' name was Louis Glück sometimes known as Rosenthal (1804–1874).¹⁰ Glück changed the combination of his name on a number of occasions. In Posen he was known as Louis Rosenthal Glueck. Glück was born in the Grand Duchy of Posen, Prussia, which is now Poznań in Poland, in 1804. His father was Pielte Elimelech Glück [Glueck] who was a leading Jew in Posen and a furrier who died around 1840. Louis Glück married in Prussia, Malé [Amalie] in c.1830. They had two children Leah (1832-97) and Jacob (1834-1913). Louis immigrated to England in 1836 leaving his wife and two children in Posen who only later joined him in London. After his wife died Louis married Rebecca Levy in Woolwich, London, and they had five children. Around 1860 Glück and his family moved to Sheffield, where he died on 27 April 1874 of gout.

Glück the artist

When Louis Glück arrived in Britain he set himself up as an artist. Although he painted in both oils and watercolours his favoured medium was calligraphy, and the best known examples of his work remain his calligraphic historical portraits. Known examples include Queen Victoria (1844), Prince Augustus Frederick; the Duke of Sussex, (1846) the ninth child and sixth son of King George III and Queen Charlotte, and of course John Wesley (1851). Glück's works of art were exhibited in various parts of England. In August 1851 there was an exhibition in Truro of his 'singular specimens of his writing on zinc ... representing portraits'.¹¹ In 1854 there was an exhibition in Leeds of Glück's calligraphy portraits and his original colour painting of

¹⁰ Petra Laidlaw, 'Glück, Louis [*pseud.* Louis Glück Rosenthal] (1804–1874)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004).

¹¹ *Royal Cornwall Gazette* (Friday 22 August 1851), p. 5.

‘the meeting of the Duke of Wellington and Blucher at La Belle Alliance, after the battle of Waterloo’.¹²

Louis Glück used traditional Jewish calligraphic art to create his series of portraits, and chose his subjects with great care. Whilst it is difficult to create any art form with which one does not have a relationship, it is even truer of the long and sustained progress of calligraphic portraits. It took Glück three years to create the portrait of John Wesley.¹³ Having chosen the person to portray Glück had to locate or write a biography of the person concerned. When he was preparing the picture of Queen Victoria he had a series of interviews with Prince Albert, the Prince Consort. From these interviews he wrote *A Biographical Memoir of Her Most Gracious Majesty Queen Victoria* (1844) which he then used as the script for the portrait. The picture of Queen Victoria is made up of 170,000 microscopic words. In the same way drawing from his many conversations with Prince Augustus Frederick whilst teaching him Hebrew and drawing on newspaper reports and articles he wrote and later published *A Biographical Memoir of his Late Royal Highness, the Duke of Sussex* (1846).¹⁴

For John Wesley’s portrait Glück mainly used Richard Watson’s *The Life of the John Wesley A.M. something Fellow of Lincoln College, Oxford and Founder of the Methodist Societies* (1831) with a section from Thomas Coke and Henry Moore’s *The Life of the Rev John Wesley A. M. including an account of the great revival of religion, in Europe and America, of which he was the first instrument* (1792). The word count of Wesley’s portrait is 13,875, excluding duplicated passages, unconnected words and dates.¹⁵ Glück first drew a faint line drawing of the portrait.¹⁶ So that the finished calligraphy could reach the highest artistic standard, the line cartoon of the portrait and the frame had to be skilfully drawn or the finished portrait would not have been any better than the original drawing. Having produced a perfect line drawing, Glück then over two or three years used his highly developed artistic skill to bend and weave the many thousands of words together to create a portrait that brought out the character of the sitter. He embellished the picture with a decorative frame. Glück used a ground flat lithographic limestone or a zinc plate which it is said he finally broke at the end of the print run. This suggests that he used the improved method of lithography.

Lithography was developed by Aloys Senefelder in 1798 and was originally used to print music. By the 1820s the technique had become much more widely used. The early technique was to draw or write on a polished stone in reverse with a pen using a special greasy ink. This was a difficult process because not only had the artist to work in reverse, but also keep their hands off the surface of the stone in order to avoid

¹² *Leeds Intelligencer* (Saturday 7 January 1854), p. 5.

¹³ *The Methodist Recorder* (9 January 1885), p. 24.

¹⁴ William D. Rubinstein, Michael Jollies and Hillary L. Rubinstein (eds), *The Palgrave Dictionary of Anglo-Jewish History* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), p. 326.

¹⁵ John Taylor, *Biography of the Rev. John Wesley as depicted pictorially by Gluck Rosenthal in 1850* (Bristol: John Wesley’s Chapel, The New Room, 2008).

¹⁶ Anna Onstott, ‘A Script Portrait of Wesley’, *Proceedings of the Wesley Historical Society*, 19 (1935), pp. 129-32.

grease being transferred from the finger tips. It is more probable that Glück adopted the 'transfer lithograph' method using the specially coated paper when writing his calligraphic picture which was transferred onto a zinc plate.¹⁷ The advantage was that the artist did not have to work in reverse and when the work was finally completed it was transferred to the printing plate by a well-tested method.¹⁸

Glück the 'Professor of languages' and a man of faith

Glück was fluent in a number of languages including Hebrew and styled himself as a 'professor of languages',¹⁹ probably using his linguistic skills to supplement his income as an artist. He was for a time the Hebrew tutor to the sixth son of King George III, Prince Augustus Frederick, visiting him at Kensington Palace on a number of occasions.

Throughout the whole of his life Glück remained loyal to the Jewish faith. He was born into an eminent Jewish family who numbered amongst its ancestors Pielte Glück who was a judge in the Rabbinical Court between 1620 and 1650.²⁰ His father Pielte Elimeleck Glück was a hakham [wise and learned in the Torah]. Attached to a copy of a print of the Glück portrait of John Wesley at Epworth Old Rectory there is a note written by Rev Dr Oliver A. Beckerlegge saying that the picture was by Glück who had converted to Christianity. However, this is misleading. There is no evidence that Glück ever left his Jewish faith. When the family moved to Sheffield he became a leading member of the Jewish community and the local synagogue.

Glück worked for a closer understanding between Jews and Christians and maintained a regular correspondence with many leading figures from both communities. In 1840 he was invited to allow his name to go forward as the first rabbi in St Thomas in the Virgin Islands. His referees were David Woolf Marks, Professor of Hebrew at University College and Moses Mocatta both of whom were leaders Britain's first Reform Synagogue in 1840. Whilst it is not known why he never took up the appointment it is probably because he had two extra marital relationships with English non-Jewish girls by whom he had illegitimate children.²¹ Glück 'confirmed' his son [Elias who was thirteen years of age] according to the rites of the Jewish religion' at the Jewish Synagogue in Fig Tree Lane [Sheffield]. The report gives the wording of the 'confirmation' and Glück's sermon in full which gives a clear indication of the depth of his understanding and commitment to the Jewish faith.²²

¹⁷ *Royal Cornwall Gazette* (22 August 1851), p. 5.

¹⁸ Bamber Gascoigne, *How to Identify Prints* (London: Thames & Hudson, 2004), pp. 19a-20f.

¹⁹ Petra Laidlaw, 'Another Black Sheep', *Shemot: The Jewish Genealogical Society of Great Britain*, vol. 7, no. 4 (December, 1999) pp. 4-8.

²⁰ Laidlaw, 'Another Black Sheep', p 5.

²¹ Rubinstein, Jollies and Rubinstein (eds), *The Palgrave Dictionary of Anglo-Jewish History*, p. 326.

²² *Sheffield Daily Telegraph* (Saturday 29 January 1870), p 6.

Glück's micro-calligraphic portrait of John Wesley

Until the transcript of the portrait made by John Taylor, a trustee of John Wesley's Chapel, the New Room, in Bristol and my own research, it was thought that Glück created the original portrait in the 1850s and that William Milner of Liverpool had re-issued it in the 1880s. The present research shows that Glück created the original image between 1848 and 1851 and then a few years later changed part of the wording in a second edition. The print's orientation is portrait. The earliest copy of the print which is displayed at John Wesley's Chapel in Bristol is mounted on canvas and measures 22^{1/4} inches 565 millimetres x 18^{1/4} inches 463 millimetres. The print area is 20^{3/4} inches 527 millimetres x 16^{1/2} inches 419 millimetres. The image is in black print on white paper.

The central feature of the print is a half length portrait of John Wesley in clerical attire standing behind a desk with a decorative tasselled cover with a wavy fringe. Wesley is looking three quarters to the right. There is an open book [probably a Bible] resting on a cushion. Wesley's left hand is holding the left hand pages of the book open and there is a sheet of paper protruding from the right-hand pages. The portrait is framed by two pilasters supporting an arch with two decorated spandrels. On each pilaster are two bands with an abbreviated quotation of John Wesley spoken on his death bed. On the top band on the left pilaster is written THE BEST, on the top band on the right pilaster OF ALL, on the bottom band on the left pilaster GOD IS and on the bottom band on the right hand pilaster WITH US. Below the left pilasters there is a seated female with child standing next to her. Below the right pilaster is a female with a child on her knee and a small child standing at her knee. Beneath the pulpit there is a floral design with a quatrefoil in the centre with the John Wesley's most famous quotation: 'The / World is my / Parish'.

The John Jackson portrait

Glück took as his template the John Jackson RA (1827) portrait of Wesley.²³ The Jackson portrait was commissioned by an influential group of Wesleyans who wished to have a standard and typical likeness of John Wesley. Although the portrait was not without its critics it was used as the frontispiece in several editions of the *Wesleyan Hymn Book*.²⁴ The portrait shows Wesley at the age of 87.²⁵ In 1818 John Jackson was the second Methodist to be elected to the Royal Academy, the first Methodist being the evangelical portrait painter John Russell (1745-1806) who regularly tried to convert his sitters. As Jackson was only thirteen when John Wesley died it is unlikely that he ever saw him. This posthumous picture was inspired by paintings with which

²³ John Telford, *Sayings and Portraits of John Wesley* (London: Epworth Press, 1924), p. 190.

²⁴ See for example, *Wesleyan Methodist Hymnbook* (London: John Mason 1833); *Wesleyan Methodist Hymnbook* (London: John Mason 1858).

²⁵ Samuel J. Rogal, *The Historical, Biographical, and Artistic Background of Extant Portrait Paintings and Engravings of John Wesley (1742-1951)* (Lampeter: The Edwin Mellen Press, 2003), pp. 61-2.

Jackson would have been familiar. The face has similarities to the portrait painted from life by George Romney in 1789. The way that Wesley is depicted also has a strong likeness to the William Hamilton RA picture painted from life probably in 1787.

Glück's artistic style and embellishments

The miniscule lines of text not only follow the contours of the picture, but also for stylistic reasons are upside down and side to side. In order to be able to read the text it has to be magnified. The picture also has to be constantly turned upside down and onto its left or right sides. Dates are used to highlight parts of the portrait which cannot be outlined by a continuous line of text. An example is the defining of the knuckles on Wesley's left hand with the dates 1703 and 1791.

Glück framed Wesley's portrait with elaborate embellishments. The bottom panel has at the left a representation of a woman with a child standing at her knee which is probably inspired by a work of one of the 'Great Masters', but represents Susanna Wesley with the young John Wesley at her knee. The eye of the child is created by the date 1703 (the year of John Wesley's birth). The eye of woman is 1709 (the year of the Epworth Rectory fire). On the right is a woman holding a child on her lap and handing a plate to a child standing by her knee. Above the child on her lap is 'born in 1708' (a date often wrongly used for Charles Wesley's birth) Also on the same child's lips is 1708. Glück regularly identifies his subject by using significant dates. The pilasters are decorated with floral patterns and a winged cherub's head. On the left side of the arch is a child holding an anchor which symbolizes hope as promised in Hebrews 6: 19-20. Again the eye is defined by 1703. On the left is a child holding a Pascal lamb cruciform staff, symbolizing a good shepherd caring for his flock with wisdom, strength, honour, glory and praise as seen in John 10: 1-18 and 21: 15 and Revelation 5: 12. In the centre is a dove depicted in ascending flight which is probably inspired by Psalm 124: 7; 'Our soul is escaped as a bird from the snare of the fowlers, the snare is broken and we are escaped', symbolising the liberated Christian soul. In the design there also are stylised Latin and Greek crosses

Glück's Wesley Portrait, First Issue

The 1851 census, taken on 30 March, records that Louis Glück aged 49, artist, from Prosin, Prussia, is a visitor at the Morley Inn, 12 East Street, Plymouth. On 31 July 1851 the following advert appeared in *The Watchman and Wesleyan Advertiser*:

BEAUTIFUL CALIGRAPHIC [sic] PORTRAIT OF THE REV. / JOHN WESLEY.
This very ingenious and well-executed Portrait, / in Penmanship, of the late Rev. John Wesley, comprises / a faithful history of his life, the whole traced by minute letters / written by GLUCK ROSENTHAL, of Charlton, Woolwich, and / corrected by the Rev. O. Henwood, of Plymouth; published / by subscription, for the Society, and originated as a mark of / respect for the venerable founder of Methodism, and for the/ cause he

advocated. / One-third of the profits will be appropriated to the Wesleyan / Sunday-schools of Plymouth, Devonport, and Stonehouse, and two-thirds to the Missionary cause. / Published at the low price of Four Shillings, to ensure a / quick sale. / The artist is now on his tour through Cornwall, and will / supply or take orders for the same. Five or more copies sent / post-free to any part of England from R. Cornelius, ironmonger, / Plymouth, Treasurer; or Messrs. Smith, printers, Plymouth. / Auditors.²⁶

On November 5th 1851 the advert reappeared in the same newspaper with the same wording except the line: ‘The Artist is now on his tour of Cornwall’ changed to ‘Yorkshire’.²⁷ In the same newspaper on 16 March 1853 a third advert appeared:

TO THE WESLEYAN SOCIETY / A CALIGRAPHIC [sic] HISTORICAL PORTRAIT / of the Rev. ‘John Wesley’ Abridged by Mr / GLUCK ROSENTHAL, the writer; Audited by the Rev. / OLIVER HENWOOD, and published at Four Shillings each / This ingenious work got up by the Subscribers of Plymouth / Stonehouse, and Devonport. Two-thirds of the profits arising / there from are to be applied to their Sunday-schools, and one- / third to the Missionary cause. It is hoped that as many as / can will furnish themselves with a copy, and thereby benefit a / good cause. / Orders taken, and copies left, by Mr. Glück Rosenthal / Money for the same is sent to Mr Richard Cornelius, Iron- / monger, Plymouth, Devonshire, Treasurer; who takes this op- / portunity of returning sincere thanks to the Ministers and / members of the above Society for their kind and liberal support / in this undertaking, and hopes ere long to inform them of the / good result. / All persons who have not forwarded the money for copies had, / it is hoped will be kind enough to do so as early as possible.²⁸

The text of the picture in addition to the biography of John Wesley gives us two important facts. The first confirms that the picture was ‘Written by Glück Rosenthal’ and secondly that: ‘This portrait in calligraphy is dedicated to Mr Richard Cornelius in Plymouth by his humble servant’. The printers John and Henry Smith, were Wesleyans. The Rev. Oliver Henwood (1786-1860) was a Wesleyan Supernumerary Minister.

Glück’s Wesley Portrait, Second Issue

Until the present research it had been assumed that there was only one micro-calligraphic portrait published by Glück in the 1850s and an exact copy reproduced by William Milner in the 1880s. Whilst cataloguing the collection of portraits and prints in 2011, at John Wesley’s Chapel in Bristol, I compared the Glück portrait on display with the two copies in the reserved collection. Whilst examining the three prints it became clear that there were significant differences. Comparing the portrait text with

²⁶ *The Watchman and Wesleyan Advertiser*, vol. III, no. 865 (London, 1851), p. 245.

²⁷ *The Watchman and Wesleyan Advertiser*, vol. III, no. 879 (London, 1851), p. 361.

²⁸ *The Watchman and Wesleyan Advertiser*, vol. V, no. 951 (London, 1853), p. 81.

John Taylor's transcript it became apparent that changes had been made.²⁹ The main difference was the dedication. 'This portrait in Calligraphy is dedicated to Mr. Richard Cornelius in Plymouth by his humble servant', was missing from the two copies in the reserve collection. John Taylor then made a digital copy of the portrait without the dedication which showed other significant changes. At first we thought that the changes may have been made when the 1885 copy was made but on examining the handwriting of the two versions with John Taylor and Petra Laidlaw, a descendant and researcher on Glück, we concluded that Glück and not Milner had made the changes. This raised the question of when and why? Richard Cornelius died in the first quarter of 1857 and in the 1861 census his wife Mary was listed as a widow.

It is reasonable to assume that the dedication was either included in the first or the second issue. Secondary evidence suggests that the dedication was in the first issue. It is usual to word a dedication in the present tense when the person concerned is alive and in the past tense when they are dead. Another pointer to the dedication being in the first issue is that there is only one known copy to have survived which includes the dedication. I have seen nine copies without the dedication which suggests that the 1851 issue has the dedication and that a second issue with a changed layout was published after Richard Cornelius's death in 1857, and it was this issue that William Milner reproduced in large numbers in 1885. The biography of all issues starts with the text from the Thomas Coke and Henry Moore's, *The Life of the Rev John Wesley A M including an account of the great revival of religion, in Europe and America, of which he was the first instrument* (1792). It begins: 'The celebrated John Wesley, the second son of the Reverend Samuel Wesley, the Rector of Epworth' and ends when Wesley become a Fellow of Lincoln College, Oxford in 1726.

It also includes the phrase: 'Sometime after his election to a Fellowship, he was elected as Greek lecturer and Moderator of the Classes. He always regarded his last appointment as a very gracious providence'. The rest of the text of the portrait is selected from Richard Watson's *The Life of the John Wesley A.M. something Fellow of Lincoln College, Oxford and founder of the Methodist societies* (1831). This section begins with: 'Writing to his mother on Bishop Taylor's book, states several particulars which Bishop Taylor makes necessary parts of humility and repentance'. The text begins in the bottom left hand corner underneath the mother and child (Susanna Wesley and John Wesley) reading from left to right and continues following the outline of the portrait and frame decoration. The text which is mainly continuous is sometimes the correct orientation but regularly becomes upside down or sideways and turns corners. Glück does not regularly use punctuation or speech marks.

Differences between the First and Second issues of the Portrait.

The book [most probably a Bible] is resting on a desk cushion on a cover which has a fringe and a tassel on the two front corners. The cover, fringe and tassel are made up

²⁹ John Taylor, *Biography of the Rev. John Wesley as depicted pictorially by Gluck Rosenthal in 1850* (Bristol: The New Room, 2008).

by several lines of text. On closer examination of this section of the picture there are significant differences which make it clear that there are two versions of the portrait. The immediate difference is that on the first issue there is the dedication to Richard Cornelius and in the second issue it has been removed. On closer examination it was clear that this was not a simple removal of the Cornelius dedication but a rewriting of the text. The style and character of the text is identical to the style and character of the text in the rest of the picture which means that Glück himself must have made the changes. As we shall see later Milner bought the last copy Glück had in his possession, probably before 1874. This suggests that the changes to the text must have been made by Glück somewhere between 1851 and 1874. Richard Cornelius died in 1857 which suggests that the changes were made by Glück following Cornelius's death.

All versions of the picture start the text on the desk cover upside-down and the third, fifth, seventh and ninth lines are also upside down. Lines two, four, six and eight are in normal orientation. There are differences in most lines of the text but the significant changes start in lines three. From line ten the two versions are quite different. Line ten in the 1851 version, which has the Cornelius dedication line, reads:

then they were weary and went every man to his own home In Cornwall he met with rare faithful habits of discipline. In August he visited Ireland for the first time. Methodism had been introduced into Dublin by Mr Williams one of the preachers whose

Line ten in the later version which does not have the Cornelius dedication has a blank space. Line eleven in the 1851 version reads:

ministry had been attended with great success so that a considerable society had been already formed. Mr Wesley was allowed to preach once at St Mary's to as gay and senseless a congregation he observes as I ever saw. This was not however permitted a second time

Line 11 in the later version reads:

He would gladly have passed an hour among them and if he had there been an end of the riot but being far spent he was persuaded to go in. The mob then recovered their spirits and fought valiantly with the doors

Line 12 in the 1851 version reads:

and he occupied the spacious yard of the meeting house both in the mornings and evenings preaching to large congregations about poor and rich. Among his hearers he had also the ministers of various denominations. The state of the Catholics excited'.

There is no line 12 or 13 in the later version. Line 13 in the 1851 version reads:

may his piety the purity of his heart by doing good to others be a pattern to all creeds on earth and his memory be a blessing to all This portrait in calligraphy is dedicated to Mr Richard Cornelius in Plymouth by his humble servant.

On the bottom of the front of the cloth there is a wavy line representing a fringe. Again the wording is different. In both versions it reads right to left. The text in the 1851 version reads:

system of religious agency to be employed with the singleness of heart the same benevolent zeal for the spiritual benefit of mankind and the same dependence upon the Holy Spirit. I know not that it bears upon any marks of decay although it may require to be accommodated in a few particulars to the new circumstances with which it is surrounded. The doctrinal views which Mr Wesley held were probably never better understood or more accurately stated in the discourses of the preachers and the moral discipline of the body in all its essential parts was never more cordially approved by the people generally or enforced with greater faithfulness by their pastors. Very numerous are the converts who are every year won from the world brought under religious influence and placed in the enjoyment of means and ordinances favourable to their growth in religious knowledge and holy habits and many constantly passing into eternity of whose good hope through grace the testimony is of the highest degrees satisfactory. Therefore a glorious harvest of saved souls is laid up in the heavenly garner which will be his rejoicing.

The text in the later version reads:

and windows. But about ten they were weary and went every man to his own home. In Cornwall we have a specimen of his prompt and faithful habits of discipline. In August he visited Ireland for the first time. Methodism had been introduced into Dublin by Mr Williams one of the preachers whose ministry had been attended with great success so that a considerable society had been already formed. Mr Wesley was allowed to preach once at St Mary's to as gay and senseless a congregation he observes as I ever saw. This was not however permitted a second time and he occupied the spacious yard of the meeting house both in the mornings and the evenings preaching to large congregations of both poor and rich. Amongst his hearers he had also the ministers of various congregations. The state of the Catholics excited his peculiar sympathy and as he could little access to them by preaching he published an Address specially for their use. His visit at this time to Ireland was short but he requested his brother to succeed him'.

The text creating the wavy line fringe on the right side of the cloth is the same in both versions. Below are illustrations showing the differences between the two tassels in the 1851 and the later edition.

William Milner and the 1885 edition

William Milner (1827-1906) was a Wesleyan Methodist Local Preacher in Dudley, Liverpool³⁰ and Seacombe Wallasey.³¹ Milner probably met Gluck when touring Yorkshire in 1851 or when Milner visited relatives in Sheffield after Gluck had settled there in the 1860's. Milner reproduced in large numbers the Gluck micro-calligraphic portrait and advertised them intermittently in the *Methodist Recorder* from 9 January 1885 to May 1885:

PORTRAIT OF JOHN WESLEY / Formed entirely of /THE WORDS OF JOHN WESLEY'S LIFE / All artistically and beautifully arranged. The / Marvel of the Age. It took three years / to complete it. / It is now reproduced, and greatly improved by fine- / toned paper in two tints. Original price 21s / To secure a large sale it is now offered at / 2s 6D PER COPY SIZE 25 by 20 / If desired, it can be supplied at 5s in a really good / Gilt or Black and Gold Oxford Frame. / Orders address to Wm Milner 3, Prince's / Avenue, Liverpool, with stamps or postal orders en- / closed, promptly attended to. / AGENTS WANTED / Apply, with stamped envelope for terms, to / Mr. Milner as above.³²

The original 1851 portrait can be seen at John Wesley's Chapel, The New Room, Bristol. Later editions are located at the Museum of Methodism, Wesley's Chapel, City Road, London; The Old Rectory, Epworth; Brunswick Methodist Church, Newcastle upon Tyne; Charterhouse, Suttons Hospital, London and John Street United Methodist Church, New York.

DONALD H. RYAN

NOTES AND QUERIES: 1601

When Petersfield Primitive Chapel was opened in October 1902, the following description was engraved in stone across the front entrance to the chapel: 'Primitive Methodist Coronation Chapel 1902'. Is anyone aware of any other Methodist premises where the word 'Coronation' has been incorporated in the title? The Memorial Stone was laid in May 1902 and the premises described as the 'Coronation Church & Buildings' in the local press, because of the impending Coronation of Edward VII on 26 June – but delayed due to his illness, until 9 August 1902. Contact: Tom Norgate (tomnorgate@btinternet.com).

³⁰ Dudley Archives and Local History Centre, Coseley, 'Dudley Wesleyan Circuit Local Preachers' Minute Book', 24 September 1860.

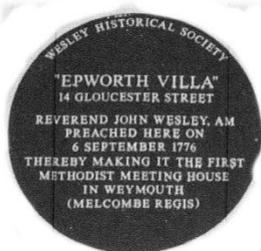
³¹ Cheshire Archives and Local Studies, Duke Street, Chester, 'The Seacombe Circuit Plan of Appointments 1891-1892'.

³² *Methodist Recorder* (Friday 9 January 1885), 24.

NOTES AND QUERIES: 1602

Weymouth Methodist Preaching House Blue Plaque

In his journal John Wesley records that on Friday 6 September 1776: 'I preached at the new house in Melcombe to as many as it would well contain'. Until the recent research undertaken by John Russell, the Southampton District Archivist, the location of this first preaching house completion of the purchase of Gloucester Road, Weymouth, the original deeds and noticed the name John times. The deeds were the Dorset Family History the property's link with John Melcombe Regis is the present day Weymouth. On



was unknown. On the Epworth Villa, 19 the new owner received documents of the property Wesley mentioned several examined by the chair of Society who confirmed Wesley's visit in 1776. original name of part of Monday 25 November

2013, the Mayor and Mayoress of Weymouth County & Mrs Ray Banham presided at the unveiling of a blue plaque by the Rev. Christopher J. Moreton, the Superintendent of the Poole & Swanage Methodist Circuit. On the plaque is inscribed:

'EPWORTH VILLA' 14 GLOUCESTER STREET / REVEREND JOHN WESLEY, AM / PREACHED HERE ON / 6 SEPTEMBER 1776 / THEREBY MAKING IT THE FIRST / METHODIST MEETING HOUSE / IN WEYMOUTH / (MELCOMBE REGIS)

Donald H Ryan

NOTES AND QUERIES: 1603

Getting to the bottom of it

Judging which of two varying accounts of an event can often be problematic. Two interesting cases have arisen for me in regard to the deaths of missionaries, one in St Vincent in the Caribbean and one in South Africa.

Robert Gamble accompanied Dr Thomas Coke to Barbados at the end of 1788 and was immediately dispatched to St Vincent, where he died in February 1791. According to *Wesley's World Parish*, written by Alec Findlay and his daughter Mary for the WMMS centenary in 1912, he 'was waylaid by a band of white ruffians and so cruelly beaten that in a few days he expired (1791) - the first on Methodism's roll of missionary martyrs' (p 52). But when the more substantial *History of the WMMS*

appeared a decade later, no mention was made of this mugging. It may have been omitted by Findlay himself when he wrote the volume on the West Indies. It may have been omitted by Holdsworth when he prepared it for the press; the extent to which he revised Findlay's work, if at all, is uncertain. But why? It could well be that someone pointed out the doubtful basis of the story, as John Lenton did to me when I repeated it. Gamble's obituary in the 1791 Minutes of Conference makes no reference to it, stating rather that 'he was seized with a putrid fever in February 1791 and after 16 days died'. Neither Coke nor any other contemporary appears to have referred to it, which is surprising if there were any truth in the tale. The first account of the attack is found in William Moister's *Heralds of Salvation*, published in 1877 – almost ninety years after the event. And Moister is frequently inaccurate. His entries on Baxter, Coke and Warrener all contain indisputable errors.

There is however another factor to consider. *Heralds of Salvation* comprises brief accounts of scores of missionaries, and while it was published in 1877 some of them must have been written years earlier. He himself served in St Vincent twice, 1837-38 and 1843-45, and would have known Mrs Lilywhite from whom he had the story. According to Moister, Gamble

was waylaid by wicked men, who most unmercifully beat him, and thrust him down a frightful precipice. He was so injured that he was not able to move till the following morning. He then managed to crawl to the hospitable mansion of Mr Claxton, the father of Mrs Lilywhite, who kindly furnished these particulars and added that 'he returned to Kingstown, but it was only to tell his tale of suffering and crime, and then lie down and die.'

There is verisimilitude in these details. The story could not have been invented. The notion that Mrs Lilywhite was a fantasist whose fabrications fooled Moister is implausible. However, her age in 1791 is unknown. She may well have been a very small child; she could have been a young woman away from home. So she could well have been repeating at second hand what she had learned from her father, and it is even possible that she confused Gamble with some other unknown, unnamed unfortunate. On the other hand it is possible that, weakened from the attack, Gamble succumbed to the 'putrid fever' and a letter supplying more details than were in the brief message received by the Conference was lost. The first explanation is perhaps more likely than the second.

The second case also involves William Moister who, after two years in The Gambia and thirteen in the Caribbean, was the Chairman of the Cape of Good Hope District from 1850 to 1860. A contemporary in South Africa was James Thomas, who served in the Grahamstown District from 1839 to 1856. In 1855, at the end of the Cape Frontier Wars, only two missionaries were left in an area where there had formerly been seven and Thomas found himself in charge of five stations. One of these, Clarkebury, was constantly without an adequate water supply, so Thomas set out to search for a better location. Findlay and Holdsworth (vol IV p 285) say that 'while he was in search of (water) a raid was made upon his people. In the darkness of the night Thomas was killed by those who had professed themselves the friends of

the Missionaries. It is supposed that in the darkness, covered as he was with a blanket, he was mistaken for a Native.’ Moister in *Conversations on the Rise, Progress and Present State of Wesleyan Missions in Various Parts of the World* (1869) says no more than that he ‘was stabbed by a party of Kaffirs, who were making an attack upon the cattle kraal.’ Yet in his *Missionary Martyrs* (1885) he writes in much more detail. Thomas’ quest for water had taken him to Beecham Wood – a place he doubtless named, after the fashion, to remember John Beecham who was a Secretary of the WMMS from 1831 to 1949 (a detail ignored by Findlay and Holdsworth). He had begun to establish a mission station there, and Moister says it was the mission’s cattle kraal which was attacked. The raid was in response to the theft of a hundred head of cattle by a party from Morley, another Wesleyan station, of which Moister wrote: ‘This most unwarrantable departure from the general rule, that the natives residing on mission stations were not to take part in tribal disputes, no doubt led to fatal consequences which followed.’ Far from being killed by mistake, it appears that he was deliberately targeted.

There follows the account of Thomas’ death which appeared in the *Graham’s Town Journal*:

The attack appears to have taken the mission family entirely by surprise, and perhaps nothing can be conceived more appalling than an outbreak of this kind. The yells of the savages, the lurid glare of the huts, as one after another the firebrand was applied to them, the screams of affrighted women and children, and the agonising cries of the wounded and dying, form altogether a concatenation of horrors which no language can adequately describe. It appears that it was amidst such a scene of tumult that the missionary hurried down, against the importunity of his family, to the cattle kraal, where, as is usual, the hottest of the conflict was raging; and that he had scarcely reached the spot ere he received three assegai stabs, one of which across the jugular vein proved to be mortal ... [He] was rescued from the combatants and borne into the mission premises. But life was fast ebbing; and in about two hours death terminated the career of one of the most devoted men who ever came to this country on a mission of mercy to its barbarous inhabitants.

The article displays the prejudices and fears of the white settler community. Moreover its most virulent passage is not based on any eye-witness account; ‘an outbreak of this kind’ and ‘such a scene of tumult’ are the journalistic style of one who has few facts to go on but a vivid imagination illuminated by reports of other such incidents. Nonetheless the report substantiates Moister’s account and contradicts Findlay & Holdsworth’s supposition that he was killed by mistake, taken for a native because he was wrapped in his blanket.

The *Methodist Magazine* for October 1856 published four pages (pp. 945-9) concerning the death of James Thomas. Reproduced were a letter from Thomas’ colleague, Charles White, who was based forty miles away at Buntingville and rode to Beecham Wood the very next day, the *Graham’s Town Journal* account, and a letter which Mrs Thomas had written to her husband’s relatives in which she wrote:

... we were then just about forming a new station. With what interest and energy my dear James commenced the work! We had been there only five days when, one night, we were roused out of deep sleep by the cry "The Pondos!" "We are attacked!" My beloved husband instantly ran out to see the cause, when he found the enemy at a kraal of cattle near. He just returned for a moment, and arranged one or two things for the safety of the women and children who were crowding into every rook in the house, in the greatest alarm and confusion; and then went to speak to the enemy, thinking to disperse them, when they called out to "stab", and, with his last breath, he replied "I am your teacher." O, what language can describe the agony of my feelings, when the young man, who had been staying with us as Tutor, came in! I saw instantly something fearful had occurred, and ... I rushed from the house, and met them at some distance from it, carrying him in, a lifeless corpse.

(There is a minor discrepancy between the widow's letter and the *Graham's Town Journal*, which reported that Thomas only died after being taken into the house.)

There can be no doubt that in this instance Moister's account reflects the facts of the matter. One can only speculate as to how Findlay & Holdsworth came to introduce a different version in their truncated narrative. It is uncertain which of them was responsible for volume IV; Holdsworth certainly compiled volume V, but volume IV could have been prepared by the ageing Findlay. The kindest explanation would be that, with the work long overdue and his time fast running out, he misread or misunderstood whichever source he used; that he never got round to checking his draft; and that Holdsworth could not be expected to review in detail the mass of material which he inherited. William Moister, then, was right about Thomas; he may well have been right about Gamble as well.

JOHN PRITCHARD

BOOK REVIEWS

John Pritchard, *Methodists and their Missionary Societies, 1760-1900* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2013), pp. xxiii + 293, hardback, £60.00. ISBN: 9781 409470496.

This history was launched at the Leeds Conference celebrating 200 years of Methodist Mission, the culmination of a long series of annual conferences on the subject. As John Pritchard makes clear in chapter three, 1813 was always a contentious date and there were many other points which could have been used as the starting point. But there was no actual mission society until that date and the reason for holding the conference in Leeds is simply that it was in fact a Leeds District Society at that time. As the author makes clear from the beginning this is a history of 'mission to the heathens'. He sketches the beginnings in the colonies but they cease to become part of the story as they evolve autonomous conferences. Australia and New Zealand came into that category quite early and America from its beginnings.

In the early chapters Pritchard sets out the roots of 'mission' in a Methodist (Wesleyan) context, describing John Wesley's view on the subject sympathetically and giving Thomas Coke his due place in the founding enterprises. Later, as the writer takes us from country to country across the continents, he offers a vignette of the early situation of culture, people and religion in each area. Each place could fill several volumes if an attempt were made to write a traditional history, this was not the writer's intention.

The author's contention that this is a concise rather than an exhaustive history is upheld as one reads. Space would not have allowed it to be more. Despite cameos and portrait miniatures of individuals and places this is not really a history of the missions and missionaries. It is a comprehensive, well researched and illuminating telling of the Methodist missionary project. The chapter headings are a clear indication of the intent. The stories of individual missionaries are used to illustrate points in history, to help in understanding a situation, or to make an argument for the writer. Reading this book, from the Preface to the penultimate chapter, draws one into a connection with what Methodists intended and the means they used in their attempts to achieve that aim. Chapter sixteen is a poignant memorial to the martyrs to the project.

Each of the main areas of mission is dealt with through an explanation of its history, social context and the political and trade connections which affected it. Sydney Smith's fear of inspiring political change, described in a quotation at the beginning of chapter six is dealt with there and throughout the book. We are treated to a careful analysis of the international political and commercial interests in play and shown how this affected the mission project. No two areas produced either the same problems, or the same working pattern. Although Africa is addressed as though it were a single entity, it is in no way treated as such and the enormous complications of that continent are well explained.

Through twentieth century eyes and analysis our author sets out the situations as the first missionaries in an area found it. Through the use of quotations from their

writings and illustrative stories, he helps us to envisage the context in place and culture and to see how the missionaries' own culture affected what they did.

The linear rather than geographic style means that this is a book to be read, not one to be dipped into for information on a specific mission area. They are all there, but not necessarily separated out in that way. To assume, for example, that Africa is dealt with in a mere thirty pages, because there is a chapter heading regarding Africa, would be to misunderstand the writing process. We move through time from 1760, follow the early concept of mission, then the first steps. Once the project is a reality, Pritchard offers enough detail to create an image in our minds and fills that out with the purpose, the effect on the missioned to and the result, or often lack of result, depending on the way the measures used. The societies aimed for conversions and sometimes this left missionaries frustrated and their work misunderstood. Each situation presented the missionary with a different social problem and that was what they dealt with first, seeing the need to offer health, education and other 'advantages' before they could introduce the people to western Christianity. This is one of the difficulties the author reveals as he contrasts the lives of the missionaries on the ground and the vision of the Mission Society in England.

John Pritchard has spent most of his ministry in mission and mission affairs for the Methodist Church and this work is informed by all of that, but it is primarily a carefully researched and thoughtful analysis of the vast canvas of mission the Methodists in all of their denominational manifestations undertook over 140 years. John is to be congratulated and I, for one, await keenly the second volume covering the twentieth century which is hinted at in the conclusion.

RONALD AITCHISON

Matthew Clarke (ed.), *Mission and Development, God's Work or Good Works?* (London: Continuum 2012), pp viii + 205, paperback, £19.99, ISBN 978-1-4411-0811-1.

Shorthand terms like 'development' need explicating. Who or what is developing, or being developed? The word is tossed around by governments, NGOs and campaigners as if the answer were self-evident. But it must be a multi-layered answer. There is human development, when individuals, if they are adequately nourished and healthy, can reap the benefits of education, and communities acquire the capacity to work for the common good. There is economic development, when natural resources are harnessed by human skills, labour, inventiveness and ingenuity to create wealth and – in its fully developed form – to ensure that wealth is fairly distributed. Faith-based organisations would want to add that there is spiritual development too, though that can be interpreted in widely differing ways. What does it mean to seek first God's kingdom and God's justice? For some it means committed participation in organised

religion. For others – and the two are not mutually exclusive – the ecological well-being of the planet is the spiritual dimension which has been missing from most development agendas for the last sixty years.

There are many dimensions to mission as well. Several contributors to this book echo the insight of Christopher Duraisingh over twenty years ago, that ‘mission is not a project of the church – the church is one of the agencies of God’s mission.’ Health care, education, social welfare and rural development are integral to God’s purposes, and every bit as essential components of mission as preaching and biblical exposition. Methodists have always known this. Samuel Leigh, the first Methodist in New Zealand, began agricultural experiments in the 1820s; Thomas Birch Freeman introduced bullocks into West Africa in the 1860s to improve the stock; David Hill in China was seconded in 1878 to a famine relief operation far from his District.

These essays come from Australia, and the case studies describe aspects of development work undertaken by Methodists in Fiji, Presbyterians and Anglicans in Vanuatu, Adventists and Catholics in Papua New Guinea and Mennonites in Borneo – not that there is a single Fijian, Melanesian or Indonesian name among the contributors. They raise important issues. The very language of developed and under-developed supposes that the latter are defective and inadequate, a view that can easily be internalised. Christians above all should avoid suggesting that some are more advanced or of greater worth than others, for Jesus’ instruction to ‘wash one another’s feet’ (John 13) points to a relationship of mutuality. Further, successful development projects, intended to make individuals and communities self-supporting, may make them self-centred: self-sufficiency can easily become self-aggrandisement.

Many faith-based agencies, like Christian Aid, get substantial government funding. It usually comes with a strict prohibition on its use for religious purposes. The governments concerned regard religion as a separate – and probably as a declining – compartment of life. That contrasts sharply with the perspective of most ‘under-developed’ peoples, the recipients of this funding, for whom the spiritual and the material are undivided. It contrasts too with the holistic concept of mission embraced by most Christian agencies. Do government restrictions compromise their mission? Is it the case that, just as there can be no authentic proclamation of the gospel that is not accompanied by good works, there can be no authentic Christian social action unless it is accompanied by verbal proclamation? The answer of these essayists is ‘no’. The United Mission to Nepal and the Amity Foundation in China – with which British Methodists may be more familiar – agree. Secular governments may wish to distinguish between good works and God’s work; for Christians, good works *are* God’s work. Hence the admonition attributed to Wesley: ‘Do all the good you can, by all the means you can, in all the ways you can, in all the places you can, at all the times you can, to all the people you can, as long as ever you can.’

Overt proclamation is restrained not only by government bans. Wise mission agencies have come to see that it is wrong to take advantage of vulnerable people by preaching to them, still less to induce or coerce them by making conversion a condition of aid. As long ago as the 1930s influential men like W. E. Hocking and J.

H. Oldham were criticising the misuse of educational and medical work as tools for direct evangelism. Such fundamental expressions of Christian love are themselves an authentic form of mission, but if carried on with ulterior motives they are corrupted. And those who are on the receiving end of teaching and healing ministries are in a temporary situation of dependence: to exploit dependence is a failure of respect for a brother or sister. The Christian way does not take advantage of another's weakness and vulnerability.

A good model of mission therefore is servanthood: the ministry of towel and basin. But is it, asks one contributor, 'a valuable motif for all partners in development, or ultimately only a privileged hobby for the elite, those who have power and resources to divest themselves of in the first place'? It is a model that feminists have challenged as inappropriate on the grounds that women are 'only too familiar with the call to self-denial and subjugation'.

The Millennium Development Goals will not, sadly, be reached by 2015. But every step taken towards the target is a sharing in God's mission.

JOHN PRITCHARD

The Hope in Hope Street. Hope Congregational Church and Bethel Evangelical Free Church. 200 Years in Hanley by Gervase N. Charmley. Bethel Evangelical Free Church, Hanley, 2012. ISBN 9781479261123. £7.50.

Hope Congregational Church had unlikely origins among supporters of a deacon at Tabernacle Church, Hanley, who was suspended from office and membership for repeated intoxication. They built their first chapel in 1812 in an undeveloped part of Shelton, giving their name to the new street, and have remained there ever since, although the chapel buildings were replaced in 1977. During that time the church has passed from Congregationalism through Edward Jeffrey's Bethel Society variant of Pentecostalism, to a Free Evangelical church run on congregational lines. It is a remarkable story of faithfulness and disappointment, setbacks and revival which is well told by its current pastor. Because many of the original records appear to be missing for the period before the 1950s, Pastor Charmley has chosen to present the bulk of this history not as a narrow church/chapel history as such but as the history of a religious movement seen through the experience of this one church and chapel. He thus has much to say about the careers of individual pastors and their theology, supplemented by later chapters on the Sunday school and on public worship. Only towards the end of the book, with more plentiful manuscript sources, does he give way to the minutiae that will be of more interest to his congregation than to a wider readership.

One theme to emerge concerns the cross currents running through Evangelical history. Despite the decision of the original church not to join the Baptists on doctrinal grounds, more recently relations with the older nonconformist denominations have been closest with the Baptists, but in earlier years Methodist links were influential.

Congregationalism in the Potteries was born, not in 1662 but in the Evangelical revival of the eighteenth century: the senior Congregational church, Tabernacle, was founded by John Scott, converted by William Romaine of the Countess of Huntingdon's Connexion, and George Burder, converted by the Wesleys and Whitefield and first encouraged to preach by Fletcher of Madeley. The first pastor called to Hope was John Greeves, originally a Wesleyan local preacher and subsequently a Wesleyan preacher and founder of an important Wesleyan dynasty – his son, Frederic, was president of Conference in 1884 and principal of Southlands; and his son, also Frederic, was principal of Didsbury. The second pastor was William Farmer, previously a New Connexion minister. A later minister, Mark Bairstow, came from the United Methodist Free Churches and became a Congregationalist under the influence of the former Wesleyan minister, Nicholas Knight.

Like many Congregational churches, Hope fell on hard times between the Wars and so turned in 1931 to the growing Pentecostal movement, itself in part an outgrowth of the Holiness Movement associated with Methodism. But unlike his uncle, George Jeffreys, founder of the Elim Pentecostal movement, Edward Jeffreys, founder of the Bethel Temple movement, began to have scriptural doubts about the alleged manifestations of the Spirit thought essential to the Pentecostal experience. Hope followed Edward Jeffreys, and when he ended the Bethel Temple in 1939, they went their own way, Evangelical but not Pentecostal, joining the Fellowship of Independent Evangelical Churches in 1955. The history of the carefully chosen path between the Scylla of Pentecostalism and the Charybdis of the Charismatic movement, avoiding the pitfalls of British Israelism (which ensnared Dinsdale T. Young at Methodist Central Hall) on the way, makes for informative reading about currents in modern Evangelical churchmanship. There are many observations in this intelligent and historically literate book which could be well noted by some Methodist churches today. While Pastor Charmley rightly records that his church has been able to attract at least one conservative Evangelical Methodist family from a denomination perceived to be growing too liberal, he also observes the weakness of worship influenced by the charismatic movement ('long periods of singing, simple chorus-type songs') compared with that still adhered to at Bethel ('in the older traditions of evangelical Nonconformity, where emotion is shown most often in the heart-felt singing of richly theological hymns'). Some Methodist churches might take note!

There is much to hearten the reader in this fine study of the evolution of a church in the evangelical tradition through over two centuries of theological and social change; but this book should also be read if only for the chapter about the David and Goliath struggle between the tiny Hope/Bethel and the mighty arrogance of Tesco – which, as with all happy endings, David of course won. Having undermined the foundations of the old chapel and been compelled by the courts to build anew, their store closed in 2010 but the people of Hope/Bethel are still there, singing with Philip Doddridge, : 'O God of Bethel, by Whose hand Thy people still are fed'.

EDWARD ROYLE

