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Proceedings

OF THE

Wesley Historical Society

Editor : REV. WESLEY F. SWIFT

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EARLY METHODISM IN PAISLEY

ILLUSTRATIONS : (1) The Philosophical Hall, Paisley; (2) The former Wesleyan chapel, George Street, Paisley.

THE story of Paisley Methodism is exceedingly complicated. It has another, though doubtful, distinction. Paisley is one of the very few towns of any consequence that Wesley is not recorded as visiting. There is no reference to it in the indexes to the *Journal* or the *Letters*, or in the various biographies of Wesley. This is surprising, seeing he was so often in Glasgow, only seven miles away, and visited both Greenock and Port Glasgow which are remote from Glasgow.

Consequently we have no record of Methodism in the town till the close of the century, but about that time a company of Methodists commenced public worship. It is no doubt impossible to connect this event with George Whitefield's visit to Paisley in September 1741, when he received the freedom of the burgh.¹ It may well be that the beginnings of Paisley Methodism were due to workmen who came from England to build the canal.

These early Paisley Methodists had no regular place of meeting until 1810, when they erected a chapel at 12, George Street at a cost of £2,400.² But this burst of enthusiasm did not last, for by 1821 their numbers had so decreased that they altered the chapel in a familiar way—using only the galleries for worship, and converting the well into shops and dwelling-houses. Even so, the chapel could still seat some six hundred worshippers. This chapel continued to serve for several years, although in 1834, when there were some three hundred members, a difference of opinion led to the secession of half the members. Brown's *History* suggests that the disputes concerned the "Voluntary controversy" which raged

¹ The Town Clerk of Paisley has kindly communicated to me the following extract from the Burgh Minutes: "At Paisley the seventeenth of September seventeen hundred and forty one [sic] Mr. George Whitefield, Minister, Mr. Alexr. Thompson, wryr ib Edr. and Mr. George Simsns [sic] were by the Baillies and Council made gratis Burgesses of the Burgh."

² R. Brown, *History of Paisley* (1886), ii, p. 365. (Kindly communicated to me by Mr. C. H. Rock, Director of Paisley Museum and Art Galleries.)

at that time. This conflict may be said to have commenced with the publication of a sermon in 1829 by Dr. A. Marshall, minister of the United Secession Church at Kirkintilloch; its aims were, in a word, disestablishment: "religious truth ought to be propagated and religious institutions ought to be maintained by the freewill offerings of the people",³ and "it is denied that it is the right or the duty of a civil ruler, whether supreme or subordinate, to deal with Christianity by enacting and adopting the creed of a particular church, by constituting it the National Church, and by providing for its support by endowments, assessments or any other kind of payments".⁴ Further, as Dr. John Brown of Edinburgh, one of the distinguished leaders of the Voluntary controversy, put it in 1833: "our object is to . . . allow every man and every body of men, while they conduct themselves as good citizens, to manage their own religious concerns in the way they think to be most agreeable to the will of God with whom alone in such matters they have to do."⁵ Now, it is not a far cry from this position to Independency; though the bulk of the Voluntaryists were *not* Independents; and this again has much in common with the movement that was then agitating Methodism, and which culminated in the various secessions from the time of the "Leeds Organ Case" in 1827, onwards; for in both cases the reformers were asserting the rights of the local congregation as against external authority either of State or Connexion. Both influences, therefore, no doubt had a part to play in the losses in Paisley in 1834, the one Methodistically, the other geographically.

Those who remained continued to decrease in numbers, and ultimately became unable to pay the interest on £1,000 borrowed on the property. What happened next is obscure: according to the Paisley *Directory* the Wesleyan Methodists had moved in 1844 to 77, New Sneddon—a building now difficult to identify, the site being occupied by old tenements. It seems unlikely that any of these was ever a chapel; but there are old buildings in the rear which may have served—or perhaps the society was so reduced that they were simply holding cottage meetings in one of the tenements. Within a few years the society had died out, to revive again later in the century.

The George Street chapel was sold by the bond-holder in 1850, by auction, for £720—and remained in Methodist hands! As we have seen, some one hundred and fifty members withdrew from the Wesleyan Methodists in 1834, and by 1836 were worshipping, led by Mr. C. J. Kennedy as their "minister", at 5, Sir Michael Street, being described in the *Directory* as "Dissenting Wesleyan Methodists"; and in that year Mr. Kennedy represented them at the first Assembly of the Wesleyan Association. Two years later, now calling themselves "United Methodists"—a herald of things

³ C. G. McCrie, *The Church of Scotland, Her Divisions and Unions*, p. 169.

⁴ *ibid.*, p. 170.

⁵ *ibid.*, p. 173.

to come!—they had moved to 7, Oakshaw Street; and by 1844, when they had again changed their name locally to “Congregational Methodists”, they were worshipping in 2, New Street. There they remained till the purchase of the old Wesleyan chapel in 1850 by their minister (who seems, as was the way among the early Independents, and later among the Independent Methodists, to have been a local business man, elected by the local congregation to serve them as minister), where they remained till his death in 1854. Where then they met is not known. They continued to exist for four or five more years, finally disappearing from the *Minutes* in 1859. In 1850 and 1852 ministers were appointed by Conference to Paisley—the Revs. J. N. G. Faull and Edwin D. Green respectively, both probationers; presumably Mr. Kennedy’s health was failing, and he would remain, in fact if not in name, as a “super-numerary”. The chapel was his private property, and on his death his trustees sold it to the Swedenborgians, who renovated and improved it, and who are still worshipping there, in what is now known as the “New Jerusalem Church”.

Before we leave this branch of Methodism, one or two comments should be made. In the first place, the common identity of the “Dissenting Wesleyan Methodists”, the “United Methodists” and the “Congregational Methodists”, is assured by the same minister—Mr. Kennedy—continuing to serve them all, and by his being constantly acknowledged in the Wesleyan Association *Minutes*. As for the fate of the chapels, all except the George Street chapel are now difficult, if not impossible, to distinguish. 5, Sir Michael Street is one of a row of old cottages, and 2, New Street part of a row of shops. And even assuming re-numbering of the streets, there are no buildings in either street which seem to have been chapels at any time; we can thus only assume that cottages were used, or were converted into chapels. But 7, Oakshaw Street was a chapel, and in 1845 was an Independent meeting-house. Again, re-numbering of the street has complicated matters; but there are one or two buildings in that street which may once have been numbered 7, so that the old United Methodist chapel there may still be standing. But if the re-numbering has not caused any radical changes, then the chapel has gone; for somewhat above the present number 7 stands a more recent Congregational church, which may stand on the site of that 1845 Independent meeting-house.

The appearance of the name “United Methodists” in 1838 is interesting, and may be due to one of two reasons: in 1832-3 there was an Independent Methodist chapel at 45, High Street; how long that society continued we do not know, for the other references in the *Directory* to “Independent Methodists” from 1831 to 1837 clearly refer to Primitive Methodists. (Whether this was the name by which the Primitives locally called themselves, or whether it is a slip, due to the almost proverbial ignorance in Scotland regarding the People called Methodists, we cannot say;

the latter is perhaps the more likely.) It may well be that that little society ultimately united with the Dissenting Wesleyan Methodists, naturally giving rise to the new name. On the other hand, the whole group of dissenting Methodists in Scotland described themselves as the "Scottish United Methodist Churches", so that it is perhaps more likely that "United" referred to the bond between them and other churches in Dundee, Glasgow, Edinburgh, etc.

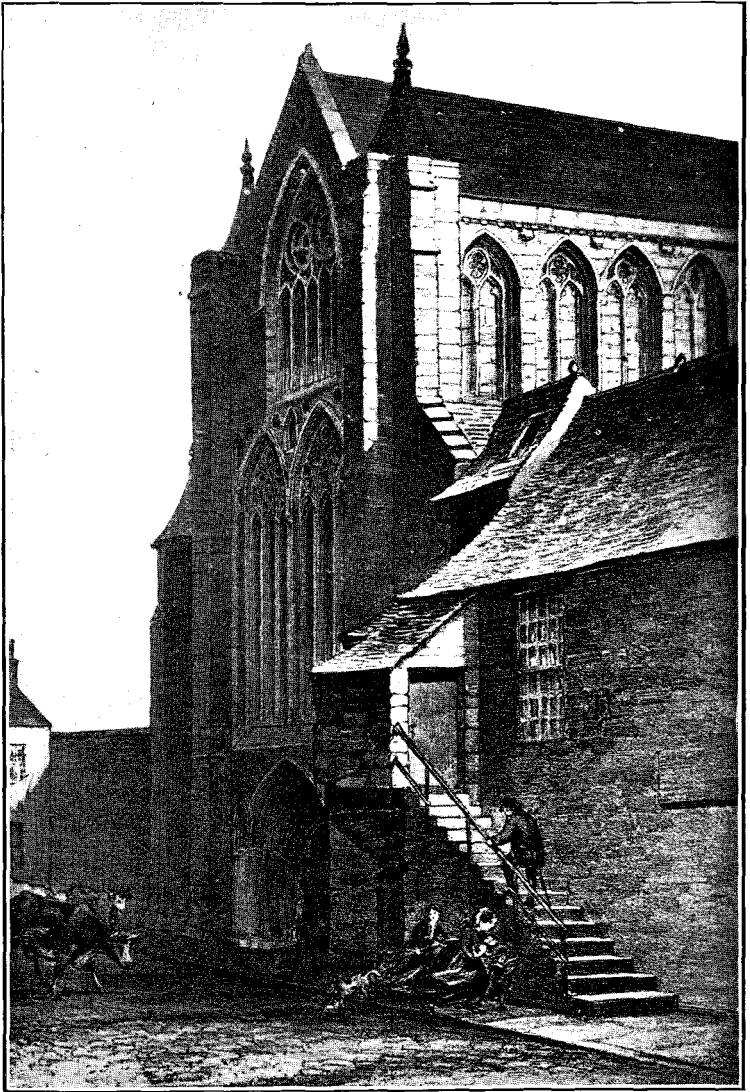
This United Methodist Church had for some time—at any rate from 1838 to 1840—a class or society at Johnstone; but more than that is not known. The Paisley Wesleyan circuit also included a society there by 1828, meeting at 6, Quarry Street, where again there are now old cottages; again it seems that either cottage meetings were held or that a cottage was used as a chapel. This little society continued for some time, but there are echoes of the troubles of the day when the Paisley *Directory* for 1841 describes the same meeting-place as a "Chartist Chapel"; but by 1845 it is "Methodist" again.

The Primitive Methodists are the only branch of Methodism to have had a continuous history in Paisley. They date their arrival in the town as 1828 (the Annual Synod of the Scotland District of the Primitive Methodist Church was held in Paisley in April 1928 to celebrate the centenary), and have been represented there ever since. One James Johnson of Carlisle, who had been instrumental in getting Primitive Methodist preachers from Kendal to the border city, and who had later been sent by Carlisle in 1825 to mission Glasgow, led the first attack on Paisley in 1828. "Footing the whole of the seven-mile journey they arrived betimes and began their 'assault to the city' in the Jail Square, possibly the most suitable place for such an emprise."⁶

The society first met in a school in Hunter Street, near the present St. James Street church. After some three years they moved to the "Lady House", then the residence of an Abbey functionary, in Star Inn Close, at 14, High Street.⁷ After a further three years, in 1834, the society again moved, this time to 10, Abbey Close. This building leaned against the south side of the nave of the Abbey, on the site now occupied by the restored cloisters; it was an ancient building, known as the Philosophical Hall, being owned and used by the Paisley Philosophical Society. The Primitive Methodists rented it for £7 per annum, and here saw some of their greatest triumphs—witness the old minute which

⁶ A. Wilkes, "A Hundred Years of Primitive Methodism in Paisley", in the Centenary Souvenir and Synod Handbook, Scotland District, 1928, p. 12.

⁷ These details, as those later, are taken from Mr. Wilkes's sketch, but do not tally with those in the Paisley *Directory*, when the Primitives are described as meeting in High Street in 1828, the number being noted as 32, not 14, in 1832. This would appear to be a slip, even if prophetic! From 1831 to 1837 they are, as already noted, described as "Independent Methodists", but Johnson's name continues to appear as minister till after they moved to Abbey Close.



THE PHILOSOPHICAL HALL, PAISLEY.

The West Front of Paisley Abbey. From an old print, showing portion of the west wing of the cloister buildings which were removed in 1874. This upper room was used as a Primitive Methodist chapel from 1834 to 1874.



THE CHURCH OF THE NEW JERUSALEM, GEORGE STREET, PAISLEY.

Formerly used as a Wesleyan Methodist and later (until 1854) as a Wesleyan Association chapel. The right-hand side of the street is shortly to be demolished as part of a reconstruction scheme, but the church is to be allowed to remain.

records that Brother X "be appointed to pack the people in the Hall on Sunday nights".

Soon, in December 1837, Paisley, hitherto under the care of the Glasgow Station, was to become a separate circuit—and even took Glasgow under its care for a while.

In 1846 Paisley was transferred from the Sunderland to the Hull District with which it remained until in 1853 it was again transferred to the "Missions" section of the London District, with which its connection was continued until 1871, when it was attached to the Mission District. With this it remained until 1875, when the North British (now Scotland) District was formed, in which it took second place.

Towards the expiry of the Abbey Close tenancy a plot of land was bought, but a minute of 27th September 1872 authorizes its sale, and the "Tabernacle" in Canal Street purchased instead for £200, this being the first chapel *owned* by the society. This was in 1874; and it remained their meeting-place till the railway authorities bought it in 1884 for £2,250, the site being required for the making of the new line to Greenock.

Sites of land in Gordon Lane and in School Wynd were prospected and negotiated for erecting a church, but in the end they were turned down and the present building in St. James Street purchased for £1,500. This structure has had a strange history. It was originally an Independent Church, but the congregation worshipping in it applied "on the first of December 1823 to the United Associate Presbytery of Seceders for regular supply of sermon, which was granted". Thus the church was brought into one of the streams that converged in 1847 into what was long known as the United Presbyterian Church. . . . It appears to have been built about 1821, and during the ministry of the famous Dr. James Brown became too strait for the growing congregation, and the fine new pile two or three hundred yards further along the street was built, and thus their old building came into our hands.*

For a few months, until the St. James Street premises were ready for use, the society worshipped in the Old Templar Hall.

As one would expect of the Primitive Methodists, they were not content to stay as they were, but missioned many of the neighbouring places. Johnstone, Kilbarchan, Elderslie, Kilmalcolm, Linwood, Inkerman, Hurlet, Kilmarnock, Greenock and Pollokshaws all witnessed their evangelistic efforts, but today only the last two remain, Greenock having immediately become a separate station, and Pollokshaws in 1897.

No account of Primitive Methodism in Paisley would be complete without mention of two names that were destined to become household words in Methodism: Colin C. McKechnie and ex-Bailie James Gray. The latter, for many years the most honoured layman in the Primitive Methodist Church, and in 1936 Vice-President of the Methodist Conference, comes only indirectly into our story, for he was a product of the daughter church at Pollokshaws; but

* Wilkes, *op. cit.*, p. 34f.

McKechnie was a son of Paisley, one of the many who have been brought into Methodism through song. His family were nominal adherents of the Kirk, but they had a maid-servant named Bella McNair who was a Primitive and who was full of the melodies of the "Small Hymn-book". Her singing awakened the interest of the youth, then in his early teens.

He went to the services, became an enquirer and a convert, then a Sunday School teacher, a class-leader and a lay preacher at fifteen! Then at sixteen-and-a-half is sent into the ministry at Ripon, Yorkshire,—to get the noble sum of £3 10s. per quarter as salary! Fifty-eight years later he ended at Darlington a ministry almost unmatched in our annals. He had pastored great circuits, conducted great revivals, inaugurated ministerial associations, established a quarterly theological and literary journal which is still issuing as the "[London Quarterly and] Holborn Review", edited our seven magazines for the unique period of eleven years, and attained to the moderatorship of Assembly, as President of our Annual Conference. Truly, if Paisley had done no more for our Church and the Kingdom of God it would have merited the undying gratitude of every Primitive Methodist.*

In conclusion, one thing should be said. Many would-be historians, including the present writer, have been greatly hampered in their researches by the lack of records. In Greenock, for instance, no records seem to exist of the Wesleyan society further back than the date of the present building—which means that a hundred years of records have gone a-missing. Is it not time that a real effort was made to make sure that early records—deeds, minute books, account books, plans, etc.—are preserved, when present-day officials are inclined to burn them as "no longer of any use"?

OLIVER A. BECKERLEGGE.

* Wilkes, op. cit., p. 17f.

Our Secretary, Dr. Frank Baker, has published privately *The Story of Cleethorpes* (pp. 182, limited edition on art paper, 20s.; paper covers, 5s.). This is a "local history" with a difference. Written primarily to celebrate the 150th anniversary of the first Cleethorpes chapel, it tells the Methodist story within the setting of the growth and development of modern Cleethorpes. No praise can be too great, either for the tireless industry and careful scholarship of Dr. Baker, or for the resultant book with its sixteen admirable illustrations. Dr. Baker's book deserves a wide sale, especially amongst Methodists who visit this Lincolnshire coast resort. It can be obtained from the author at 14, Queen's Parade, Cleethorpes, and the profits go to local Methodist funds.

Another praiseworthy "local history" is *Methodism in Bridgerule*, by Thomas Shaw (pp. 42, 2s.), obtainable from the author at Morwenna, Bridgerule, Devon. Mr. Shaw, whose painstaking work is known to our Society, has ingeniously overcome publishing difficulties by printing the covers and seven illustrations in the usual way, and "cyclostyling" the text and line drawings most attractively on a hand duplicator. The result is a neat, interesting, and authoritative history of Methodism in all its branches in a Devonshire village.

HOW TO WRITE A LOCAL HISTORY OF METHODISM

THIS is an ambitious and indeed immodest title to an article by one who has only one small "local history" to his credit, and that written long before the lessons given below were learnt. The title, however, has been borrowed from an article with this identical heading which was printed in the first volume of *Proceedings* (i, pp. 138-9). That was nearly sixty years ago, but experience has taught us so much that Mr. H. W. Ball's brief article is of little use to the present-day student.

The very first issue of the *Proceedings* (i, pp. 3-14) gave a lengthy and useful "List of Local Histories", and this list was supplemented in volume vi, pp. 70-4. Most of these early histories (the lists were printed in 1898 and 1908 respectively) are scarce, and command a high price in the second-hand market; they are, of course, all "Wesleyan", and most of them occupy too much space with a detailed account of Wesley's visits to the locality. The Primitive Methodists and the United Methodists were not so historically-minded, and the number of their local histories is correspondingly small. There is great need, therefore, for a new impetus to be given to the writing of Methodist history at the level of the local circuit or society or town, bringing previous histories up to date, covering all the Methodist denominations, and giving a coherent picture of the development of Methodism as a whole. An excellent example of what can be done concerns Halifax. J. U. Walker's *History of Wesleyan Methodism in Halifax*, published in 1836, remained the only standard history until 1953, when Mrs. E. V. Chapman, a local Methodist and one of our members, published *John Wesley & Co. (Halifax)*. We cannot profess to like the title, but the book itself fulfils all our expectations, and gives an up-to-date survey of Halifax Methodism in all its branches.

This present article, based on a good deal of research experience (if not on the writing of actual histories!) is written in the hope that it may stimulate some of our younger members to undertake the task of writing the history of local Methodism. I am confident that before they have gone very far the task will have been transformed into a fascinating and absorbing hobby which will in the end richly reward both the investigator and the cause of historical research.

Here, then, are the sources which should be explored and from some or all of which information may be gleaned.

I. Publicity

It is wise at the outset to inform all and sundry of the investigation which is about to be made. This can be done by a judicious word in the quarterly meeting or the Synod, by a paragraph in the circuit magazine, the *Methodist Recorder*, and in the provincial daily or weekly newspaper. A direct approach should also be

made to the society steward of each chapel concerned, for the goodwill and co-operation of the local officials is invaluable. It is surprising how many people will produce odd scraps of material in the shape of old plans, handbills, brochures and the like, once they know what is on foot. The investigator will be waylaid by earnest folk with a conspiratorial air: "This will be of more use to you than to me, old chap!" One word of caution: accept family reminiscences with suspicion; the "tales of a grandfather" are no real substitute for the hard facts of history. And as for chairs on which John Wesley sat and teapots from which his tea was poured—their name is legion!

II. Methodist Sources

1. THE "JOURNALS" AND "LETTERS". First in importance we must put the "Journals" of the brothers Wesley. The *Journal of John Wesley*, edited by Nehemiah Curnock and published in an eight-volume standard edition in 1909-16, provides with its index and footnotes what is usually called a "mine of information". A publisher's note in the first volume of the reprinted "bi-centenary" edition in 1938 promised a ninth volume containing errata and addenda and some newly-discovered material. This additional volume has not been forthcoming, but three of our members, the Revs. George H. Lockett and Thomas Shaw and Mr. J. A. Vickers, have recently been working hard on the *Journal*, and it is to be hoped that the results of their labours will be incorporated in the promised volume when publishing costs permit. The *Journal of Charles Wesley*, edited in two volumes by Thomas Jackson in 1849, is both incomplete and out of print, but it should be consulted, for its importance is not negligible in the field of local research. And with the "Journals" the *Letters of John Wesley*, edited by John Telford in eight volumes in 1931, should not be neglected; like the *Journal* it is not free from errors, but Wesley's letters to his preachers, for example, are of special value for our present purpose.

2. THE MAGAZINES AND OTHER METHODIST PERIODICALS. The *Arminian Magazine*, begun by John Wesley in 1778 and continued in later years as the *Methodist Magazine* and the *Wesleyan Methodist Magazine*, contains a wealth of historical and biographical information. This was carefully indexed for the years 1778-1839 by Mr. Francis M. Jackson, and his work was published as a supplement to the *Proceedings* in volume seven. The work has been continued for the later years in MS. form by the Rev. George H. Lockett. The Magazines for the other Methodist denominations should also be searched. Here are their names and dates:

- Primitive Methodist Magazine*—1818-1932
- Methodist New Connexion Magazine*—1798-1907
- Bible Christian Magazine*—1822-1907
- Wesleyan Protestant Methodist Magazine*—1829-1834
- Wesleyan Association Magazine*—1838-1856

United Methodist Free Churches Magazine—1857-1907
United Methodist Magazine—1907-32.

These magazines are being indexed by the Rev. Thomas Shaw, and his painstaking work, with that of Mr. Lockett, will be of tremendous value to the student. Other Methodist magazines, such as the *Christian Miscellany* and the *City Road Magazine*, should also be consulted.

The Methodist newspapers, the *Watchman* (1835-63), the *Methodist Recorder* (1861 to date), the *Methodist Times* (1885-1937) and the *Primitive Methodist Leader* (1905-1932), should not be overlooked. I have myself compiled an index to the historical notices in the *Watchman* and the *Methodist Recorder* from 1835 to 1891. In the early years of this century the *Methodist Recorder* printed about 700 illustrated historical articles by Nehemiah Curnock and others. Our President, the Rev. F. F. Bretherton, has a complete set of these, and an index to them is in my possession.

3. OTHER STANDARD WORKS. The *Minutes of Conference* for all the denominations should be consulted, and also that useful Wesleyan publication, *Hall's Circuits and Ministers, 1765-1912*, with its supplement from 1913-23, which gives a complete list of all the circuits in Great Britain and the ministers stationed in them. Some inaccuracies and omissions were noted in an article which I wrote in *Proceedings*, xvii, pp. 96-8. The other Methodist denominations unfortunately have nothing that corresponds to *Hall's Arrangement* (to use its popular name, not to be confused with *Hill's Arrangement*), but the Rev. Dr. Oliver Beckerlegge has been working on the churches which formed the United Methodist Church in 1907, and hopes soon to complete what we may venture to call a "Beckerlegge's Arrangement" in MS. form for those churches—another very valuable piece of work.

Mention must also be made of the various histories of Methodism. They are all good in their way, but none of the denominations has anything to compare with Kendall's two-volume *Origin and History of the Primitive Methodist Church*, which, despite its inadequate index, is an invaluable work of reference. William Myles's *Chronological History of the People called Methodists* contains in its fourth edition a "List of Chapels" with dates of erection. The list is not entirely accurate, but should not be overlooked. Information about the building of chapels and their dates can often be obtained from the annual "Reports" of the Wesleyan Chapel Committee (1855 onwards), and also from the Wesleyan "Circuit Chapel Schedules", which from 1855 are preserved at five-yearly intervals in bound volumes at the Department of Chapel Affairs in Manchester.

Methodist biographies must also be searched. Our ancestors were often verbose and unduly pietistic in recording the events of the lives of their contemporaries or of themselves, but the records they have left contain information of great value. The student will begin with the six small volumes of *Lives of Early Methodist*

Preachers, which he will supplement with some of the extended notices in the *Arminian Magazine*, and then go on to such other biographies and autobiographies as would appear from a study of *Hall's Arrangement* to be likely sources for his immediate purpose. Conference "Handbooks" often contain useful information and interesting photographs, but the student is warned that errors in the earlier issues are often perpetuated by editors of subsequent editions. Lastly, we must mention our own *Proceedings*: until the clamant need of a master-index to our twenty-eight volumes has been met by some public-spirited volunteer, it will be necessary to consult the index to each volume.

4. CIRCUIT RECORDS. The co-operation of the superintendent minister should be sought, and the contents of the circuit safe and other repositories examined, especially if they are of considerable age. Old deeds, minute books, baptism registers, and the like, will often yield a fruitful harvest; though the student must not be discouraged if he finds that the circuit safe resembles Mother Hubbard's cupboard, for some of our forefathers were amazingly lacking in historical appreciation and took little care of our records, with the result that many valuable books were allowed to pass into the hands of private individuals. In the case of chapels which have been closed and sold, the deeds (or an abstract of them) will have passed to their new owners. These old deeds often give dates and names which cannot be established elsewhere, and it is advisable to ask the present owners of the property to allow the deeds to be inspected for this purpose.

III. Ecclesiastical Records

I. REGISTRATIONS OF PLACES OF WORSHIP. The Toleration Act of 1689, which gave relief to "Protestant Dissenters" from some of the worst provisions of the Conventicle Act of 1670, laid down that no congregation or assembly for religious worship shall be permitted or allowed by this Act until the place of such meeting shall be certified to the bishop of the diocese, or to the archdeacon of that archdeaconry, or to the justices of the peace at the general quarter sessions of the peace for the county, city, or place in which such meeting shall be held, and registered in the said bishop's or archdeacon's court respectively, or recorded at the said general or quarter sessions.

This is not the place to discuss the general question of the registration of Methodist preaching-houses during Wesley's lifetime and immediately afterwards.¹ Our present purpose is to indicate the importance of these registrations, for they give such information as the date of registration, the place at which services were held (often a private dwelling-house), and the names of the local Methodists who made the application. The registers of the bishop's and archdeacon's courts can usually be inspected at the diocesan

¹ An excellent description of the Toleration Act and its provisions can be read in *Proceedings*, xi, pp. 103-8, 130-7.

registry, and those of the clerk of the peace at the office of the town clerk or the clerk to the county council.

There is, however, an alternative method of procuring this information. The Certification of Places of Worship Act, 1852, not only provided that places of worship of Protestant Dissenters should in future be certified to the Registrar-General instead of the bishop, archdeacon or quarter sessions, but also required the diocesan registrar, the archdeacon's registrar, and the clerk of the peace "in every county, riding, division, city, town or place" to send to the Registrar-General a return of "all Places of Public Religious Worship which have been certified to and registered in . . . from the year 1688 up to the 29th day of June 1852". These returns, bound in large volumes, may be consulted for a nominal fee at that section of the General Register Office which is housed at Room 103, Turnstile House, Holborn, London, E.C.1. It should be noted, however, that the copies are not so detailed as the original registrations, but are much easier both to read and to transcribe.

One further point requires explanation. The preaching-houses or other meeting-rooms were frequently registered as places of worship "for the use of Protestant Dissenters", without the denomination being specified. Indeed, after the passing of the Act of 1812 which repealed the Five Mile Act and the Conventicle Act, Methodists were officially reminded that the Act mentioned only "Protestants", and were advised to accept no certificate of registration which narrowed the term to "Protestant Dissenters" or which stated the place of worship to be for any specific denomination of Protestants.² For the historian, therefore, the identification of the denomination will in many cases depend upon corroboratory evidence.

2. EPISCOPAL VISITATION RETURNS. The executive authority of an Anglican bishop was formerly exercised in part by a periodical "visitation" of his diocese. A citation was issued to the clergy and churchwardens to attend the bishop at some centre on a fixed day for various disciplinary purposes, and in the eighteenth century it was the practice for a preparatory "letter to the clergy" or questionnaire to be sent to each incumbent in order that the bishop might be furnished with advance information about the condition of the parish and its religious life.³ The questions which were asked vary from diocese to diocese and from one bishop to the next in the same diocese, but all of them are of profound interest to the historian, and especially those questions which throw light upon the development of Methodism. For example, Archbishop Drummond's "visitation return" in the diocese of York in 1764 begins with the following two questions:

² Legal opinion as quoted in Myles's *Chronological History of the Methodists*, p. 417.

³ For an account of episcopal visitations, see W. H. Frere in *Alcuin Club Collections*, xiv (1910).

1. What Number of Families have you in your Parish? Of these, how many are Dissenters? And of what Sort or Denomination are they?
2. Is there any licensed or other Meeting-House in your Parish? How many? Of what Sort? How often do they assemble? In what number? Who teaches in them?

It will be obvious that the answers to these questions will be very illuminating, not only to Archbishop Drummond in 1764 but also to us today, especially when we compare the answers with those given to similar questions in Archbishop Herring's visitation returns in the same diocese in 1743.

I cannot say to what extent the visitation returns in other dioceses will prove equally valuable to the investigator, but they should be carefully searched. The amount of information they will yield will be small, but it will be at first-hand, for the documents are primary sources. Inquiry should be made at the appropriate diocesan registry for permission to examine the returns, though it may be found (as in the case of Archbishop Herring's returns) that some of them have been transcribed and published by an archæological or other society, thereby making the task much easier.

IV. Secular Records

1. **NEWSPAPER FILES.** Of all the methods of investigation open to the research worker, a careful search of the files of the provincial daily and/or weekly newspaper is at once the most tedious and the most remunerative. It demands time and patience, as well as a supreme indifference to personal discomfort, but the yield of information will amply compensate. The co-operation of the local editor or the public librarian will not be difficult to obtain, and facilities are usually provided with the greatest good-will.

2. **THE NON-PAROCHIAL REGISTERS.** Before 1st July 1837 there was no general registration of births, marriages and deaths in England. Births were proved by baptismal certificates, entries in family Bibles, etc., whilst deaths were proved by records in parish registers and on tombstones. It was common, however, for local congregations of nonconformists to keep records of these events for their own purposes. In 1836, Registration Acts were passed which provided for the creation of a General Register Office "in London or Westminster". A Royal Commission was also appointed, and as a result of its findings the Non-Parochial Registers Act was passed in 1840, empowering the Registrar-General to take into his custody such registers of births, baptisms, deaths, burials and marriages as should be surrendered to him by the various nonconformist bodies. Certified extracts from these deposited books are receivable as evidence in all civil cases.

The scheme was voluntary, but it met with the approval of the nonconformist denominations, including the various branches of Methodism, and the following Methodist registers (or copies of registers) were deposited at the General Register Office:

- (a) Three registers of the births and baptisms of 10,291 children kept by the Wesleyan Methodists at their "Metropolitan Registry"

in Paternoster Row, London. The Registry was established in 1818, but the entries date back to 1773, and extend to 1838.⁴

(b) 856 volumes of registers from local congregations in all the branches of Methodism.

A careful examination of these registers, together with such other registers as have been retained in the local circuit or chapel safes, will reveal many interesting details about the identity, the places of residence, the occupations, and the family history of the people who attended our chapels over a hundred years ago. The "non-parochial registers" are open to inspection at Somerset House, Strand, London, W.C.2, on payment of a small fee.

3. THE RELIGIOUS CENSUS OF 1851. In connexion with the 1851 census of the civil population there was also taken on a selected Sunday of that year a census of all places of religious worship and of the numbers attending them. The idea is said to be Lord Palmerston's; the date selected was 30th March 1851; and the results were published two years later in a volume entitled *Census of Great Britain, 1851: Religious Worship, England and Wales; Report and Tables*. This book is of absorbing interest, and its many tables of statistics are of first-class importance to the social historian of the period.

These statistics, however, are not sufficiently detailed for the local Methodist historian, and it is fortunate that the original census papers have been preserved at the Public Record Office. They give a complete and detailed picture of the people of England and Wales at worship on that given Sunday in 1851, church by church and chapel by chapel. Whatever Lord Palmerston's political shortcomings may have been, we owe him a debt of gratitude for his "brain-wave" of the religious census. The scope of the census and its importance for our purpose may best be seen by selecting one representative chapel and setting out the questions and answers as they appear (though in tabular form) on the census paper. I have therefore chosen the Lady Lane chapel, Leeds. The details are as follows:

1. Name or title of Place of	Lady Lane Chapel,
& 2. Worship, and where situated.	Leeds, County of York.
3. Religious Denomination.	Wesleyan Association.
4. When erected.	1840.
5. Whether separate & entire building.	Yes.
6. Space available for Public Worship.	480 free sittings. 921 other sittings.
7. Estimated number of persons attending Divine Service on Sunday, March 30, 1851.	General Congregation: Morning 370 Afternoon 460 Evening 569 Sunday Scholars: Morning 200 Afternoon & Evening Nil.

⁴ An account of the Metropolitan Wesleyan Registry is given in *Proceedings*, xi, p. 163f.

Remarks: The afternoon congregation was not regular. It was a Love-feast, all present being either members of Society, or persons permitted to attend with them. The members probably constituting 15/16ths of the whole number.—
T. A. Bayley, Minister.

I certify the foregoing to be a true and correct return to the best of my belief, Witness my hand
31 day of March 1851.

Signature: Thos. Kettlewell.

Official character: Trustees Steward of the above place of worship.
Address by post: 100 Briggate, Leeds.

When it is remembered that every place of worship in England and Wales was covered in the same way, it will be realized that the census returns give first-hand information of a kind that the historian cannot afford to miss. The returns, which are adequately indexed under Home Office Papers, can be inspected at the Public Record Office, Chancery Lane, London, W.C.2, but it is necessary to make previous application by post for a Student's Ticket.

4. THE "MANORIAL RECORDS". Many of our chapels were erected on "copyhold" land. The method of transferring copyhold land was by the surrender of the land by the vendor to the lord of the manor through the steward and by the lord's admittance of the purchaser as the new tenant. These transactions were recorded in the rolls of the Court of the Manor by the steward, and these rolls are the only records of the transference of manorial land which now exist. The system of copyhold tenure was abolished by the Law of Property Act, 1922, but the manorial rolls still have legal importance, and the Master of the Rolls made provision for their safe custody in perpetuity. Some are in the care of public libraries, others are lodged with learned societies and the like. When it is known that any given chapel was erected on copyhold land, an examination of the Court roll for the manor concerned is well worth the trouble involved. Information as to the present locations of the rolls can be obtained from the Manorial and Tithe Documents Committee, Public Record Office, Chancery Lane, London, W.C.2.

5. OTHER SECULAR RECORDS. The friendly co-operation of the city or county archivist and the local librarian should be sought. Old "local directories" often give remarkably accurate information about dates and cost of chapels, and some enterprising local authorities have published extracts from their borough records in the form of a "date book" or "annals". All these sources are likely to be productive, but the extent will depend upon the area concerned.

V. Conclusion

It is easy to give gratuitous advice, and no one is more aware than the present writer that to pursue the course suggested in the foregoing pages involves a tremendous amount of labour and a great deal of time. In the writing of a local history, however,

there is no short cut to success, and if the resulting pamphlet, brochure or book is to be worthy of its title every possible source of information must be thoroughly searched, however long and arduous the task. No attempt has been made in these pages to indicate the best way to tackle the job; that will depend in every case on the facilities available and the time at the student's disposal. But once the first "discovery" has been made and the "scent" discovered, the hunt will be on, so to say; for there is something in this business of historical research which defies description and which is known only to those who have come under its spell and tasted of its joys.

Finally (to quote Mr. Ball's article of sixty years ago), "the material for a local history thus collected should be put together in an attractive and interesting form, avoiding the 'dry as dust' style so characteristic of many of our chroniclers." Good advice indeed. How to do it is beyond our present purpose, which makes the title of this article a misnomer. Neither, we regret to say, can we answer the plaintive appeal of a correspondent who, faced with present-day printing costs, asks us to write on "How to *publish* a local history"!

WESLEY F. SWIFT.

Civic and ecclesiastical authorities are becoming increasingly aware of the importance of "archives". *Local Records: their nature and care*, edited by L. J. Redstone and F. W. Steer (G. Bell, pp. xvi. 246, 25s.), has been written mainly for members of the Society of Local Archivists, but every Methodist student will find it of absorbing interest and great value. Not only are the varied tasks of the archivist expounded, but, more important, there are extensive notes on every kind of document repository and the records they contain. Our own Society, indeed, has a modest place in the section on "Archives of the Non-Established Churches". A careful reading of this book makes us grateful for the work which archivists are doing, but a little apprehensive lest Methodist trustees should respond too readily to the blandishments of local archivists and hand over on "permanent loan" documents which have historical value to Methodism.

Those who wish to pursue this subject in more detail will enjoy *An Introduction to Ecclesiastical Records*, by J. S. Purvis (St. Anthony's Press, pp. 96, 7s. 6d.). The contents of diocesan registries are laid bare in these pages, whilst authoritative information is given about dozens of technical terms relating to ecclesiastical courts, episcopal registers and visitations. This book will be full of interest to the advanced student.

The foregoing paragraphs lead naturally to a commendation of *Archives*, the half-yearly Journal of the British Records Association. This magazine has just completed its second volume, and though most of its contents are of special interest to archivists many articles are of real interest to the Methodist historian. For example, a series on "Local Archives of Great Britain" contains much valuable information. The annual subscription is 10s., payable to Roger Sommerville, 1, Lancaster Place, London, W.C.2. It is clear that the modern emphasis on "archives", which we welcome, must increasingly affect the work of our own Society in many ways.

HUGH MOORE AND JOHN WESLEY

Some Unpublished Correspondence

HUGH MOORE was one of those stormy petrels of the Methodist Revival who were great forces in the spread of the Gospel, yet who for various reasons found themselves unable to continue in the harness of an itinerant Methodist preacher to their life's end. Most of them are little known. We are able to increase our knowledge of Hugh Moore by the foresight of two Ebenezer Moores, his ancestors, who prepared histories of their family, and by the kindness of their descendant, Miss C. E. Hamilton, one of our Life Members. Incidentally we are able to present five unpublished letters of John Wesley which were written to Moore, transcripts being given in the family history.

The Moore family of Drumclaph in the Londonderry circuit was "descended from a Mr. Moore of Neagilligan who came from Scotland in 1639 to reside in the lower land of Bullock Park near Clare Bridge". The eldest son of Robert Moore (1646-1716) was Charles Moore (1713-1793). In 1750 Charles married Mary Grier, and their sixth child was Hugh, born 1759, who died unmarried in 1829. The family removed to Drumclaph, a large farm estate, when Hugh was a tiny child. Hugh's father was "a very tall dignified man, and was esteemed the most religious man in the neighbourhood (the parson included) before the introduction of Methodism. When any neighbour was taken ill, he was sure to be sent for to advise and pray with them and the family." At the same time, adds his biographer, "he was highly esteemed as a good social pot companion; he loved his bottle and his Bible"! About 1769 Methodism came to the area, and the Moore home became one of the regular meeting-places. Although all the children had been brought up to love both religion, card-playing and "the bottle", Methodism conquered the latter habits. Hugh was one of the early converts, as a boy approaching his 'teens.

Hugh's first meeting with Wesley was on Monday, 10th June 1771, when Wesley had planned to preach at Magheralough about noon. On a borrowed horse young Hugh Moore rode up Derrygoon Hill, passing a lone horseman. Later he discovered that it was the great preacher himself, so he hastened back and acted as Wesley's guide to Magheralough. After several early efforts at preaching and conducting prayer meetings, Moore seems to have become a regular preacher through the insistence of Richard Boardman, whose first appointment on returning from America in 1774 was that of "superintendent minister" of the Londonderry circuit. (There is some confusion in the biography, which states that Moore met Wesley on 10th June 1771, *after* he had been led to preach by Boardman. It seems possible that his meeting with Wesley did not take place until 1775.)

In 1777 Hugh Moore was admitted on trial as an itinerant preacher, being stationed in the Armagh circuit. In 1778 he was sent to Sligo, 1779 to Waterford, and in 1780 (although still on trial) was put down as the Assistant at Lisleen. In 1781 (still on trial) he was the Assistant of the Londonderry circuit.

During his stay in the Londonderry circuit Hugh Moore befriended young Adam Clarke, so soon to become one of the most promising of the Methodist preachers, and eventually a world-famous scholar-evangelist. Moore's biographer seems a little resentful that his name is not mentioned in Clarke's biographies, John Bredin's name being there instead. In this case, however, it seems that family pride must be denied. The evidence of Wesley's letters supports Clarke's biographers, showing that Bredin was the preacher who was mainly responsible for bringing him to Wesley's notice.

Some pique against Bredin might have been natural, however, for it was he who at this time was charged by Wesley to keep a careful eye on Moore's actions. The case opens with Wesley's letter to Bredin dated 10th April 1782:

I have a letter from Mrs. Davenport, informing me that Hugh Moore has offered marriage to Kitty Davenport without the consent of her parents. Pray write to him strongly upon the head, and show him the sinfulness of such a proceeding; reminding him withal that, if he married a person without the consent of her parents, he would thereby exclude himself out of the Methodist Connexion. Let him remember the exemplary behaviour of John Prickard on a like occasion. If he will seriously promise entirely to drop the affair, he may come to Coleraine as usual. If he will not, he must come thither no more.

The Davenports, needless to say, lived at Coleraine. Bredin, a converted Roman Catholic schoolmaster, was not stationed, according to the *Minutes* of 1781, though he was already a preacher in full connexion, and in Wesley's confidence. One wonders whether Moore's entanglement has anything to do with a letter which Wesley had written to Bredin only six days earlier, in which he speaks of Adam Clarke's studies, and adds: "Would it not be of use for you and Brother Moore to change?" Another expedient seems to have offered itself to Wesley, for he wrote about this time (the letter is undated) to Thomas Rutherford at Lisburn:

Write to Hugh Moore in my name, and tell him, "I desire he would change places with you for six weeks or two months." The being near her relations at the time of her lying in may be a means of saving your wife's life. I doubt not of Brother Moore's willingness to oblige either you or me in a matter of such importance.

Happily "Brother Moore" toed the line, and forsook Miss Davenport. Later in the year, however, on 4th August 1782, Wesley again wrote to Bredin about another indiscretion of Moore's, probably connected with the former incident:

I do not understand what is the accusation against Hugh Moore. Simply administering an oath is a folly; but I know not that it is contrary to any law. If he is afraid of staying at Coleraine (although I know not why) let him change with a Sligo or Castlebar preacher.

Conference opened two days later, and Hugh Moore (still on trial, for the sixth year) was put down for Aberdeen, well away from his earlier difficulties. Here he was able to exercise his undoubted evangelistic powers to good purpose, opening up new areas, as indeed he had done in Ireland. His biographer tells of an unnamed town to which he went in the Aberdeen area,

and not knowing any person or where to go he rode pensively along the streets. A young woman ran after him. "Sir," said she, "I dreamed last night I saw a person of your appearance in this street. Are you a Methodist preacher? Come with me." He went and found a hearty welcome, preached to a large congregation, and ultimately formed a class.

The following year, 1783, Moore's name at last disappears from the list of those who "remain on trial", though strangely enough it does *not* appear among those who were admitted into full connexion. He was stationed at Whitehaven, as the junior colleague of Thomas Ellis. Here it was that he received the first letter from John Wesley which he preserved:

JOHN WESLEY TO HUGH MOORE

Bristol, Oct. 3rd, 1783.

Dear Hugh,

I hope those that follow you in Scotland will do all they can in the new places. It is your part to forget the things behind, and with all possible seriousness and earnestness to redeem the time, and lay yourself out in snatching as many brands as you can out of the fire.

Your fellow labourer and you, going on hand in hand, will soon put the circuit into a better condition. Only be exact in every part of discipline, and strongly insist upon the old Methodist doctrine, namely Salvation from all sin attainable now by faith.

Those commissioners have a large salary for examining all proposals concerning the Longitude, therefore they discourage all that attempt to discover it, lest they should lose their salary.

I am, Dear Hugh,

Your affectionate brother,

J. WESLEY.

The problem of finding the exact longitude at sea was a very live question in Wesley's day, and in 1713 the British government joined the ranks of nations offering substantial rewards to those offering solutions. The Commissioners appointed for this purpose had the power to award up to £20,000 for an exact method of computing longitude while at sea. John Harrison's chronometer had been tried out by Captain Cook during his circumnavigation of the world, and had received an award, but the investigation was still open, and various inventors were still trying to establish claims. Hugh Moore seems to have been among their number.

During Moore's Whitehaven ministry he was taken ill and had to return to his home at Drumclaph, where he remained during the following year also. By 1785 his health improved, however, and the Conference that year stationed him at Lisburn, and at length admitted him that year into full connexion. He had been on trial for seven years. In 1786 he was stationed as the Assistant of the

Charlemont circuit. Towards the end of his time there Wesley wrote him the following letter:

JOHN WESLEY TO HUGH MOORE

My dear Brother,

Lisbelaw, May 30th, 1787.

I used often to be afraid for Mr. Whitefield that he had not reproach enough. Honour will destroy any man living unless it be balanced with a proportionable degree of dishonour. I have wrote a few lines to Mr. Caulfield; he truly fears God.

Probably I shall preach in the new house at Armagh. Fight on and conquer.

I am, Dear Hugh,
Your affectionate friend and brother,
J. WESLEY.

The Rev. Charles Caulfield was the rector of Killyman, near Charlemont. Wesley's "few lines" to him do not appear to have survived, so that we are not able to elucidate the cryptic remarks on the danger of honour.

At the Conference of 1787 Moore was stationed as the Assistant of the Clones circuit, and his labours there earned Wesley's praise, though a word of caution was also necessary, as appears from another unpublished letter:

JOHN WESLEY TO HUGH MOORE

Dear Hugh,

Manchester, April 12th, 1788.

I did not question but you would have a comfortable time in the Clones Circuit, and the rather because you are a lover of peace, and will promote it by every possible means. You have reason to rejoice in the exercise of the grace and work of God in the neighbouring Societies, and you have encouragement to put forth all your strength, and to expect to see still greater things than these.

Unless you design to murder yourself you must needs refrain from speaking loud or long. "The spirits of the prophets are subject to the prophets." Temptations from pleasure are more dangerous than temptations from pain, but if you watch and pray you will conquer both.

I am, Dear Hugh,
Your affectionate friend and brother,
J. WESLEY.

The Conference of 1788 moved Moore to Wexford, still as Assistant. He apparently complained to Wesley that there was not enough work for him here. Wesley's reply not only advises Moore how to use his time to the best advantage, but issues a choice warning which might well be adopted by the Chapel Committee:

JOHN WESLEY TO HUGH MOORE

My dear Brother,

Bristol, Sept. 21, 1788.

If you have not work enough for a month you must alter the Circuit, and go through it in two or three weeks, unless you take the advantage of this fine mild autumn to break up fresh ground. I suppose you have already taken in Donard and Baltinglass and the bog of Boiree. With faith and prayer you may do great things; these arms are invincible.

It is by no means expedient to make too much haste with regard to the building of houses. [Wesley means, of course, preaching-houses.] If we do not take care the Methodists will be destroyed by buildings. If we make rich men *necessary* to us discipline is at an end. Be bold. Be steady.

I am, Dear Hugh,
Your affectionate friend and brother,
J. WESLEY.

A little later in the year Wesley comments on the success which has attended Moore's efforts, and strengthens him against criticism:

JOHN WESLEY TO HUGH MOORE

Dear Hugh,

London, Decr. 25, 1788.

You have great reason to praise God who gives you [to] see the fruit of your labour. You say sinners are awakened out of sleep and savingly converted to God, then be thankful. Is not it a good reward for all the pains you have taken? And what if, in the meantime, men say all manner of evil of you? You are never the worse for this. Bear this as the Cross which our Blessed Lord sees good to lay upon you. A good man says, "David saw God's hand in Shimei's tongue, and therefore he was quiet." See God's hand in Shimei's tongue!

I am,
Your affectionate friend and brother,
J. WESLEY.

With "God's hand in Shimei's tongue" Wesley's extant correspondence with Hugh Moore ceases. But Shimei's tongue was not finished. Scandal was active with the reputation of Hugh Moore. He was stationed by the 1789 Conference as the Assistant of the Castlebar circuit, but from 1790 onwards his name is missing from the *Minutes*, even though he is not named among those who "desist from travelling". His earliest biographer, Moore's nephew Ebenezer, says that "Dr. Coke, who was his avowed enemy, struck his name out of the *Minutes*". A later preacher, however, Robert Carson, who travelled in the same circuit, stated that "in none but three instances did he hear Uncle blamed; one of these 3 was a neice of the person. Uncle said he was innocent and says to Chas. Stuart who was a local preacher at this time, 'If Dr. Coke dies the common death of all men, then he is right, and I am wrong.'" It is perhaps no wonder that Coke's death at sea a few years later was claimed in vindication of Moore's innocence of whatever charges were laid against him. As a travelling preacher, however, his days were finished.

Hugh Moore continued as a respected local preacher in the Londonderry area until his death. He also attained some reputation as a man of solid parts—something of a poet, an amateur physician in great demand, a composer and music teacher as well as a performer on the flute and violin, and even an engineer, responsible for the diversion of a local stream. After an illness of two months, on 4th July 1829 he "calmly breathed his last without a sigh or groan".

FRANK BAKER.

BOOK NOTICES

The Early Evangelicals: A Religious and Social Study, by L. E. Elliott-Binns. (Lutterworth Press, pp. 464, 3rs. 6d.)

The Evangelicals at Oxford, 1735-1871, by J. S. Reynolds. (Blackwell, pp. xi. 212, 25s.)

Reviewing Maisie Ward's *Young Mr. Newman* in *The Times Literary Supplement* some years ago, a writer observed that "the history of the Evangelical Movement in the Church of England has yet to be unfolded". Dr. L. E. Elliott-Binns has attempted this important undertaking so far as the early and formative period is concerned. He traces the story up to 1789 and now and then ventures beyond his appointed limit. The volume is rightly described as "a religious and social study", and Dr. Elliott-Binns has excelled himself in relating the Movement (which he regards as parallel to the Methodist Revival, but not derived from it) to the religious conditions of the time, and even more to those social factors of which it was itself a result and on which it was to have such a profound effect. Those who are familiar with the author's previous work will realize the breadth of judgement and understanding which he brings to his task.

The hard core of the book, however, is historical, and here Dr. Elliott-Binns is less satisfying. He seeks to investigate the growth of Evangelicalism in its local expansion, following an arrangement based on counties. He confesses that he has been unable to conduct any widespread search of parochial records but has had to rely mainly on casual references, chiefly in the letters and journals of contemporary leaders. He has not availed himself to any marked extent of the valuable field work that has been carried out in several areas, and despite his own warning in the Preface that biographies of eighteenth-century ecclesiastics must be treated with great caution, he is himself guilty at times of using them uncritically. The not surprising consequence is a considerable crop of misstatements. Errors of minor detail might perhaps be forgiven in a work of such scope, but one hardly expects to find Lord Dartmouth brought into the world six years before his time (p. 140), or the Countess of Huntingdon born on her wedding day and then marrying her noble Earl ten years after his death (p. 135)!

We are indebted to Dr. Elliott-Binns for this long-overdue account of eighteenth-century Evangelicalism. He has attained his major objective by providing an invaluable religious and social study of the Movement. It may well be that an exact, authoritative and comprehensive historical survey will eventually have to be attempted on a co-operative basis and only after many more sectional inquiries have been made.

Mr. Reynolds is a worthy example of such detailed and concentrated research. Oxford Evangelicalism has found a most capable chronicler. The author amasses his evidence with positively Teutonic impressiveness. He is always scrupulous to cite his authorities, and his thoroughness is attested by the number of corrections to previous inexactitudes he is able to offer. He has supplied a copious biographical appendix—a much-needed addition when dealing with this all-too-sparsely documented segment of church history. Mr. Reynolds' book is commendably free from inaccuracy.

He uses the facts he has gathered to good purpose. He finds that Evangelicalism (the term "evangelical" is employed to describe a theological position rather than an ecclesiastical allegiance) in Oxford dates back to 1735, and has a substantial and consecutive history from at least 1755 up to and indeed beyond the boundary line of 1871. The really important point which Mr. Reynolds abundantly succeeds in establishing is that the St. Edmund Hall expulsions did not so completely halt the Evangelical witness at Oxford as has too often been supposed. Otherwise reliable writers (Balleine, Overton, Brilioth, Storr, Elliott-Binns, Smyth) have indulged in unsubstantiated and misleading generalizations to the effect that Oxford closed its doors on the Evangelicals in 1768 and that thenceforward Cambridge became the sole centre for the training of their clergy. Mr. Reynolds shows that there was Evangelical continuity even within St. Edmund Hall itself, and that through the influence of such men as Edward Spencer and Nathaniel Bridges the way was paved for one who has been fittingly described as the Simeon of Oxford, namely Isaac Crouch, Vice-Principal of St. Edmund Hall, 1783-1806. This remarkable man, says Reynolds, "must be regarded as the real nursing-father of Evangelicalism in Oxford" (p. 59). The tale is taken up to the culmination of Evangelical influence in the earlier part of Benjamin Symons' wardenship at Wadham and on to the years of decline under Tractarianism.

The book is a joy to handle as well as to read, and is enhanced by ten well-reproduced portraits of prominent figures.

A. SKEVINGTON WOOD.

A History of the Church in England, by J. R. H. Moorman.
(A. & C. Black, pp. xx. 460, 25s.)

"The Church" for Dr. Moorman is the Anglican Church, for he has little to say about nonconformity. Otherwise this handsome one-volume history is well worth the money. Those who have read Dr. Moorman's *Church Life in England in the Thirteenth Century* will expect to find exact scholarship, clear exposition, and a readable style. The last two qualities are not wanting here, for the interest of the inevitably compressed narrative is well sustained. As to exact scholarship, we are not so sure. An extremely "thin" and outdated bibliography probably accounts for a number of avoidable blunders in the adequate sections devoted to "The Age of Wesley", e.g. Francis Asbury appears curiously as "Dr. Ashbury"; the tiresome error (which we thought to be dying a natural death) that the society in Aldersgate Street was Moravian is given a blood transfusion; the ambiguous statement is made that Charles Wesley was the author of the hymn "Let saints on earth in concert sing"; and we are informed that Quarterly Meetings are one of the "specific religious exercises of the Wesleysans".

However, Dr. Moorman's treatment of Wesley and the revival is thoroughly sympathetic, and one valuable point emerges from his discussion: the silencing of the Convocations of the Church, which did not meet from 1717 to 1854, was "a great disaster", for it meant that "there was no opportunity for the Church to formulate a common policy on such burning questions as Methodism . . ."

This book is an achievement; it is to be recommended for reading and for reference, for it is likely to be a standard work for some time to come.

WESLEY F. SWIFT.

NOTES AND QUERIES

940. PHILIP DODDRIDGE AND JOHN WESLEY.

There came into my hands some time ago a first edition of Doddridge's *The Rise and Progress of Religion in the Soul*, published in 1745. This book had a very great influence in its day, being instrumental in the conversion of William Wilberforce. Wesley and Doddridge were in correspondence in 1746 when Doddridge read the fourth edition of Wesley's *Farther Appeals* (Telford's *Life of Wesley*). "At Wesley's request he suggested works to be included in the Christian Library and also courses of reading for the preachers" (*A New History of Methodism*, i, p. 326). But from a few inquiries I have made there does not seem to be any reference by Wesley to this great book by Doddridge. Does any member of our Society know of any?

J. KINGSLEY SANDERS.

941. A WESLEY "FILM-STRIP".

The Methodist Youth Department, and especially Mr. Douglas Blain who is chiefly responsible, are to be congratulated on the film-strip which they have recently issued under the title "In the Footsteps of Wesley". The subject merits the full thirty-six frames devoted to it, and one can quibble neither with the selection of subjects nor with Mr. E. W. Tattersall's excellent photography.

From Epworth rectory and church we are taken on pilgrimage to Oxford, Aldersgate Street, the New Room at Bristol, and some of the other Methodist shrines in London, Wesley's Chapel naturally ranking an easy first. There are a few glimpses of other places: Kingswood School, Newcastle, York, Gwennap Pit, and John Nelson's tablet at Bradford. In closing we are given frames of the well-known composite picture of Wesley and his preachers, the Uniting Conference at Westminster, and a striking study of John Wesley on horseback, with his eyes on the future still beyond us. The twelve-page script by Mr. Blain makes an excellent commentary for those who will use this strip for an evening's Guild lecture and on similar occasions.

FRANK BAKER.

942. NATHANAEL PRICE OF CARDIFF.

The introductory note to Wesley's letter to Nathanael Price of Cardiff (*Letters*, i, pp. 338-40) suggests that the letter was sent to Thomas Price, presumably of Watford (Glam). As far as I am aware, there is no direct evidence that Wesley was as yet acquainted with Thomas Price, whom he met for the first time in April 1740, some time after the above-mentioned letter was written. We have some evidence that a Nathanael Price lived in Cardiff in those days and that he had some Methodist connexions. Howell Harris had a conversation with him in April 1746, during the course of which he (Price) spoke in favour of some form of mystical quietism, similar to that advocated by Thomas Prosser, another member of the Cardiff society (*Diary No. 122*). We are also informed that a certain Nathanael Price was buried in the Quakers' Yard at Cardiff, and that another Methodist turned Quaker was, "as his desire was", laid to rest by his side in May 1770 (*Calv. Meth. Hist. Journal*, xxxv., p. 38). It is therefore possible that Wesley's letter was sent to this Nathanael Price, who may very well have been an early member of the Cardiff society, and the greetings to

Cardiff people contained in its last paragraph confirm our impression that the letter was sent to a citizen of that city.

GRIFFITH T. ROBERTS.

943. WESLEY POTTERY.

I have a slight suspicion that in some circles of Wesley enthusiasts those of us who are interested in the pottery side of Wesleyana are regarded as "a lesser breed"—if not without the law! We are quite willing to accept the judgement, for our interest is perhaps a little more of a relaxation than some, and it certainly gives an added fascination, and indeed, an excitement, to our "travelling often". We never know what may turn up, where! I am quite sure there is not a little value in it, in respect to the influence Wesley had upon his day and generation. I doubt if any other man has ever had so many likenesses of himself in so many varied forms. It is interesting that almost all the pottery is in the more common varieties bought by the common people.

Unfortunately there is so little known of many of the pottery figures. I have a collection of some fifty or more different busts and perhaps the same number of smaller statuettes. I can only find details about a very few of them, the first edition Enoch Wood; the second edition "taken from the original mould" as the inscription says; another edition with a fuller preaching-gown, and a still later one with a rectangular plaque at the back with the well-known full description. There is also information about the Wedgwood group, and those produced by Kent. I have some parian figures of Wesley leaning on his mother's tombstone, about which I have some facts. There are, however, at least another half-a-dozen groups, mostly Staffordshire, about which I know nothing. My guess about dates is, I suppose, about as good as any others, and is largely based upon the kind of pottery, glaze, colouring, etc. I have one curious bust by Dale of Burslem, but as yet I have not been able to find out who Dale was. I have another very highly coloured one, which gives Wesley rouged cheeks. On the back in rough handwriting are the words "The Reverend J. Wesley late 'preecher' of the Gospel". My smallest is a beautifully-modelled full-length statuette of Wesley, 2½ inches high, Staffordshire; and my most perplexing a beautiful half-life-size copy of Roubillac, in white glazed pottery. The curious feature of it is that in addition to the usual preaching-bands, the artist has given Wesley a bow tie.

As far as I know there is no record of either collections or individual pieces. Could such a list be obtained? I wonder, too, if some information could be found about their origin. Already it seems fairly certain that much of the information in the one or two early articles on the subject in the *Methodist Magazine* and the *Connoisseur* is not accurate. Arthur Cummings did some valuable work on this line when he was in the Potteries, having the ready co-operation of the great pottery firms concerned. He should really write his own discoveries, for they are of importance. I shall be glad to communicate with any interested, and should a pottery expert see this, I would value a visit from him to determine from the ceramic point of view the approximate date of many of my pieces.

J. EDWARD EAGLES.

Our MS. Journal Secretary (the Rev. J. C. Bowmer) is sending the Journals on their travels again, and asks all who receive them to send them to the next in order on the list *without delay*. He will be glad to hear of any new contributors to the Journal.