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Proceedings

OF THE

Wesley Historical Society

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

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TENSIONS IN PRIMITIVE METHODISM IN THE EIGHTEEN-SEVENTIES

And the Origins of the Christian Lay Churches in the North-East

IN February 1877 a committee specially appointed the previous year by the Primitive Methodist Conference visited Sunderland to adjudicate in a long-standing dispute over the proposed division of the Sunderland PM circuit. Despite the fact that a majority of the circuit officials and of the Quarterly Meeting had voted against division, the committee decided in favour of the minority, and ordered the creation forthwith of a second circuit, centred on the recently-erected chapel in Tatham Street. Reaction to this decision was swift and drastic. Over three hundred members of the old circuit withdrew from Primitive Methodism altogether, the majority of them forming secessionist congregations employing no professional ministers. These Christian Lay Churches (as they styled themselves) were in effect founded on the same principles as the Independent Methodist churches of the north-west of England, and were eventually to enter into full union with the IM Connexion. By that time (1895), lay churches had been founded in other north-eastern towns, and a Northern Counties Confederation had been established in 1882 consisting of twenty-one churches in six circuits—Sunderland, Spennymoor, Darlington, Catchgate, Shildon, and Newcastle.¹ Although the Sunderland secessionists were not the first to form lay churches in the North-East (there were earlier lay churches at Shildon, South Shields, West Rainton, Wrekenton, and Washington), they soon came to occupy a dominant place in the development of Independent Methodism in that area, and Sunderland men filled all the official posts of the Confederation at its inauguration.

¹ Edward Embleton: *Reminiscences*, p. 8. For a full list of sources and abbreviated references see the conclusion of this article. [This will be in our next issue.—EDITOR.]

This incident has significance therefore in the history both of Primitive Methodism and of Independent Methodism. By supporters of the latter it may be seen as an heroic exodus and a new beginning in the North-East; but what did it mean for the Primitives? Certainly it was a sad and a shattering experience for the historic Sunderland circuit. But why should the division of the circuit, and before that the building of the new chapel on Tatham Street (opened in 1875), have become the subject of such intense feeling as to lead to the consequences just described? Was the entire episode merely the result of local and personal problems, or is it to be seen as in any way indicative of more fundamental and general disagreement on matters pertaining to the policy of Primitive Methodism as a whole?² In trying to resolve these problems, let us first consider briefly the development of Primitive Methodism in Sunderland from its origins to the 1870s, and then look more closely at the events culminating in the crisis of 1877.

Primitive Methodism came to Sunderland as part of the great wave of missionary work in Yorkshire and the North initiated very largely by William Clowes, with Hull as his base of operations, from 1819 onwards. Clowes was in Sunderland in 1822, but others had been there before him, notably John Branfoot, who was sent from the Hutton Rudby (North Yorkshire) circuit to mission the Tyne and Wear area in 1821.³ Within three years Sunderland had been made the centre of an enormous PM District (which was to exist undivided for over half a century), stretching from North Yorkshire to the Scottish border and including Cumbria, and was also the circuit town for an area almost equal to the entire eastern part of County Durham. In 1824 the first chapel was built in Flag Lane in the eastern end of Sunderland, among the narrow courts and lanes of the old part of the town, which was witnessing a westward migration of its more prosperous and respectable citizens to the developing area of Bishopwearmouth.

The decades following these beginnings saw a parallel boom both in the size and importance of Sunderland itself and in the strength and influence of Primitive Methodism in and around the town.

² There is no full account in print of the 1877 secession as far as I am aware. The most interesting (though one-sided) accounts are given by the Independent Methodist writers Edward Embleton (in his *Reminiscences*) and James Vickers (*History of Independent Methodism*, pp. 187-94). H. B. Kendall, who might have told much, since he was a minister in Sunderland in the early 1870s, is in fact tantalizingly brief and oblique (*History of the Primitive Methodist Church*, ii, p. 205), whilst W. M. Patterson, who was mainly concerned to write a nostalgic and somewhat hagiographical history of the old Sunderland District, passes over it in a sentence or two (*Northern Primitive Methodism*, p. 257). A fuller and more straightforward statement from the PM point of view comes from Robert Clemitson, who served as a minister in the Sunderland I circuit shortly after the secession (*PM Magazine*, 1886, pp. 86-7). The Sunderland District Meeting report (*ibid.*, 1877, p. 426) makes no mention of the troubles.

³ Branfoot, with a colleague, John Hewson or Huison, was killed in 1831 by being struck by a train of coal-trucks as the two walked to an appointment along the colliery wagon-way from Sunderland to Hetton-le-Hole.

There was a population of some 30,000 when the first PM missionaries formed the infant societies; by 1851 the attendances at PM chapels in Sunderland throughout Census Sunday (30th March) totalled 4,000 (out of a population of 71,000 in the Sunderland registration area), and exceeded the Wesleyan attendances by a narrow margin. After thirty years the Primitives had succeeded in attracting more worshippers than the Wesleyans, who had been in the town for over a century, though of course the troubles of the 1830s and the late 1840s had considerably diminished Wesleyan support.⁴ Sunderland stands as one of the exceptions to the proposition that Primitive Methodism did not thrive in large towns. The reasons for its having done so there are complex and interesting, though unfortunately there is not space to enlarge on that theme here. Two factors may be mentioned: the presence of large numbers of artisans and miners—many of them migrants from the neighbouring county areas—to whom the Primitives always made a special appeal; and the support which Primitive Methodism received, from its earliest days in the town, from men of standing and substance, such as John Gordon Black, Emerson Muschamp, and Robert Ingram Shafto, the future squire of Bavington Hall.⁵ Sunderland also attracted the best-known and most eloquent of the ministers itinerating in the northern district—men of the quality of Henry Hebron, John Petty, Joseph Spoor, and Colin Campbell McKechnie. Under them Flag Lane became a mecca for Primitive Methodism in the North-East. The Religious Census return for Flag Lane, signed by McKechnie, shows an evening congregation of 1,150 on Sunday, 30th March 1851.

The middle decades of the nineteenth century constituted, as H. B. Kendall repeatedly emphasized in his books, the great era of "Districtism" in Primitive Methodism, in which each District developed its own strong individuality. (The particular "feel" of the great Sunderland District has been preserved very remarkably in Patterson's book on *Northern Primitive Methodism*, which, despite its confessedly uncritical approach, is a valuable assemblage of facts and stories gathered together in the early years of the present century, when the great District was no more.) One particular contribution made by the Sunderland District to the Connexion as a whole lay in pressure for a higher degree of ministerial training, culminating in the establishment in 1868 of the first specialized theological institution for PM ministers, housed in the old infirmary in Sunderland. (This building was used until 1883, when it was replaced by Hartley College, Manchester. It still stands, and has recently been procured by the Sunderland Polytechnic, to house part

⁴ See the present writer's article, "Religion in Sunderland in 1851", in the Durham County Local History Society's *Bulletin* No. 18 (April 1955), pp. 2-27.

⁵ On R. I. Shafto see Kendall, *op. cit.*, ii, pp. 159-62; and on J. G. Black see J. Petty's *History of the Primitive Methodist Connexion* (1860), pp. 429-30, and G. J. Stevenson: *Methodist Worthies* (1886), v, pp. 829-33. Muschamp and Black were both elected to the Sunderland Town Council when the corporation was revived in 1835.

of its History section.) Movers behind this scheme included John Gordon Black, who had proposed the establishment of a theological institution at Conference as early as 1844, C. C. McKechnie, who was one of the founders of the Sunderland District Preachers' Association and its journal *The Christian Ambassador*, and Thomas Gibson, Black's son-in-law and a wealthy Sunderland coal-merchant and ship-owner, who helped the Institute in its formative stages.⁶

It is clear that Sunderland was in many ways a key centre within North-Eastern Primitive Methodism, and indeed within the Connexion as a whole, for the half-century after the first missionaries arrived on the banks of the Wear. Sunderland men were dominant in District Meetings and at Conference, which met in Sunderland in 1825, 1833, 1849, and 1868. How did the movement stand in the town by the early 1870s? The circuit had by then been much reduced (Stockton was divided off in 1837, Durham in 1838, and Chester-le-Street, Hetton-le-Hole and Houghton-le-Spring in 1863), and consequently was much more compact in size, covering an area roughly equivalent to the Borough of Sunderland before the 1974 local government reorganization, with the addition of chapels at Seaham. Yet the ministerial staff was still comparatively large—four ministers were on the station, and moreover Dr. William Antliff (principal of the Institute) and Thomas Greenfield (tutor), with the college students, were also on the plan. In the smaller circuit the ministers were no longer itinerants in the old sense: their role now was much more that of resident pastors than of roving evangelists.⁷ A similar tendency was at work in the entire District, which comprised 24 circuits in 1860, and 47 in 1877 by a process not of expansion but of subdivision. This, as James Macpherson commented, narrowed the range of ministerial operation; but at the same time it has given greater concentration and power. It will be felt by earnest workers to necessitate greater application to pulpit studies. It will produce more intimate relations between minister and people.⁸

The character of the men was different too, if one senses rightly. The ministers of the later 1860s and 1870s were men of solidity and learning—men like Thomas Greenfield and H. B. Kendall. Their earnestness was not in doubt, but their approach was different from that of the men of the early expansionist era. The concern by the 1870s was consolidation, education, and improvement, rather than expansion by a process of continuous revivalist preaching. And yet there was in the circuit, and in the mining villages which surrounded Sunderland, a lively tradition of revivalism, which was particularly strong in the 1860s and early 1870s at such places as Hetton, Easington Lane, Rainton, and Ryhope.⁹ This work seems to have been

⁶ For an account of the Sunderland Theological Institution, see *Proceedings*, xxx, pp. 117-19.—EDITOR.

⁷ When John Petty was a minister in Sunderland (1831-3), he travelled the enormous circuit on foot. See J. Macpherson: *The Life and Labours of the Rev. John Petty* (1870), pp. 188-200.

⁸ Macpherson's revised edition of Petty's *History* (1880), pp. 592-3.

⁹ See Patterson, op. cit., chapters xvi and xvii.

largely in the hands of lay evangelists (men and women), and was primarily aimed at the working class. It is certain that there was a body of opinion in the circuit that similar work was appropriate in the working-class areas of Sunderland itself. Who was to do it? The ministers certainly were involved in leading "Revival Meetings", which were planned each quarter at the various chapels. But old-style, aggressive evangelism, with its street-preaching and open confrontation with the sinner and the forces of evil, was not, it seems, the style in which the Sunderland ministers chose to operate. The circuit did in fact engage a talented young lay evangelist, William Gelley, to act as its town missionary in Sunderland from 1870. Gelley was a working-class Tyneside man who had been converted at Newcastle by visiting American evangelists (the Palmers) in 1861. After a year's work as a lay missionary, he was accepted by the circuit as a probationer, and stayed on till 1874, doing noble work visiting and preaching in the poorer parts of the town, as his journal reveals. And yet, despite his work, there was a growing conviction in the minds of some leading laymen in the circuit that the ministers as a body were not fulfilling their duty, that they were not being true to the Primitive Methodist tradition, and that in consequence the PM cause in Sunderland was in danger of decline.

This tension was not confined to Sunderland. It sprang, of course, from a general problem which confronted Primitive Methodism in the changing social and religious situation of the later nineteenth century—and more so in towns, with their wide range of social classes and outlook, than in the socially monochrome areas such as mining communities (both lead and coal) and fishing villages. It was in large towns especially that the PMs had to ask themselves: were they still essentially a working-class movement, or should they address themselves also to the needs of the more prosperous, some of whom were indeed increasingly included among their membership? When John Petty wrote the Jubilee *History* of the PM connexion, he described what had been the classic position of the movement:

It has been mindful of the apostolical admonition "Mind not high things but condescend to men of low estate." It has usually left the wealthy and the polished classes of society to the care of older denominations, while it has wrought the enlightenment and elevation of the poor, the neglected and the down trodden. Its labours have often been regarded with contempt . . . If its ministry has not been distinguished by eminent learning and refinement, it has uniformly given prominence to the leading truths of the Gospel . . . Simplicity, earnestness and zeal, have distinguished the denomination and equipped it for some kinds of labour, which, though repulsive to some persons of calm and retiring habits, are nevertheless adapted to the wants of the multitude.¹⁰

Even at the time Petty wrote, and certainly by the 1870s, there was a growing body of opinion in the connexion that whilst all this was true, there was more to be said. Primitive Methodism had become—certainly in places like Sunderland—an established religious body

¹⁰ Petty, op. cit. (1860), p. 444.

with a large membership and a good deal of popular sympathy. It had its representatives on the Town Council, the Board of Guardians, and the School Board. It included within its membership a large body of respectable skilled artisans and a number of tradesmen and professional people, some of whom were wealthy. And whilst all might concede that mission to the poorer classes should be the special concern of the movement, yet many of its established members also felt the need for a stable and satisfying church life which would enrich them mentally and æsthetically as well as spiritually. The appeal of the movement should also be broadened: a correspondent to the *Sunderland Times* in 1873, whilst admitting that the PMs had a mission to those who lived in "dark alleys, back lanes, and low streets", nevertheless asked:

Are we intended by Providence to work nowhere else? I think not, sir. Our commission is to man, as man, the wide world over, independent of class distinctions.

At the official opening of Tatham Street chapel, one of the speakers described it as an example of a "comprehensive church".

A product of this type of thinking was a growing concern that Primitive Methodism should hold together evangelism with culture, which had in fact always been the aim of men like C. C. McKechnie. Ministerial education was therefore fundamental, as was the mental improvement of local preachers—and indeed of the membership as a whole. Another product of this outlook was a desire for an improvement in the design and siting of chapels so that the connexion could have, in Kendall's words, "sanctuaries easily accessible and inviting".¹¹ Speaking in Sunderland at the laying of the foundation-stone of the Tatham Street chapel in April 1874, Kendall made fun of the old "higgledy-piggledy" style of PM chapels—"the barn-house or warehouse style". But now, he said, they had no need to use barns for chapels, because they were in a position to build better. "This was only what should be and was quite in keeping with true worship, which should be connected with beautiful art."¹² The 1860s and 1870s saw a remarkable amount of building by the Primitive Methodists (as also by other religious groups). In the decade 1870-9 the connexion built 897 chapels, at an average cost of £1,179; some cost very much more.¹³ As the pictures in Kendall's *History* show very clearly, many of these new chapels, and especially those in towns (though not exclusively so), were of some architectural pretension (albeit not many, to a modern eye, attain to the standard of "beautiful art"). The chapel on Jarratt Street, Hull, which is said by Kendall to have inaugurated the "chapel-building era", was built in 1852 in a plain but quite elegant classical style. St. Sepulchre, Scarborough (1866) was more elaborately classical, with a large portico. In the 1870s the styles became more complex—usually either some version of Gothic or Italianate, though often indeterminate.

¹¹ Kendall, op. cit., ii, p. 464.

¹² *Sunderland Times*, 10th April 1874.

¹³ Kendall, op. cit., ii, p. 456.

The main architectural decorations were often confined to the front wall and entrance, as at Tatham Street chapel, which was said to be in the "early pointed Gothic" style, though its true resemblance to that style is admittedly rather tenuous.

The building of a chapel could knit a society together when it was a true community venture, as was very obviously the case for instance at Hetton-le-Hole in the late 1850s.¹⁴ But on the other hand, if the chapel was expensive as well as socially pretentious, there could well be some in the society who would question the need or wisdom of the undertaking. Such was the case with the Jubilee chapel in Scarborough in 1861; and in 1875-6 the building of a large chapel at New Shildon actually led to a secession of some 70 members.¹⁵ It is therefore not surprising that it was the proposal to build a large new central chapel in Sunderland that brought to a head the divergence of thought within the circuit whose broader roots we have been considering so far. It would seem that there had been a general debate on the desirability for a new chapel since the mid-1860s, but it was not until 1872 that the proposal became firm, and a "New Chapel" committee was appointed.¹⁶ The pressure to build had apparently come largely from the ministers, and in particular from the superintendent, John Atkinson, who was to confess later that he had had serious misgivings in the early stages as to whether the undertaking would succeed.¹⁷ However, it is obvious that he was able gradually to rally sufficient lay support to carry the scheme to completion, but it is also obvious that this was done in the face of much bitter opposition from a minority of influential laymen in the circuit. The ostensible grounds for their opposition were the cost, which admittedly was considerable (£9,000 including land, manses and organ), and the site, which was more debatable. The position on Tatham Street was undoubtedly a move away from the old heart of Sunderland—the east end, which by the 1870s was declining rapidly—to the edge of the more fashionable part of the town, while still being within close proximity to the large working-class area of North Hendon. But whatever the ostensible grounds of opposition, the real issue was a distrust of the ministers which was to become so acute as to merit the description of anti-clericalism. The tone of this feeling may be judged from the following extract, though this is relatively mild when compared with later extracts to be quoted. The passage is taken from an anonymous letter to the *Sunderland Times* of 19th September 1873; William Gelley's journal reveals the author

¹⁴ Union Street Methodist church, Hetton-le-Hole, centenary souvenir hand-book (1958): see especially pp. 6-8.

¹⁵ On Scarborough, see Kendall, *op. cit.*, ii, pp. 112-13, and on Shildon, see Patterson, *op. cit.*, p. 83. The latter case is particularly interesting in the present context, since there existed at Shildon a lay church founded in 1870. I have not, however, been able to discover whether the secessionists joined the lay church. The Shildon chapel referred to still stands, though it is no longer used for worship.

¹⁶ Minutes of Sunderland PM Circuit Committee.

¹⁷ *Sunderland Times*, 31st August 1875,

to have been a PM local preacher, J. D. Fairless, a Sunderland butcher who was later to become an alderman.

Talk about a new chapel! better get the old one filled. I am sure there is not a better situation for the Primitives to work in than Flag Lane. It has struck me that if such earnest men were in that pulpit as we have seen [he has earlier referred to Hebborn, Spoor, Dent, and so on]; men of power; men living to preach and not preaching to live, then the chapel would still be filled with devout worshippers and the Trustees would never think of leaving the fine old chapel which I contend is beautiful for situation . . . The fact is, it is matterless where your chapels or churches are; if there is not a power in the church or in the pulpit, however good the situation may be the people won't attend.

This letter was unfair and exaggerated, as subsequent correspondents were quick to point out.¹⁸ Flag Lane may have been beautifully situated as regards its strategic missionary position in the heart of a working-class area, but it could hardly claim any other sort of beauty: a "dirty, abominable locality", one writer called it. The ministers also were defended, and one of them, William Gelley, wrote a trenchant letter himself. But the correspondence reveals, if only as the tip of an iceberg, the trouble within the circuit. And other evidence points to the same end. As early as May 1872, H. B. Kendall preached a sermon in Sunderland "calculated to remedy a mighty evil which exists among our people".¹⁹ The evil in question is not specified, but one may, I think, justifiably conclude that its main ingredient was a sustained campaign of criticism aimed at the ministers, leading to a spirit of divisiveness among the members. (It is, perhaps, not without significance that the District Preachers' Association, meeting in Sunderland in August 1873, included in its programme a lecture on "Evil Speaking".)²⁰ Each Quarter Day offered an opportunity for the troubles to be vented. The official minutes give little indication of this, but William Gelley's journal is more revealing. On 8th September 1873 he wrote:

We held our quarter day. It was a rather unpleasant one. My soul was much hurt at the remarks of some of the brethren. My experience of quarter days is a very unhappy one and I wish they never existed.

And with reference to a meeting on 8th March following:

There were many things of an unpleasant nature, and there was evidently a want of Christian uprightness.²¹

Such a state of affairs must have been due in part to personal animosities and clashes of temperament of which the details are now

¹⁸ *ibid.*, 23rd and 26th September 1873.

¹⁹ William Gelley's journal.

²⁰ *ibid.*

²¹ In other ways too we sense an unhealthy state of affairs in the circuit which all may well have sprung from this common root. The relation of the Institute to the circuit was in dispute. There were internal troubles in at least two societies. And Robert Huison, a senior local preacher, brought a charge of immorality against J. D. Fairless, which, though eventually unsubstantiated, caused a stir at the time. (Circuit Committee Minutes, 20th September 1872, 16th September 1875, and 23rd June 1876; see also General Committee Minutes, 1875-6 (Minutes 201, 363, 364, and 414).)

lost to us. Yet there were more fundamental factors at work, of a general nature as has been emphasized above, which were tending to bring the ministers into direct confrontation with some senior laymen (a small number to begin with) who saw their own influence diminished and their views challenged. There were economic factors too. The circuit had a running debt, and yet ministerial salaries and manse expenses were increasing. By 1873 the ministers in the Sunderland circuit were receiving more than twice what they had been paid a dozen years before.²² The new chapel scheme, itself a ministerially-inspired proposal, would add to the financial difficulties. So, personal factors apart, it is not hard to see that some laymen who had enjoyed considerable leadership in the circuit and District courts, and who had given generously of their time and money to Primitive Methodism in Sunderland, should regret—and indeed resent—the diversion (as they saw it) of the ministers from their true evangelical role, coupled with their increasing influence in policy-making and their growing costliness to the circuit in financial terms. This influence and cost were both slight compared with the situation in other denominations, but to some traditionalists who favoured the heavily lay-orientated polity of early Primitive Methodism, they were becoming sufficient to be interpreted as signs of a hierarchical trend in what is normally regarded as one of the most unhierarchical of denominations.

Serious though these troubles were, the circuit might have weathered the storm once the new chapel had been built if the division of the circuit had not also come into the reckoning. As the subscriptions mounted, many who had been doubtful of the wisdom of building the chapel rallied to support it, and there were appropriate euphoric occasions when the foundation-stone was laid in April 1874 and when the building was officially opened in August 1875.²³ Substantial presentations of money and of furnishing were made by men who two years later were among the leading seceders—J. F. Drinkwater and Myers Wayman, for instance. By December 1875 the Tatham Street Society had a membership of 144, of whom approximately 90 appear to have gone there from Flag Lane, which was reduced to a membership of 169. GEOFFREY E. MILBURN.

(To be continued)

[Mr. Geoffrey E. Milburn, M.A. (Manchester) is a senior lecturer in History at Sunderland Polytechnic, and is editor and co-secretary of the North-East branch of the Wesley Historical Society. He is particularly interested in the study of nineteenth-century religion in its social context, especially in the north-eastern counties of England.]

²² "Circuit Accounts of Monies and Members".

²³ *Sunderland Times*, 7th and 10th April 1874; 31st August 1875.

A note from the Wesleyan Theological Seminary, Wilmore, Kentucky, advises us of a reprint of John Wesley's *Explanatory Notes upon the Old Testament* (unabridged) in three volumes, totalling over 2,600 pages; published by Schmul Publishers of Salem, Ohio, price \$49.50.

THE "SUNDAY SERVICE"

BISHOP NOLAN B. HARMON, to whose book *The Rites and Ritual of Episcopal Methodism* all students of Methodist worship are deeply indebted, has written an interesting article on "John Wesley's *Sunday Service* and its American Revisions" in *Proceedings*, xxxix, pp. 137-44. Our Editor has added a reference to the article by the late Rev. Wesley F. Swift in *Proceedings*, xxix, pp. 12 ff. It would also be well to refer to the article by the Rev. J. Hamby Barton, followed immediately by Mr. Swift's reply, in *Proceedings*, xxxii, pp. 97-101. Dr. Frank Baker's *John Wesley and the Church of England*, pp. 234-55, is also relevant, and certain other works of recent English scholarship. Several points of interest emerge when these contributions are compared.

(i) The 1784 copies of the *Sunday Service* were printed in London, and mostly sent to America unbound. They were actually bound in 1785. Of the existing bound volumes, some have pages with the manual acts at the Communion and the signation at the Baptism of Infants, and some have pages without them. I shall refer to these as the "with" and "without" pages respectively. The question of course is, which were the original pages, and which were meant to be substituted (though the substitution was not always effected), and who were the authors of the two versions. Bishop Harmon refers to the copy of the *Sunday Service* of 1784 found by Dr. James R. Joy in the New York Public Library. This is presumably what Mr. Swift referred to as a "freak" copy from which the late Dr. Joy had sent him a photostat, in the library of the Methodist Historical Society of New York. The importance of this copy is that it contains both the "with" pages and the "without" pages. Mr. Swift was led to believe that the "with" pages were original and the "without" pages were the replacements, and he thought it likely that Wesley produced the "with" pages, and that they were replaced by the "without" pages either by the American Methodists or possibly by Dr. Coke.

Mr. Barton, however, by subsequently examining other American copies, came to the conclusion that the "without" pages were the originals and the "with" pages subsequently replaced them. He inclined to the view that Wesley was responsible for the "without" version and Coke for the "with" version. I was myself present with Mr. Swift in Newcastle upon Tyne, where we were attending the Conference of 1958, when Mr. Barton, before publishing his article, confronted Mr. Swift with the highly technical evidence, and I myself subsequently examined in America some of the copies on which Mr. Barton relied. Mr. Swift in his reply accepted his evidence for the priority of the "without" version. Mr. Barton could not locate the "freak" copy,¹ which had been thought to point the

¹ But F. Baker, *op. cit.*, p. 391, n. 64 says: "That in the Pierpoint Morgan Library, New York, contains both cancellands as well as both cancels."

other way, and in any case when it had been examined by Dr. Joy and Dr. (now Bishop) Harmon the other theory had been taken for granted, and it was therefore presumably not examined with the possibility in mind that the "without" pages were prior.

Mr. Swift suggested, however, that Wesley's MS. was a "with" version; that Coke, altering it without Wesley's authority, produced the "without" version, the first printed version, and that Wesley, on discovering this, produced his second printed version, the "with" version, and sent these "with" pages to America for insertion in the remaining unbound copies. This harmonizes with—but is not required by—Wesley's statement in a letter to Walter Churchey of 20th June 1789 (*Letters*, viii, pp. 144-5) which is quoted by almost all the participants in this discussion:

Dr. Coke made two or three little alterations in the Prayer-Book without my knowledge. I took particular care throughout to alter nothing merely for altering' sake.

Moreover we now know (Baker, *op. cit.*, pp. 252-3) that it was Coke who saw the 1784 book through the press.²

What we know of Wesley's churchmanship also makes it likely that his MS. would have been a "with" version. We do not know much about Coke's liturgical views, though Mr. John A. Vickers (*Thomas Coke*, p. 88, n. 4) says that the omissions are in line with Coke's current attitude towards the Church of England. Coke may, moreover, in any case have made the change (if it was indeed he) by intelligent anticipation of the views of the American brethren. This final view of Mr. Swift is also supported by Dr. Frank Baker (*op. cit.*, pp. 246, 252).

Bishop Harmon's article, however, makes no allusion to Mr. Barton's discoveries, and simply assumes, as Mr. Swift originally did, that the "with" version was the first printed version, and that "someone printed new pages to be inserted in place of the pages that carried the signation and the manual acts" (*Proceedings*, xxxix, p. 140).

(ii) Bishop Harmon refers also to the 1786 edition, and says he has never personally located a copy of it in America. He also says that the 1786 edition has normally been considered by Methodist historians to have been the last issue of the book, but that he has recently found one marked "Fourth Edition, 1792" (*ibid.*, xxxix, p. 139). But Mr. Swift's first article (*ibid.*, xxix, p. 13) provides a much fuller list of editions, as also do Dr. Baker's researches.

² The letter to Churchey might, of course, nevertheless refer to the edition of 1786, which Coke also supervised; but the 1786 alterations were very considerable in the baptismal service, and in any case Wesley would hardly have tolerated unauthorized alterations twice. Thus the phrase "little alterations" presumably refers to 1784. Mr. Barton, however, had ingeniously taken the letter to Churchey to reflect the importance which Wesley put on the changes which in Mr. Barton's view he *did* make, and added: "Wesley, the reformer, is seen in clearer light".

The 1786 editions are relevant to the controversy about 1784, because they restored the manual acts but omitted the signation. Dr. Abel Stevens, the historian of American Methodism, says (*A Compendious History of American Methodism*, p. 171) that the printing of this new edition was done "under Wesley's eye". On the other hand, Mr. Vickers (op. cit., p. 88, n. 4) refers to a letter of Coke (5th October 1785, quoted in B. G. Holland: *Baptism in Early Methodism*, p. 132, n. 7) from which it appears that Wesley entrusted to him the preparation of the 1786 edition. The 1786 editions contained other important alterations in the baptismal services as well as the omission of the signation in the Baptism of Infants. It is thus important to determine who actually made these changes in 1786. Dr. Bernard Holland, who conveniently tabulates the changes (op. cit., ll. 177-88), argues from Wesley's reference to the "little alterations" (whenever made) that he must himself have made the more general and important changes (op. cit., p. 133). Dr. Baker (op. cit., p. 390, n. 52) says that they were "probably not by any deliberate action of Wesley but simply by default in giving Coke his head", and Bishop Ole Borgen (in his *John Wesley on the Sacraments*, p. 181, which by an unfortunate error omits Dr. Baker's "not",) uses this to maintain that Dr. Holland is wrong in ascribing the changes in 1786 to Wesley. It seems to me that after the 1784 episode (whoever was responsible) Wesley would not have tolerated changes in 1786 unless he were willing at least to acquiesce in them. But Coke may well have taken the initiative.

If then we assume that Wesley at least acquiesced in what was done in 1786, how does this affect the discussion between Mr. Barton and Mr. Swift about the changes in 1784? The restoration in 1786 of the manual acts supports Mr. Swift's final view that Wesley approved them and had included them in his MS. in 1784; but the omission in 1786 of the signation, at first sight at least, supports Mr. Barton's view that someone other than Wesley caused the "with signation" page to be printed in 1784. But it can be said in defence of Mr. Swift's view that Wesley, under pressure from Coke, may have changed his mind on this point. The argument cannot easily be turned round—Wesley *against* and Coke *for* manual acts and signation in 1784; Wesley changing his mind in favour of manual acts in 1786, but still objecting to signation—because Wesley is more likely to have changed his mind in 1786 about Baptism, which was in the melting-pot in that year, than about the Lord's Supper, which was not in dispute.

If, on the other hand, we were to ignore the view that the 1786 edition was done under Wesley's eye and stress Coke's part in it, the argument would be reversed. The restoration of the manual acts in 1786 would support Mr. Barton's view that in 1784 Wesley was *against* them and Coke *for* them, but the omission in 1786 of the signation would become hard to explain. However, as both Mr. Barton and Mr. Swift took the view that Wesley was responsible for the editions of 1786, it is hardly necessary to pursue that line.

The most likely account surely is that in 1784 Wesley wanted the manual acts and the signation, that Coke omitted them in the first printed version, and Wesley restored them in the second printed version, and that in 1786 Coke persuaded Wesley to give way about the signation as well as to make other changes in baptism.

(iii) Why then were these changes made? Bishop Harmon (*Proceedings*, xxxix, p. 137) inclines to the old popular view that Wesley already in 1784 made a direct move to take out the whole idea of baptismal regeneration. But the Rev. Rupert E. Davies (R. E. Davies and E. G. Rupp (eds.): *A History of the Methodist Church in Great Britain*, I, pp. 160-1; cf. my own chapter in that volume, pp. 268-9) and Dr. Holland (already cited) have shown that the idea was not wholly removed in 1784. It was indeed removed in 1786,⁸ and this gradual removal suggests that Wesley did not so much abandon the doctrine as decide not to insist on it, and this is compatible with the view I have taken about the signation. Dr. Holland gives the best account of the likely reasons for this change of attitude.

A. RAYMOND GEORGE.

[We are grateful to Mr. George for making this contribution to our pages during his busy year of office as President of the Methodist Conference.—EDITOR.]

⁸ Bishop Borgen rightly regards 1786, not 1784, as marking the decisive change in the service, but he ascribes it to Coke, so that no question arises about a change in Wesley's views.

We have received and gratefully acknowledge the following periodicals, some of which come to us on a reciprocal basis with copies of our own *Proceedings*.

Methodist History, January 1976.

The Baptist Quarterly, January 1976.

The Journal of the United Reformed Church History Society, November 1975.

The Journal of the Friends' Historical Society, 1974, together with their publication "*The Other Branch*"—*London Yearly Meeting and the Hicksites 1827-1912*, by Edwin B. Bronner.

From New Zealand has come *Waterview: the story of a little church*, by George I. Launson. This 32-page history is published by the Water-view Methodist Centennial Committee—1975, P.O. Box 19-329, Avondale, Auckland, 7, New Zealand.

The Methodist Conference of 1976 will meet in Preston (Lancs). For our own Society's annual gathering at this time, however, we shall be travelling to Burnley, where we shall meet in the Central chapel on Monday, June 28th. Tea will be at 4-30 p.m., and the Annual Meeting will follow at 5-30. In the evening at 7-30, Dr. David A. Gowland of the University of Dundee will lecture on "Samuel Warren and the Methodist Reformers of Lancashire". The chair will be taken by our Local Branches Secretary, Mr. E. Alan Rose, B.A.

A fuller notice will be given in our June number.

LITURGY AND ARCHITECTURE, 1932-60

Methodist Influences and Ideas

WORSHIP is an utterly necessary activity of the Christian Church: it is involved in the nature of the Church. It is communal, and active. In its wide sense, it is probably the entire Christian life; but in its narrow sense, worship concerns specific, active, communal events, at one time, in one place. Throughout Christian history, worship has had a very definite relationship with its architectural setting. That setting has been moulded by the liturgy, or vice versa, or both operating at once. Architecture, in this field, is specifically and inextricably linked to liturgical activities, and those activities to that setting: ideas concerning liturgy and architecture are thus a foremost Christian concern, and a concern also for the historian of any branch of Christianity.

Writings on Liturgy and Worship:

Methodist concerns, and those of other denominations

We are frequently being told that the Liturgical Movement took a long time to reach this country. This revolution in worship, initiated on the continent of Europe at the turn of the century in the Roman Catholic Church, only fully bore fruit in Britain in the 1960s. From the period of the mid-1930s, however, various writings, and various buildings, paved the way. In Methodism, this new revival took the form of a consolidated view of the denomination as part of the one Church of Christ—perhaps inspired by Methodist unity in 1932—and the re-discovery of the sacramental element in Methodist worship. On the latter point, writers appear to have at first become aware of Methodism's original connexion—John Wesley's connexion—with the Church of England, and the old high church movement at that: thus in 1934 we have W. J. Sparrow-Simpson's *John Wesley and the Church of England*. In the following year the Methodist Sacramental Fellowship was founded: it was concerned with the centrality of the Eucharist and with the spirit of ecumenism—so often the two go hand in hand.¹ This was the same year that saw the publication of A. G. Hebert's *Liturgy and Society: the Function of the Church in the Modern World*. This was the beginning of an Anglican liturgical renewal, and not one connected with the old post-Tractarian sacramentalism. The next year, 1936, the movement made manifestation in another area of Nonconformity—Congregationalism, with its symposium *Christian Worship*. In 1937 Dr. Henry Bett produced *The Spirit of Methodism*, which advised caution concerning the sacramental interpretation of Wesley.

The sacramental interpretation had a fairly venerable history, e.g. J. H. Rigg: *The Churchmanship of John Wesley* (1878); C. Ryder Smith: *The Sacramental Society* (1927). Thus some caution was

¹ See Raymond J. Billington: *The Liturgical Movement and Methodism* (Epworth Press, 1969), p. 139.

perhaps only to be expected, and perhaps not without some wisdom. In addition, therefore, in 1937 came the translation of Piette's *John Wesley: Sa Réaction dans l'Evolution du Protestantisme* (1926): *John Wesley in the Evolution of Protestantism*, in which the author suggests that Wesley would be more at home in the modern Salvation Army than in modern Methodism or Anglicanism. However, chapter 4 refers to the years 1729-35 as "The First Oxford Movement", and points to the joint appeal of Wesley and the Tractarians to the life of the primitive Church and the Fathers.² Moreover, Wesley preached the apostolic succession, and attempted in his family and friends to introduce auricular confession.³ It is not difficult to trace affinities between Methodism and the Tractarians. Evelyn Underhill, for example, says:

Unlike the majority of religious reformers he [John Wesley] had a strong belief in institutional Christianity, and a deep and instructed reverence for the great Christian tradition of worship; here, as in so many other aspects, anticipating the Tractarians.⁴

In 1937 also, Hebert edited a collection under the title *The Parish Communion* which can be seen, perhaps, as a step towards the Anglican popular movement of post-1950. In 1938 the exploratory work among the Congregationalists was consolidated in the *Service Book*. The Presbyterians, similarly, produced their *Book of Common Order* in 1940.

Undoubtedly the European War did much to harm the spread of the Liturgical Movement (but not the modern movement in architecture⁵) from the continent, and at this point it is perhaps fitting to raise the issue of whether or not the various movements, events, publications and their ideas, described were the direct result of the continental movement, or arose naturally, home-grown, out of similar needs and an equivalent situation. The situation was, in a sense, similar: the historian of European Christianity must surely note a uniform stagnation, within the rut of whatever tradition—whether of stale post-Vatican I Catholicism, tired Anglicanism with its old divisions in a Britain facing the end of erstwhile meanings, or that Methodism inherited not from eighteenth-century fire or early nineteenth-century zeal, but from late-Victorian respectability and social position. The answer to this question of movements, origins and causes must be left to the specialist historian of the Liturgical Movement, but certainly, in Methodism, the two concerns of church and churchmanship—concerns not precisely paralleled in other denominations—continued to lead the way into the future.

In 1944 Dr. H. Watkin-Jones produced *Methodist Churchmanship*

² Piette, op. cit., p. 273.

³ *ibid.*, p. 283.

⁴ *Worship*, p. 305. Also: "A genuine knowledge of Christian theology, and of the mystical and devotional doctrine of the universal Church, lies behind [the first Methodists'] teaching. . . . The Movement began in the souls of its Founders, in their re-discovery of the reality of the worshipping life." (p. 304)

⁵ It caused the migration of many of the most forward-looking architectural minds to Britain and America.

and its Implications. The book was concerned with Methodism in its united form as a church and not merely a sect. The Deed of Union had described two sacraments—Baptism and the Lord's Supper. These were of divine appointment, and, the author claimed, Methodists had an obligation to celebrate the Supper. The Eucharist, moreover, was the supreme symbol of the fellowship of the Church.⁶ The author referred to the appeal and validity of the service in the *Book of Offices*—its antiquity, and the importance of the participation of all. The book argued for the use of canticles, psalms, and other old Christian sung material, as well as hymns to uplift the congregation. Lessons, with a complete lectionary, should be used, but without discarding the Methodist tradition of extempore prayer. "Sanctified culture" was important, and Dr. Watkin-Jones encourages a Methodist appreciation of beauty: Hugh Price Hughes, he tells us, claimed that John Wesley had had no adequate sense of beauty.⁷ Further, Methodism should cater for all types of churchmanship: provision for kneeling should be made.

In 1945 an Anglican, Gregory Dix, produced *The Shape of the Liturgy*. The book is a weighty source of liturgical information, and it came at a time when scholarship was, in that field, far from plenteous. In particular, it was anti-mediævalist (in the sense that the Ritualists and Gothic-Revivalists had been mediævalist) in its portrayal of liturgical decline in the Middle Ages and its description of the survival of late-mediæval ideas through the Reformation.

Dr. J. E. Rattenbury published in 1948 *The Eucharistic Hymns of John and Charles Wesley*, a work in favour of the sacramentalist approach to the founder. The book was dedicated to the members of the Methodist Sacramental Fellowship. It refers to the strange decline of sacramentalism, and says:

What is needed for the restoration of the daily sacrifice for which Charles Wesley yearned is the revival of the service in which each man has his liturgy, each has his part.⁸

In 1951, this view was supported by Dr. John C. Bowmer in *The Sacrament of the Lord's Supper in Early Methodism*. This saw a need to demonstrate that "the Lord's Supper *did*, by its own intrinsic qualities, become a very powerful agent in the revival".⁹ The book quotes (p. 191) John Wesley on *The Duty of Constant Communion*: "No man can have any pretence to Christian piety who does not receive it, not once a month, but as often as he can . . ."

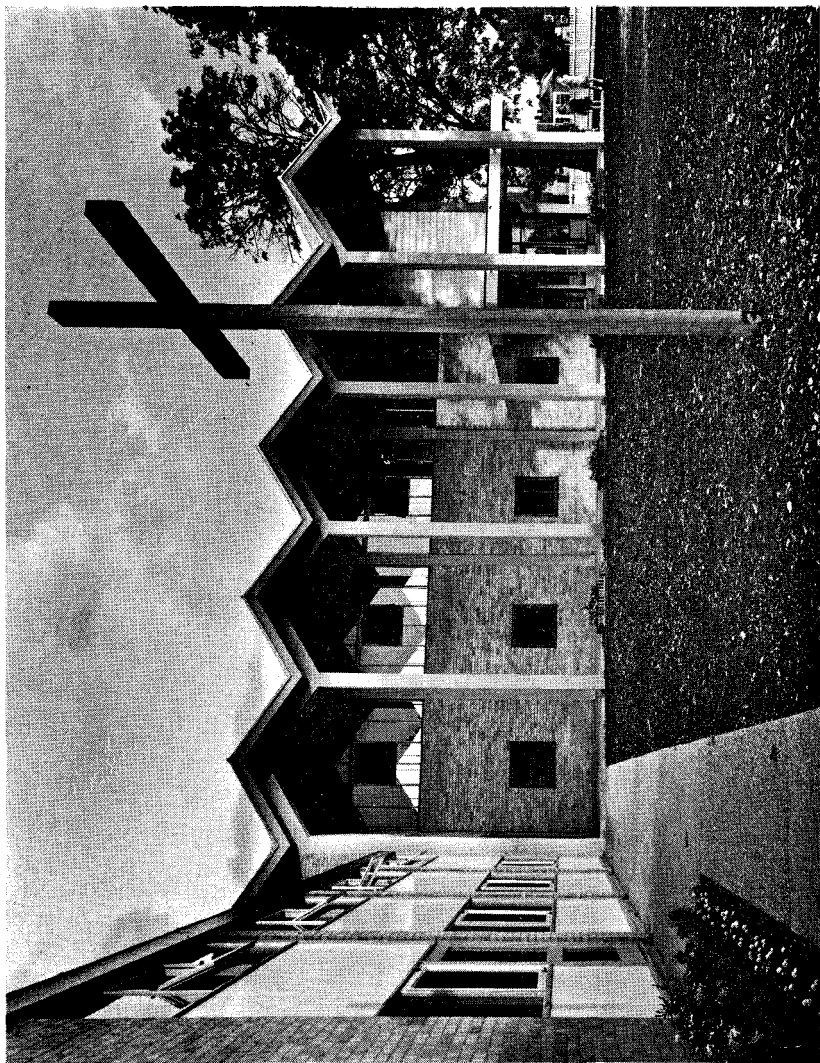
What Methodism, and the other nonconformists to a lesser extent, appeared to have been moving towards, in the period we have surveyed, was not a type of Anglo-Catholic visual splendour, but a mature and ecumenical Christian fullness.

⁶ p. 20.

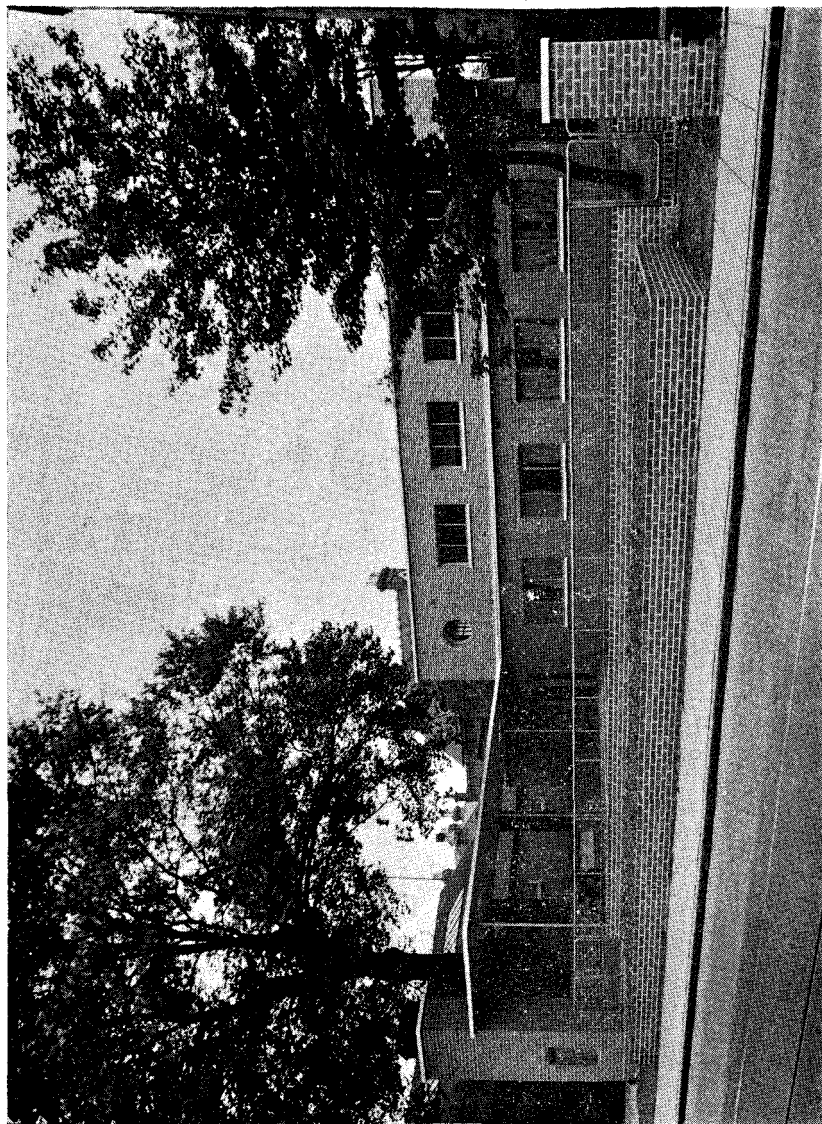
⁷ As it stands, completely incorrect. One does note in Dr. Watkin-Jones's book the desire for æsthetic splendour that was characteristic of the Methodism of the latter part of the nineteenth century. The author's use of the ideas of Joseph Crouch would tend to suggest that he had at least one foot in the pre-1914 world. (See page 110.)

⁸ p. 156.

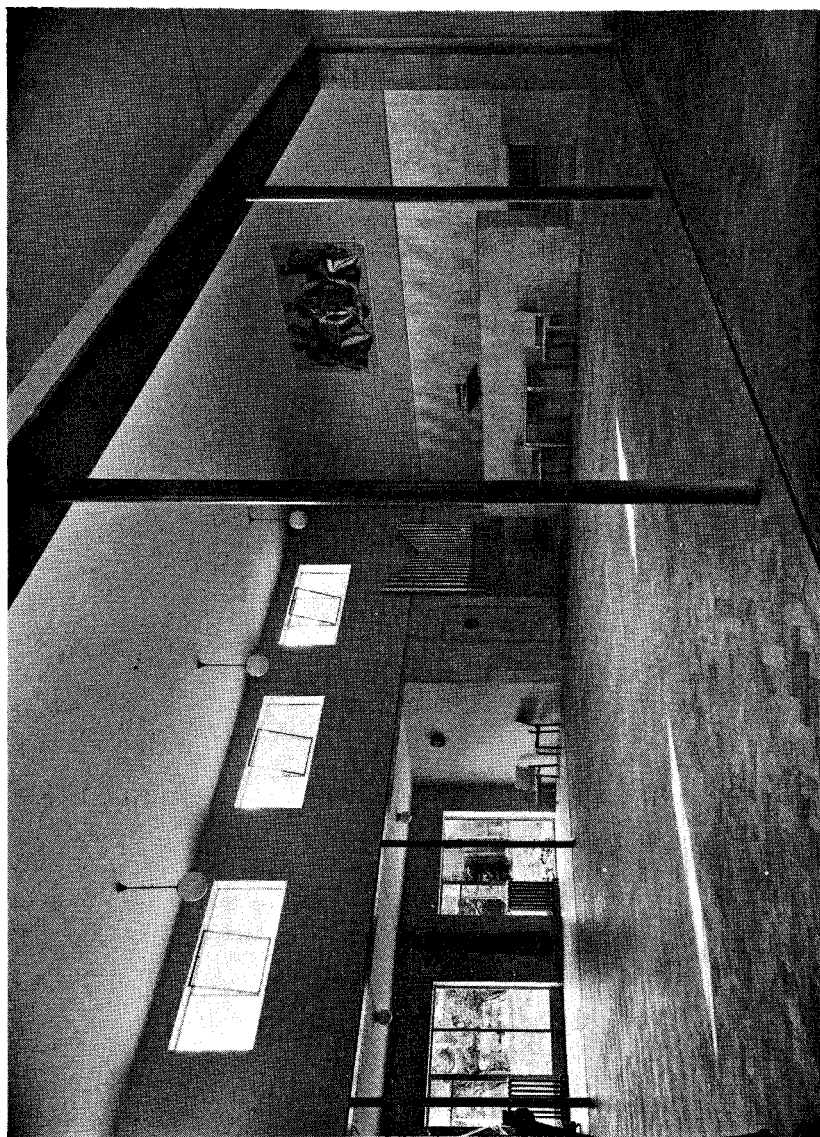
⁹ p. 158.



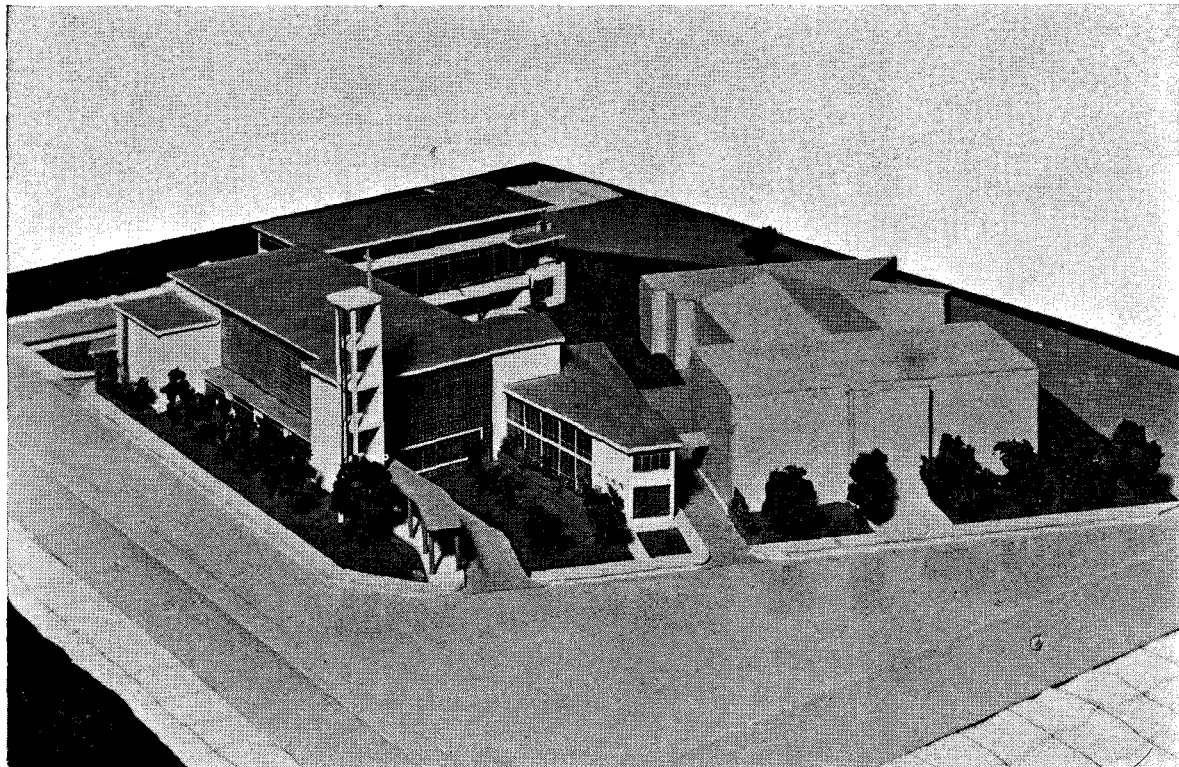
EXTERIOR OF METHODIST CHURCH, MITCHAM, SURREY (see page 111).



COLLIER'S WOOD METHODIST CHURCH—EXTERIOR (see page 113).



COLLIER'S WOOD METHODIST CHURCH—INTERIOR. (see page 113).



**MODEL OF METHODIST COMMUNITY CENTRE proposed to have been built on St. Helier Estate, Morden, Surrey.
(See page 112).**

The new liturgical ideas and the architectural setting of Worship: The move towards Integration

In the 1920s and 1930s British religious architecture never lost the historicism it had wedded so totally in the mid-nineteenth century. Thus one cathedral, at least in detail Gothic, was built, and one Gothic cathedral proceeded with. From 1932-3 Sir Giles Gilbert Scott built St. Alban's, Golders Green, for the Church of England, in the Gothic style, and a similar squarish work in St. Andrew's, Luton. Edward Maufe, architect of Guildford, produced St. Thomas's, Hanwell, and, c. 1924, St. Bede's, Clapham, both in thoroughly historical styles. H. P. Burke-Downing's St. Augustine's, Tooting (1931) is firmly Gothic. This short list of examples is taken from the *New Churches Illustrated: 1926-36* (1936) of the [Anglican] Incorporated Church Building Society. This collection is not very inspiring, particularly when compared with continental churches of the period: St. Anthony's, Basle (Karl Moser, 1927), Corpus Christi, Aachen (Rudolf Schwarz, 1930). These are perhaps obvious examples, but they are so because of their achievement, and the lesson they could have taught.

A later ICBS publication, *Fifty Modern Churches* (1947) is slightly more encouraging: it illustrates N. F. Cachemaille-Day's St. Michael and All Angels, Wythenshawe (1937). The arrangement of that church is at once non-traditional—the liturgical focus is not immediately in the midst of the congregation—there is a triangular chancel projecting—but it is more basilican and less mediæval (i.e. less Victorian): a measure of contact is at once established. The previous year had seen D. F. Martin-Smith's John Keble Church, Mill Hill—notable, once again, for the visibility of the liturgical focus and the intimacy of the whole.

It is perhaps characteristically English that two churches, whilst being liturgically advanced—in their use of basilican arrangement—were none the less stylistically historical, and with the appropriate style of Byzantine-Early Christian: these are C. C. Thompson's beautiful chapel Kelham (1927-8) and H. W. Hobbiss' chapel at Queen's College, Birmingham (1938-47). Both employ free-standing altar with apse, the former being central plan, the latter axial. It should be noted that both were for non-public use in centres of experimental liturgical activity.¹⁰ However, the ICBS book of 1947 also cited T. Cecil Howitt's St. Mary's, Wollaton Park, Nottingham, a Gothic church, and Maufe's St. John's, Hook, a church not devoid of the historical.

In 1948 the ICBS published *Modern Church Architecture*—illustrations of continental work, with an essay by Maufe. The Church of England, said the author, should look to the future, and yet build on tradition. Peter Hammond, in *Liturgy and Architecture*,

¹⁰ One parish church example of an historicist-liturgically progressive church is Ninian Comper's St. Philip's, Cosham, Hants (finished 1938) in the Georgian Gothic style.

is, rightly perhaps, critical of Maufe's views of some of the foreign churches, e.g. that at Aachen, which Hammond sees as a misunderstanding on the part of Maufe.¹¹ But, to be fair, Maufe did attack "antiquarianism" as "mainly a modern feeling", saying that a copy could never be the real thing in any case. On historicism, Watkins-Jones had cited Joseph Crouch (*The Planning and Designing of a Methodist Church* (1930))—presumably with approval—describing the style that should be used: Gothic, but "modified for Methodist needs" (meaning, one imagines, intimate congregational worship).

The most important Methodist work of the period is, of course, *The Methodist Church builds again*, by the late Rev. Dr. E. Benson Perkins and the Rev. Albert Hearn—a bold little book to produce in 1946. In it, so early on, one finds, modestly and soberly stated, the major "new idea" of the period from 1945 to 1960: the two-purpose church or hall-church. The authors refer to it (page 36) as the "Composite or Two-Way church", a "utility scheme" involving one liturgical space—pulpit, communion-table, etc.—at one end and a stage at the other. Seats in such churches were to be reversible, and the liturgical part could perhaps be screened for "church hall events", the "chapel" being kept for "proper purposes".¹² Two possible schemes for this arrangement are described.

The "composite" church involved provision for Sunday school. However, as early as 1937, Edward D. Mills designed and built a mission church at Collier's Wood, London, which involved a hall, flanked by classroom areas. By use of removable screens, the space could be used as a whole, and chairs removed for various activities. At one end of the hall was a platform, the liturgical centre. This was a hall-church before the hall-church, in a manner of speaking, and yet it was a genuine development, well ahead of its time, and led the way to further development. The hall-church became popular throughout British churches after the War, in an attempt to continue full provision while war-damage, shortage of funds, etc. made "proper" church-building impossible.¹³ In fact, it led the way to the realization that activities of several kinds are legitimate in one area—but this is a post-1960 development.

Perkins and Hearn's account of the idea compares very favourably with the ICBS's *Sixty Post-War Churches* of ten years later, where D. F. Martin-Smith writes an apologetic article.¹⁴ Anglican examples illustrated include St. Chad's, Bilston (Bernard Miller, 1953-5) and St. Michael and All Angels, Borehamwood (Cachemaille-

¹¹ *Liturgy and Architecture* (1960), p. 57.

¹² p. 93.

¹³ In London alone, two hundred nonconformist churches were bombed, according to Edward Mills: *The Modern Church* (1955) (see chapter 2).

¹⁴ However, the germ of later thinking is there: "... the aim must be to build the [entire church] buildings as part of a whole, thus producing a symbol of the proper unity of 'religion' and everyday life." (op. cit., p. 8) And yet in addition we have: "A building can either be a church or a hall, either religious or secular, but it cannot architecturally be both, and the term 'architecturally' is here used as meaning fit for its particular purpose." (p. 6)

Day, 1955). By comparison back with *The Methodist Church builds again*, we find in Perkins and Hearn none of the sanctimonious caution mixed with pride that one senses in the other. A Methodist church of the same time as those cited is Edward Mills's at Mitcham (1955-60), a building to replace a bombed church. The complex, as erected, involved a church with a hall at right-angles, school, and garden. In style, Mills's work was of the *avant garde* in the 1930s, and the Mitcham work shows his style moving into the new era, with plainness disappearing and zig-zags replacing straight lines (see illustration facing page 108). The church by Mills at Stoke Mandeville, Bucks (from 1957) was a hall-church of the more regular variety, with two "ends".

At this point an important work of the period on church architecture must be described—a book written, appropriately, by Edward Mills: *The Modern Church* (1955, etc.). This contained a chapter on "The Church and the Community", in which the writer described the intimacy of the old communities, which the new towns and housing estates were replacing. In the latter the Church was failing to play the role it had in the former: this was a situation to be remedied by good new planning and strategy. On "Planning Considerations", Mills describes how for nonconformists "the Communion Table is the focal point, but equal prominence may be necessary for the pulpit".¹⁵ This is, of course, traditional thinking; in none of Mills's churches, however, would full sacramental communication be impeded by an obtrusive pulpit or desk, such as earlier Methodism had known. Peter Hammond's criticism refers to this chapter:

[the writer] is concerned far more with the exclusion of draughts and the provision of space for umbrellas and overcoats than with the relationship between word and sacrament.¹⁶

It can only come as a petty objection by a theorist against one who actualized revolutionary ideas. On dual-purpose halls, Mills describes three schemes (involving one- and two-"ended" versions), but says:

Dual purpose churches, however, should be regarded only as temporary expedients, and should always be planned with fuller developments in view.¹⁷

I have suggested that the hall-church idea contributed to—and in some measure anticipated—the development of the multi-purpose church-centre, which came as a result of experiments at Birmingham after 1962. This involved the development of new concepts of sacrality and worship. But vital to that break-through is a further aspect: the concept of a community centre—a place of service to and for the people of the neighbourhood. In the Church of England, and maybe also the Roman Catholic Church, the church as a community centre for many activities, involving all hours, is a fairly

¹⁵ Mills, op. cit., p. 55.

¹⁶ Hammond, op. cit., p. 105.

¹⁷ Mills, op. cit., p. 56.

recent idea ; but not so in the Methodist Church. This type of approach featured largely in the Central Halls of the late nineteenth century and after, not only in writings and theories, but in fact. Nor need one begin even there, but go right back in time to the practices of the early Methodists.

In the period of this survey, these ideas were enshrined in the scheme to build a Methodist community centre on the London County Council housing estate of St. Helier, Morden, Surrey. This scheme, again the work of Edward Mills, assisted by one whom the architect describes¹⁸ as "an enterprising minister", goes back to 1945. It was never completed, not only because of the obvious problem of money, but due also to various difficulties connected with the estate—a pre-war venture, when ideas on planning and re-housing were crude. A hall had already been erected, and the project involved adding to this an entire complex consisting of church, Sunday-school classrooms, communal restaurant, club-room, dormitory,¹⁹ warden's accommodation, library, gardens, terraces, etc. (A model of the development envisaged is the subject of the illustration facing page 109.) The complex is a church-community centre, but not a hall-church. It is not "pre-church-hall", but rather "post-hall-church". The church is of the same open style prevalent in Mills's earlier work. The choir is at the back, and a small chapel is situated at the corner, to the left of the liturgical centre. In his article, the architect speaks of it as a "home of the people", anticipating much of the *domus ecclesiae* thinking of the 1960s. Provision was also intended for private counselling, and for such activities as drama and hobbies. The church was to seat 500. It is perhaps a tragedy that it was never built, but it existed as an idea and as a viable scheme (wanting only more congenial circumstances), not mere fancy. Much could have been learned from this piece of prophecy, and because it was not, a greater price had to be paid. Today, the architect sees how the scheme looked back to the communality of the Central Hall, and forward towards more recent schemes in which these ideas were given the opportunity of fruition.

In the period under discussion, however, though many of the ideas of the nascent Liturgical Movement influenced church-building, churches did not, in the aspect of sacramental worship, develop to the later fullness that was advocated by, say, Billington's book and Hammond's. This is essentially true in all denominations. And in Methodism we do not in this period find an equality and unity of word and sacrament with its architectural expression and setting.

But what is found in Methodism is none the less remarkable and striking. It can be seen that at each stage Methodism produced ideas—however they were expressed—that were advanced, and could, as suggested, have had great effect outside Methodism, but

¹⁸ In his article in the *Architect and Building News*, 27th July 1945, aptly entitled "The Community Church of the Future", p. 58.

¹⁹ Accommodation for youth employed locally.

which were rooted in tradition and precedent. The fact that they did not have more influence outside is interesting: is it that Methodism did not publicize them enough, or that other denominations preferred to ignore them? Perhaps connected with this possible scarcity of propaganda could be a certain lack of explanation and exposition. Recent projects, more influential and (overtly) successful, owe much to voluminous writings, and this suggestion refers not only to those at Birmingham, but to others such as Liverpool Cathedral and such centres as Taizé and Ronchamp. If Methodism's innovations of this period were rooted in its tradition, what does this tell us of that tradition? It suggests, surely, that the first Methodists had a strong sense of architectural pragmatism, architecture being a part of—and subservient to—mission (or rather, *not* subservient in being party to it). The architectural pragmatism that the Church of England, at least, has had to learn in recent years, it has had to learn from other sources. In the Methodist buildings of this period one detects this spirit of pragmatism. But despite this pragmatism, early Methodist attitudes to architecture do not necessarily display any "lack of an adequate sense of beauty"—in fact, the eighteenth-century notion of beauty is linked more to that of the modern movement of the late 1920s and 1930s. An example is the church at Aachen, with its plain white surfaces and—more important—the volumes and their proportions. It might be difficult or improper to contrast this with, say, the Collier's Wood church of over seven years later, but with the latter the same general æsthetic framework is operating, as opposed to that demanding trimmings and splendour as beauty. (See illustrations on centre pages.)

In the foregoing paragraphs we have looked at the influence, or potential influence, on other churches and sects, of Methodism's liturgical-architectural thinking. The opposite must now be considered: possible influence of liturgical-architectural ideas on Methodism from outside—from other parts of the Christian Church. This question is perhaps more difficult to answer. Certainly one suspects a measure of inward-looking in Methodism in this sphere. That is, despite the advanced ideas mentioned (concerning architectural provision, mode of worship, and concept of community), they seem to come *to* Methodism *from* Methodism. However, this does not detract from their merit, and this inward-looking aspect was possibly found throughout British Christianity. To balance this conclusion, it may be said that there was *some* prompting from scholars, foreign writers and others, who were outside Methodism.

JOHN THOMAS.

[Mr. John A. Thomas is Assistant Librarian (Department of Architecture and Planning) at Redditch Development Corporation, Worcs. He has read Theology at Lampeter and Religious Architecture at the Institute for the study of Worship and Religious Architecture in the University of Birmingham.]

[The four illustrations which accompany this article are used by the courtesy of Messrs. Edward D. Mills & Partners.]

NEWS FROM OUR BRANCHES

[All dates refer to 1975 unless otherwise stated.]

THE **Bristol** branch met twice during the year. On Saturday, 22nd March, the Rev. E. Ralph Bates gave an outstanding lecture on "The Wives of Wesley's Travelling Preachers". With touches of humour, Mr. Bates made members aware of the sacrificial service given and the hardships suffered by those dedicated women.

On Saturday, 18th October, the Rev. Dr. John Kent of the University of Bristol spoke on "Mid-nineteenth-century Disruptions in Methodism", with particular reference to Bristol.

Bulletin : Nos. 15 and 17 received.

Secretary : Mr. G. E. Roberts, 21, Ormerod Road, Stoke Bishop, Bristol,
Membership : 79. [BS9 1BA.]

A NEW departure for the **Cornish** branch has been its first joint publication with the Institute of Cornish Studies—the branch lecture on "A Half-Century of Cornish Methodism, 1925-1975", by Mr. G. Pawley White, a past Grand Bard of the Gorsedd of Cornwall, who last year completed fifty years as a local preacher. The lecture was delivered in April at Wesley chapel, Camborne.

In June a well-attended pilgrimage was made to a number of places in the parishes of Kea and Gwennap associated with Billy Bray, concluding with worship and a social gathering at Hicks Mill chapel, where Bray first joined the Bible Christians in 1823.

Journal : Vol. IV. Nos. 7 and 8 received.

Secretaries : Mr. C. J. Tromans, M.A., 17, Knight's Meadow, Carnon Downs, Truro, Cornwall.

Rev. Baynard P. Evans, Orchard Meadow, Tremarne Close, Feock, Truro.
Membership : 350.

THE spring meeting of the **Lancashire and Cheshire** branch was held in April at Altrincham, when the Rev. Kenneth Bounds spoke on "Reminiscences of Chester Methodism"—an unusual blend of history and recollection. Early Primitive Methodism was recalled at the October Annual Meeting in Manchester, when the Rev. Stephen Hatcher showed a number of antique lantern-slides and displayed items from his extensive collection of PM relics.

Branch-members were involved in the preparation of the Exhibition at the Picton Library, Liverpool, in connexion with the Conference.

Journal : Vol. III. Nos. 1 and 2 received.

Secretary : Mr. E. A. Rose, B.A., 26, Roe Cross Green, Mottram, Hyde,
Membership : 135. [Cheshire, SK14 6LP.]

THE **Lincolnshire** branch met at Gainsborough in April, and was addressed by Mr. I. Beckwith on "The Antecedents of Methodism in Gainsborough". The lecturer, who is a member of the branch, presented an interesting and informed account of life in the town during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

The Annual Meeting, held in October at Sleaford, was attended by 14 members. Following the formal business, the Rev. Arthur W. Saunders spoke on "Methodist Symbols". The lecture was illustrated by the display of 25 panels.

The branch journal, published in conjunction with the *Epworth Witness*, will in future appear annually, because of rising costs.

Journal : Vol. II. Part 9 received.

Secretary : Mr. H. Jubbs, 3A, Church Road, Upton, Gainsborough, Lincs,

Membership : 101. [DN21 5NR.

THE May meeting of the **London** branch was at the Poplar Mission, and included a short lecture by the minister, the Rev. Douglas A. Wollen, a tour of nearby Methodist sites, and an exhibition chiefly relating to the ministry of the late Rev. William H. Lax.

The autumn meeting in October was held at Hinde Street chapel, and following the Annual Meeting business, the Rev. Dr. John C. Bowmer, chairman of the branch, delivered a lecture on the Warrenite controversy of 1834.

It has now been possible to resume publication of the bulletin, and there are encouraging signs for the future.

Bulletin : No. 14 received.

Secretary : Mr. J. A. Pendry Morris, 118, Elgar Avenue, Tolworth,

Membership : 84. [Surbiton, Surrey.

THE **Manx** branch held a well-attended outing on Saturday, 12th July, visiting the Lhen chapel, Ballakermine and Ramsey. The committee has met several times to consider such items as archives at the Manx museum library, the possible issue of a branch bulletin, and a special cover and hand-stamp to commemorate the bicentenary of Methodism on the island.

Secretary : Miss A. M. McHardy, Zeerust, Clayhead Road, Baldrine,
Isle of Man.

THE spring meeting of the **North-East** branch in March took place at the Bethel (ex-New Connexion) chapel in Durham City—an appropriate venue for a vivid and scholarly lecture on the origins of the Kilhamite movement in the North-East by Mr. E. Alan Rose.

In the autumn Mr. G. Ronald Kemp, formerly curator of Wesley's Chapel in London, talked about that historic building at an enjoyable meeting held in the Avenue chapel, Middlesbrough.

The year was saddened by the death on 23rd May of Mr. F. O. Bretherton, a vice-president of the branch and a link (through his father) with the earliest days of the Wesley Historical Society.

Two summer outings were held, and once again members of the branch explored the beauty and Methodist associations of the northern dales—Swaledale on Saturday, 14th June and Teesdale and Lunedale on Saturday, 6th September, the tours being very expertly led by Mrs. Margaret Batty and Mr. Harold Beadle respectively.

Opportunity was taken to share in the 150th anniversary celebrations of the opening of the Stockton and Darlington Railway by a special issue of the branch bulletin devoted largely to the Wesleyan locomotive engineer Timothy Hackworth (1786-1850). An extra 150 copies were printed, and sold at the Hackworth Museum, Shildon.

Bulletin : Nos. 23 and 24 received.

Secretaries : Mr. G. E. Milburn, M.A., 8, Ashbrooke Mount, Sunderland,
Tyne and Wear.

Mr. A. Champley, 121, Haydon Close, Redhouse Farm, Gosforth,
Membership : 145. [Newcastle upon Tyne.

FOR their spring meeting, the **Plymouth and Exeter** branch attended the annual Wesley Day meeting at Trewint, where the open-air service was conducted by the Rev. Reginald K. Walker.

The autumn meeting was held at Elburton chapel, Plymouth, under the title "John Wesley rides West". In the afternoon, Mr. Arthur Clamp spoke on Elburton Methodism and Mr. Roger Thorne spoke on Plymouth Methodism. After tea the Sunday School presented a pageant describing the spread of Methodism in the West country. There was also an exhibition of local Wesleyana.

Bulletin: Vol. III. Nos. 3 and 4 received.

Secretary: Mr. M. E. Thorne, 29, Anne's Crescent, Barnstaple, N. Devon.

Membership: 86.

Two meetings of the **Scottish** branch were held. In April, Mr. Alan Cass of Sheffield University gave a talk on "Historical Personalities and Problems in Dundee Methodism". This was at Scott Street chapel, Perth. The autumn meeting took place at St. John's Centre, Glasgow, on Wednesday, 3rd September; Mr. John Watson of Kilsyth addressed the meeting on Methodism in Kirkintilloch and Kilsyth. Both speakers provided interesting insights into the local history of Methodism in Scotland.

Journal: Nos. 5 and 6 received.

Secretary: Dr. D. A. Gowland, Department of Modern History,

Membership: 152. [The University, Dundee, DDI 4HN.

THE newest branch, that in **Shropshire**, continues with a vigorous programme of meetings. At Pant in the Llanymynech circuit, the speaker was Dorothy Sylvester of Crewe; at Wem, later in the year, the Rev. Ernest Jones dealt with John Wesley's visits to Shrewsbury and Wem, whilst at the final meeting at Market Drayton the Rev. R. Ward Davies described the history of Wesleyan, Primitive and Independent Methodist circuits centred on the town. Among the items displayed at the meeting were the membership rolls from 1797.

Bulletin: Nos. 2, 3 and 4 received.

Secretary: Rev. R. Ward Davies, B.D., 1, Clive Road, Market Drayton,

Membership: 45. [Salop, TF9 3DJ.

IN place of the usual spring meeting, the **West Midlands** branch supported the World Methodist Historical Society Conference at Selly Oak, Birmingham, in July—in particular the open meeting at which the Rev. Dr. John C. Bowmer gave a lecture on "Developments in Methodism, 1784 to 1830". There was a good attendance of members and interested local people.

The October meeting was held at Dale Street, Leamington Spa, when Mrs. Wardle spoke on the history of the chapel and circuit. An exhibition gave added interest to the afternoon.

Bulletin: Vol. II. Nos. 10 and 11 received.

Secretary: Mrs. E. D. Graham, B.A., B.D., 34, Spiceland Road,

Membership: 91. [Northfield, Birmingham, B31 1NJ.

THE May meeting of the **Yorkshire** branch was held at St. John's College, York, when Mr. A. George Ruffhead spoke on "The Grays: a York evangelical family". A visit was then made to Gray's Court, their former home, after which Mr. Ralph Wilkinson led a conducted tour of some of the city's Methodist sites, including the fine Centenary chapel.

Halifax Ebenezer, the home of an ex-PM society founded in 1822, was

appropriately the venue for the October meeting, at which the Rev. Stephen Hatcher gave a talk, illustrated with lantern slides, on "The Origins of Primitive Methodism". There was also an exhibition of part of his private collection.

The year has been one of considerable progress: the branch archive collection has been catalogued, and there has been a good increase in membership.

Bulletin: Nos. 26 and 27 received.

Secretary: Mr. D. Colin Dews, B.Ed., 4, Lynwood Grove, Leeds,

Membership: 146.

[LS12 4AU.

E. A. ROSE.

WELSH NOTES

THE Annual Meeting of the Friends of Tre'rddol—Tre'rddol Welsh Methodist Museum, established near Aberystwyth in 1959 by Mr. R. J. Thomas (editor, University of Wales)—was held at Northop (Flints) on Saturday, 13th September 1975. The meeting honoured the memory of Richard Harrison (1743-1830) of Northop, who was the leading pioneer of Methodism in this part of Wales. [See *Proceedings*, xviii, pp. 57-8, 78.—EDITOR.]

The Chairman of the Friends of Tre'rddol, the Rev. M. Pennant Lewis, presented, on behalf of the Friends, a new garden-seat in memory of Richard Harrison to St. Peter's Church, Northop. This seat, bearing a suitable inscription, has been placed not far from Harrison's grave.

Devotions were conducted by the Rev. Alun W. Francis of Caernarvon (Secretary of the Friends of Tre'rddol), and the opening address was given by the Rev. Hugh Rowlands (Chairman of the Cymru District), who also introduced three of Richard Harrison's descendants—Mrs. Parry of Mold, Mrs. Lincoln of Wrexham, and Mr. Bert Harrison of Rhosesmor. The gift was accepted by the vicar of Northop, the Rev. J. Gore Rees, who on the Sunday previous had arranged a united communion service at Northop parish church. Others who were present and took part in the meeting were Mr. A. H. Williams (President of the Historical Society of the Methodist Church in Wales) and the superintendent of the Bagillt circuit, the Rev. E. Wyn Williams.

After tea, kindly provided by members of the Ladies' Guilds of the Bagillt circuit, an excellent lecture on the life-work of Richard Harrison was given by Mr. Tudor Proffit (the Historical Society's treasurer). Mr. Proffit's researches provided much new light on the activities of this Methodist local preacher who for the sake of the Gospel endured the hostility of the gentry and the violence of the mob. He was the first to preach evangelical Arminianism in Welsh, and his knowledge of the country, and of the people of North-East Wales especially, proved invaluable when Conference in 1800, under the guidance of Dr. Coke, opened the Welsh Mission. The lecture will be published in *Bathafarn*, the journal of the Welsh Methodist Historical Society (copies available from the Rev. Iwan G. P. Lewis, The Glen, Llanfyllin, Powys). H. M. PENNANT LEWIS.

Copies of *A Half-Century of Cornish Methodism, 1926-1975: A Local Preacher's Experience* (pp. 22), by Mr. G. Pawley White (Gunwyn), referred to on page 114, may be obtained, price 40p. plus postage, from Mr. John C. C. Probert, 1, Penventon Terrace, Truro, Cornwall.

WORLD METHODIST HISTORICAL SOCIETY NOTES

An Historic Meeting—13th August 1776

KINGSTON ST. MARY, a small village in the Quantock Hills near Taunton (Somerset), was the scene of a meeting two hundred years ago which proved a turning-point in the history of Methodism not only in England, but throughout the world. The young curate, Thomas Coke, who left his parish the following year and threw in his lot with the Methodists, became Wesley's right-hand man and a key figure in Methodism on both sides of the Atlantic, the first bishop of the Methodist Episcopal Church, and the founder of British Methodism's overseas missions.

The bicentenary of this meeting between Wesley and Coke is to be marked at Kingston St. Mary by a day of activities and events, including an exhibition in the parish church. The provisional programme for Friday, 13th August, is as follows:

p.m.

3-30 Commemorative service in the parish church. Preacher: The Rev. J. Russell Pope (President of the Conference in 1974).

4-45 onwards Teas will be available in the vicarage garden and other gardens in the village.

There will be an Exhibition in the church of material relating to the meeting, and also of the church silver.

6-30 A session of Wesley hymn-singing, with introduction and comment.

7-45 Commemorative lecture on "Thomas Coke and World Methodism" by Mr. John A. Vickers (British Secretary of the World Methodist Historical Society and author of the standard biography, *Thomas Coke: Apostle of Methodism*).

Visitors, including any from the United States on their way to the World Methodist Conference, will be warmly welcome, and are advised to seek overnight accommodation in Taunton, four miles south of Kingston.

Publications

Two further titles are to be issued shortly over the imprint of the British Section of the World Methodist Historical Society. Both will be available at a special discount price to any member of the Wesley Historical Society whose order is received by 30th April.

The Bitter Sacred Cup: the Wednesbury Riots, 1743-44, by the Rev. J. Leonard Waddy, is an enlarged version of the author's 1970 Wesley Historical Society Lecture, and is the first fully-documented study of one of the most famous incidents in early Methodist history. Price to our members: 60p. post free.

Thomas Coke and World Methodism, by John A. Vickers, contains the text of the 1964 Lecture as delivered at the Conference of that year, and is published to mark the bicentenary of the first meeting of John Wesley and Thomas Coke referred to above. Price to our members: 40p. post free.

Orders should be sent to: WMHS (British Section), 87, Marshall Avenue, Bognor Regis, West Sussex, PO21 2TW.

These titles will be available in the United States from Dr. John H. Ness, jun., World Methodist Headquarters, P.O. Box 488, Lake Junaluska, North Carolina, 28745.

JOHN A. VICKERS.

BOOK NOTICES

The Works of John Wesley, Vol. 11—*The Appeals to Men of Reason and Religion and Certain Related Open Letters*, edited by Gerald R. Cragg. (Clarendon Press: Oxford University Press, pp. xiv. 594, £10.)

The need for a complete and critical edition of Wesley's *Works* has long been felt. In 1925 Dr. Maximin Piette, the Belgian scholar whose erudite study of the place of "John Wesley in the Evolution of Protestantism" was made despite the lack of such a tool, wrote hopefully: "Soon we may expect from the painstaking and highly qualified Wesley Historical Society a truly critical edition of all the works of their founder", and suggested that "a serious Methodist historian" might be found to undertake such a task.

In these *Proceedings*, in 1943 (xxiv, pp. 35-9), Dr. Frank Baker, who was at that time our Registrar, drafted proposals for a standard edition of Wesley's *Works* to complete the work done on the *Journals, Letters* and *Sermons* by Curnock, Telford and Sugden, though he suspected that such a publication might be financially hazardous. In 1958 Wesley Swift, after listing the editions of the *Works* (*Proceedings*, xxxi, pp. 173-7), claimed that it was economics and not lack of interest on the part of our Society that had delayed the fulfilment of Dr. Piette's hope. It is a matter for wonder, as well as thankfulness, that in spite of the vastly increased rate of inflation, this year, 1976, sees the appearance of the first volume of the long-hoped-for definitive edition, and that this is to be not supplementary, but inclusive of the whole of Wesley's writings.

This publishing venture has not, of course, been undertaken by our Society, but our members may well feel a reflected glory in the appointment of Dr. Frank Baker—Dr. Piette's "serious Methodist historian" and our present "Correspondent in the United States of America"—as Editor-in-chief of the projected thirty-four volumes.

Volume 11, the first to appear, is edited by Dr. Gerald R. Cragg, Brown Professor of Ecclesiastical History at Andover Newton Theological School, and consists of a general introduction (36 pp.), particular introductions (36 pp.), Wesley text (466 pp.), textual history (20 pp.), and index (36 pp.). The Wesley text is that of the *Appeals to Men of Reason and Religion* (1743-5) and the open letters to the Bishop of London (1747), the Bishop of Exeter (1750-2), the Rev. George Horne (1762), and the Bishop of Gloucester (1763).

These writings are of paramount importance for a correct assessment both of the theology and the methods of the Methodist Revival in its early days, and had they been the only Wesleyan writings to survive, enough would be known about early Methodism to estimate its place in Church history. That fact alone justifies the initial production of Volume 11.

In his introduction Dr. Cragg spells out Wesley's reluctance to turn aside from evangelism to controversy and his accuracy and integrity when he found himself acting in that unsought-for role. He preferred to think that his opponents were "men of reason and religion", and though he was irritated by adversaries like Lavington, he was always courteous to them. The points at issue were the theology, conduct, and effects of the Revival. Theologically, the debate centred round the doctrines of Justification by Faith, the New Birth, and Sanctification, which Wesley defended from

scripture, the Church Fathers, and Anglican formularies. There was controversy also on the excesses of the Revival (and Wesley had to tread carefully at this point), his alleged disregard of Church order in such matters as open-air preaching, his use of lay preachers, and his incorrect attitudes towards bishops and fellow-clergy.

The editor gives full and accurate cross-references to the writings of Wesley's opponents in controversy, viz. Gibson's *Observations*, Lavington's *Enthusiasm*, and Warburton's *Doctrine of Grace*, sufficient to help the reader to follow Wesley's argument. No more can be required: but those who use this volume in future research would be wise to have beside them also the writings of Wesley's Anglican critics, who, as Dr. John Walsh and Dr. John Kent have reminded us (*Proceedings*, xxxviii, p. 27), deserve more serious examination than they usually get.

In the Appendix—"Wesley's Text: Editions, Transmission, Variant Readings"—Dr. Baker provides a new tool for the Wesley scholar that many will be eager to use. This appendix and those to appear in the forthcoming volumes contain the fruits of his detailed examination of over 2,000 editions of some 450 Wesley publications. The text presented is that of the first edition, and in each case Dr. Baker gives a history of the text, a "stemma" showing the relation of the various editions issued during Wesley's lifetime, and an exact list of additions, deletions and emendations made by Wesley himself in editions subsequent to the first.

Mr. John Vickers's excellent index to this volume certainly enhances its value.

The price of the book? Alas that it should be £10—but it is still worth selling one's shirt to buy! THOMAS SHAW.

Pastor and People, by John C. Bowmer. (Epworth Press: pp. 272, £5.)

Dr. Bowmer has served the Wesley Historical Society well for many years. He has now put us further in his debt in *Pastor and People*. This was the Fernley Hartley Lecture for 1975, and a much more useful volume than some of its predecessors. Dr. Bowmer has gone back to the period of Methodist history which lies between the death of John Wesley and the death of Jabez Bunting, and has examined it from the point of view of the doctrine of the Church and Ministry. He is familiar with the spate of literature which has filled the past few years on this subject, right down to Bernard Semmel's recent remarkable book, *The Methodist Revolution* (1974), but he is not concerned with the American attempt to show that nineteenth-century evangelicalism, including Wesleyanism, was not a conservative social force, as Halévy, Thompson, the Hammonds and many others have contended, but a powerful instrument for revolutionary social change. (Morse Peckham, in *Victorian Studies*, xviii, p. 3, even argues that evangelicalism was the only successful counter-culture in modern history.) Dr. Bowmer eschews this territory, where hypothesis may be thought to have far outrun research, and concentrates instead on the internal Wesleyan theological issues.

On these his book should be definitive. I have not always agreed with Dr. Bowmer in the past: in particular, I do not think that there is sufficient evidence to justify the theory that John Wesley was the focal-point of a eucharistic revival which anticipated the Oxford Movement. But I go all the way with him here, because he succeeds in keeping the balance between an understanding of the case which might be made for the high view

of the pastoral office which Bunting and others believed that they derived from Wesley and a realization that after 1800 the Wesleyan system could survive only if the laity continued to assent to it, an assent which others beside Bunting—Thomas Jackson and Robert Newton, for instance—did little to strengthen. There was nothing remarkable in the Wesleyan authoritarian view of the ministry. Both the Roman and Anglican Churches took a similar view. What confused the issue in the early nineteenth century—and here I think that Dr. Bowmer could profitably have paid more attention to the social history of the period—was the conviction of the majority of the Wesleyan itinerants, whatever their view of the pastoral office, that they belonged to the ruling culture, not to the excluded Nonconformist sub-culture. They drew this conviction from John Wesley himself; this was the permanent content of his "Anglicanism"; and its effect was to persuade them that their ministerial status ought to resemble that of the Anglican clergy. In this sense I agree with Dr. Bowmer, as against Professor Ward of Durham, that the high Wesleyan view of the ministry was not a deviant theory concocted in the 1820s, but the natural expression of what the greater part of the itinerants thought about themselves, and that they were right in supposing that they could trace it back to John Wesley. If John Wesley ordained, he ordained to an authoritarian ministry; he did not ordain to a pseudo-priesthood.

When I say that the content of the itinerant consciousness confused the issue, I mean that the itinerants did not, in the eyes of the larger English society, belong to the ruling culture at all. (Where they *did* belong was another question.) Time and events slowly compelled the Wesleyan ministry to give up its illusions, and Hugh Price Hughes's brief Edwardian eminence symbolized an acceptance of the excluded role. But after 1932 the new Methodist Church drifted back towards the pre-Victorian position—to the belief that Wesleyanism naturally belonged to the dominant culture, and this error lay at the root of the abortive negotiations with the Anglican Church whose failure signalled the end of an ecumenical era in England. The illusion had proved equally fatal to Bunting and his generation, for the Wesleyan laity in the 1830s did not feel itself part of the dominant culture, and therefore gradually rejected doctrines of the church and ministry which it associated with the dominant culture. The claim to absolute pastoral authority symbolized a claim to cultural wholeness; but the Wesleyan ministers who made the claim never understood the fundamental experience of their laity—the sense of being part of a society that had never fully matured, never fully been accepted outside its own tightly-drawn frontiers. The ministers could never understand why the sons of "successful" Wesleyans so often moved into the Anglican society: they could not admit that the children were right, that this was the sensible thing for them to do. (And yet it *was* the sensible decision, probably as late as 1939;—now, of course, it would be too late, would have no meaning.)

It is because Dr. Bowmer understands these problems, and seems to me to understand them very well, that he is always able to treat his subject with a calm and a tolerance which have so often been absent in modern studies: in E. P. Thompson, for example, and in Robert Currie, one senses the passionate over-commitment which comes from not having solved the problem of Wesleyanism. Perhaps we are at last approaching the end of John Wesley's legacy. At any rate, Dr. Bowmer's welcome book is a good augury.

JOHN H. S. KENT.

Brief Notices

The Journal of George Fox—a revised edition edited by John L. Nickalls, with an introduction by Geoffrey F. Nuttall and an epilogue by Henry J. Cadbury. Published by the Religious Society of Friends, pp. xlviii. 789, price £4 (hard back), £2 85p. (paper back). This is a welcome publication, and will surely become the standard edition of George Fox's *Journal*.

Maldwyn Edwards, Methodist Preacher, 1903-1974 (pp. 20) is a daughter's tribute to her father. Beautifully written, it brings out every facet of the versatile life of our late President. Copies may be obtained from Mrs. Brian A. Greet, 37, Sutton Passey's Crescent, Wollaton Park, Nottingham, NG8 1BX.

The Last Bible Christians, their Church in Devon, 1907, by Roger Thorne (pp. 30) is the text of a paper delivered to the Annual Meeting of the Devonshire Association at Sidmouth in June 1975. It appears as an off-print from Volume 107 of the Devonshire Association *Transactions*, and copies, price 50p. (including postage), may be obtained from the author at 11, Station Road, Topsham, Exeter.

Discovering Chapels and Meeting Houses, by David A. Barton (Shire Publications Ltd., pp. 64, 50p.). In these days when the term "historic buildings" seldom includes "chapels and meeting-houses", this book is especially welcome.

Guidelines for Local Church Histories and Records and History Committees, compiled by Walter N. Vernon. This is a publication of the Commission on Archives and History of the United Methodist Church of America, but it contains much help and advice for research students on this side of the Atlantic. Copies, price 45p. plus 9p. postage are obtainable from Mr. John A. Vickers, 87, Marshall Avenue, Bognor Regis, Sussex.

Elementary Education in Bedford, 1868-1903 and Bedfordshire Ecclesiastical Census 1851, by D. W. Bushby (pp. 200) is Volume 54 of the Publications of the Bedfordshire Historical Record Society; Publications Officer, A. G. Underwood, 39, Church Street, Amptill, Beds.

John Wesley in Ireland, by T. W. Freeman, is an off-print from an article in *Irish Geography*, vol. viii (1975).

Methodist Worship in relation to Free Church Worship, by John Bishop (Scholars Studies Press, Inc., New York, USA, pp. xvii. 173, price \$6.95). This is a new edition, revised and brought up to date, of a book of the same title first published in 1950 by the Epworth Press (see *Proceedings*, xxviii, p. 20). Dr. Bishop, who will be remembered as formerly a minister in British Methodism, is now in the ministry of the United Methodist Church of America. He has always maintained a deep interest in worship—a subject on which he has lectured, as a recognized authority, in many countries. Much has happened in the field of worship since this book was first published. This is true theologically, liturgically, and in practical experimentation. Dr. Bishop has taken these developments into consideration, and has given us an up-to-date and very readable study—one which he claims to be "the only book which traces in detail the origins and development of Methodist worship". It also takes into account the patterns of Methodist worship in the United States. As one who is personally conversant with Methodism on both sides of the Atlantic, Dr. Bishop writes with an authority which gives his work added value.

JOHN C. BOWMER.

NOTES AND QUERIES

1283. WESLEY OR CENNICK?

Mr. P. Fawcett kindly draws my attention to the question of the authorship of a hymn I mentioned in my note on "The Centenary Hymn" (*Proceedings*, xl, p. 90). But, strangely, there seems some confusion. My note (written a year or more ago) referred to Thomas Jackson's *Centenary of Wesleyan Methodism*, where the author mentions a hymn, "The doctrine of our dying Lord"; but Jackson does *not* entitle it "Hymn at the Sacrament", and I do not now know how that title crept into my article! Jackson entitles it a "Confession of Faith", and quotes it in full; but this is not the hymn listed in Green's *Wesley Bibliography*, No. 61, and appearing in Osborn's *Poetical Works of John and Charles Wesley*, viii, p. 441.

I wrote accepting, uncritically, Jackson's comment that "The doctrine of our dying Lord" was "composed unquestionably by Mr. Charles Wesley" and his further remark that it was "a fine specimen of his charity and sanctified genius". Mr. Fawcett points out that it appears at the end of Cennick's *Catechism for Children* (though Dr. Frank Baker does not mention it in his *Bibliography of Cennick*); and I note that it appears in Cennick's *Sacred Hymns for the Use of Religious Societies*. I see further that it does *not* appear in Osborn. So it would seem that Jackson, for all his knowledge of early Methodism, was wrong. Is it known, incidentally, where he found his information concerning the "general love-feast"? Wesley does not mention it in the *Journal*.

All of which is a salutary reminder not to accept anything without checking and re-checking one's authorities, whoever they be!

OLIVER A. BECKERLEGGE.

1284. STANLEY BALDWIN'S RELATIVES.

The Rev. Kenneth Garlick's note on Stanley Baldwin (*Proceedings*, xl, p. 91) is interesting and valuable so far as it goes; but he could have said much more, for Baldwin had other connexions—or, to put it another way, Methodism played a part in the background of others beside him.

George B. Macdonald had six children: five daughters and a son—the President of Conference whom Mr. Garlick mentions. One daughter did not marry; of the others, one was Baldwin's mother, another the mother of Rudyard Kipling (surely one can spot echoes of his Methodist ancestry in some of his hymns, especially the *Recessional*?), a third married Sir Edward Burne-Jones, the painter, and the fourth married Sir Edward Poynter, his fellow painter. This must have been one of the most remarkable families in Methodism since the Epworth Wesleys.

OLIVER A. BECKERLEGGE.

1285. WESLEY HYMNS IN NON-METHODIST COLLECTIONS.

A recent note by Dr. Ian Sellers asks what Wesley hymns appear in recent collections apart from our own.

A hymn-sheet published by a group of charismatics, entitled simply *Praise God*, and without any name of publisher, etc., and consisting of hymns and choruses (some of which Wesley would call "doggerel double-distilled"), contains three well-known Wesley hymns plus "Happy the souls that first believed". This hymn of eleven verses appeared in the 1780 *Collection of Hymns*, was cut down to nine verses in the 1876 book, and to seven in the 1904 MHB. But *Praise God* reprints the nine verses as they stand in the book that celebrates its centenary this year. I note

that it did not appear in the UMFC hymn-book of 1889, but it was retained (or seven verses were) in the 1889 *Primitive Methodist Hymnal*; and, surprisingly perhaps, the 1870 MNC *Hymns for Divine Worship* improved on 1780 and published an extra verse, making twelve. It first appeared (in fourteen verses) as Part I of "Primitive Christianity" at the close of the *Earnest Appeal* in 1743—which, interestingly, is the first volume to appear of the Oxford edition of Wesley's *Works*.

OLIVER A. BECKERLEGGE.

[A collection entitled *Hymns of Eternal Truth*, published by the Sherbourne Road Trust, Bradford (Yorks), and reviewed in *Proceedings*, xxxix, p. 87, contains 22 Wesley hymns which are in the 1876 but not in the 1933 book, and 20 which are in neither.—EDITOR.]

1286. METHODIST POSTAL MATERIAL WANTED.

MR. T. L. NORGATE, of 11, Barham Road, Petersfield (Hants), writes :

I am engaged in the collection and study of Methodist Postal History, which includes practically anything sent through the post. My particular interests are picture post cards of Methodist premises and people—in fact, anything on post cards connected with Methodism. This also includes any stationery, whether printed by the Methodist Publishing House or locally. Hand-stamped cards used at bazaars at the turn of the century and early twentieth century are particularly of interest. I should be grateful to hear from anyone who has any such material in his or her possession. Postage will be paid, and a small donation given to Methodist funds if appropriate. I require postally-used items preferably—church notices, cards summoning church meetings, etc.—the earlier the better.

MORE LOCAL HISTORIES

We acknowledge, with many thanks, the following handbooks and brochures which have reached us recently. We give the prices where these are stated.

Labouring for Posterity—the story of Peckham church, by John D. Beasley (pp. 15) : copies, price 12p. plus 9p. postage, from Mrs. Marian Beasley, South Riding, 6, Everthorpe Road, Peckham, London, S.E.15 4DA.

Two Hundred Years of Methodism in St. Neots (Hunts) and District, 1775-1975, by D. W. Bushby (pp. 55) : copies from Mr. G. Y. Daniell, Fairholme, Church Street, Tempsford, Beds, SG19 2AN.

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