

# Theology on the Web.org.uk

*Making Biblical Scholarship Accessible*

This document was supplied for free educational purposes. Unless it is in the public domain, it may not be sold for profit or hosted on a webserver without the permission of the copyright holder.

If you find it of help to you and would like to support the ministry of Theology on the Web, please consider using the links below:



Buy me a coffee

<https://www.buymeacoffee.com/theology>



PATREON

<https://patreon.com/theologyontheweb>

**PayPal**

<https://paypal.me/robbradshaw>

---

A table of contents for the *Proceedings of the Wesley Historical Society* can be found here:

[https://biblicalstudies.org.uk/articles\\_whs\\_01.php](https://biblicalstudies.org.uk/articles_whs_01.php)

# Proceedings

OF THE

## Wesley Historical Society

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

---

---

Volume XLII

September 1979

---

---

### THE ANNUAL MEETING AND LECTURE

SOME 32 members and friends met at Wesley's Chapel in City Road, London, E.C.1, for this year's Annual Meeting, Tea and Lecture. For the first time our Treasurer and his wife, Mr. and Mrs. Rowland Swift, were able not only to provide the tea but to be present themselves: the Rev. Kenneth Garlick expressed our grateful thanks to them.

#### Business Meeting

The President (Dr. Bowmer) took the chair at the Annual Meeting, during which all the affairs of the Society were dealt with, item by item. We spent some time, unhurriedly, recalling those of our number who had died during the year, and also expressed our sympathy with the family of Dr. Roger Anstey, who, before he died, had agreed to lecture to us in 1980 on "Methodism and Slavery". The Registrar-Treasurer gave an encouraging report, though we were concerned at the number of members who are still in arrears of subscription. It was agreed that a reminder should be sent *in place of the Proceedings* to members who are in default for more than a year. The meeting gave enthusiastic approval to a request from the Connexional Archives Committee that the Society should accept joint responsibility with the World Methodist Historical Society (British Section) in convening a Methodist History Conference, probably at Southlands College, in Easter week 1981.

The accounts for 1978, duly audited and presented to the meeting, are printed on page 68.

#### The Annual Lecture

Dr. John Walsh, of Jesus College, Oxford—our chairman this year and our lecturer-to-be in 1981—introduced Professor W. R. Ward of Durham University, who spoke on "The origins of religious revival: the international setting of early Methodism". Dr. Walsh said that "the thread that binds together most members of the Wesley Historical Society is affection for our church and its traditions, but there are times when we need to stand back and see ourselves in wider perspective." It would be wrong for us deliberately to mis-quote Pope and say:

The Church and all her truths lay hid in night.  
God said, "Let Wesley be!"—and all was light!

Dr. Ward isolated and emphasized that strand of Methodism's inheritance from Central European pietism which became an international

movement of revival as the *erweckben* ("the awakened"), whether Salzburgers, Moravians or Spener Pietists, migrated to Silesia, to Frederick the Great's Prussia, and to New England. Their piety, their steadfast endurance, and their theological understanding of the doctrine of justification by faith (the real transformation of the newly-born) influenced John Wesley considerably at the beginning of his ministry. Some of their church usages—class meetings, travelling preachers, and open-air gatherings—were to become features of Wesley's Methodism. Dr. Ward helped his hearers to see that, humanly speaking, this continental source of Methodism originated from a fortuitous mixture of the forces of revival, church renewal, and resistance to oppression among these peoples who were spasmodically persecuted by Catholic authorities in Salzburg and circumscribed by orthodox Lutheranism in Silesia. THOMAS SHAW.

---

### Methodist Enrolled Deeds in the Public Record Office

SINCE the appearance of my article in the May issue of the *Proceedings*, two additional facts have come to light which enhance the value of the Chancery Rolls as a source of information on Methodist chapel deeds.

1. The serious shortcomings of the 1871 index to the enrolled deeds was clearly recognized at some early date, and an attempt was made to remedy the situation by cutting up a copy and re-arranging the entries in a proper alphabetical order before pasting them into a series of large volumes. These volumes are now available in Press F in the Long Room at the Public Record Office (volumes 1-29), and include additional entries covering the years 1866 to 1870.

2. Deeds enrolled between 1870 and 1902 (including many dating from well before that period) have been indexed topographically on cards at the far end of the Long Room. Two points, however, need to be noted by those who would use this card index.—(a) Reference on the cards is not (as in the 1871 index) to the *piece* number, but direct to the *call* number. This inconsistency adds a further element of confusion to an already bizarre situation, but it does at least save the reader from having to refer also to the *List of Chancery Rolls*, since it is the call number that is needed in requesting any item. (b) The second reference on the cards is to the *membrane* number, instead of to the item number. (Each roll is made up of a series of numbered membranes, stitched together.)

One correction to my article: The reference to "the Round Room" at Chancery Lane is an error, and should read "the Long Room".

JOHN A. VICKERS.

---

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

*The Baptist Quarterly*, July 1979.

*The Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research*, Vol. 52, No. 125 (May 1979); together with the Fifty-seventh Annual Report of the Institute (1977-8).

*Methodist History*, April 1979.

*The Magazine of the Congregational Historical Circle*, May 1979.

## WESLEYANISM AND "THE WORLD" IN THE LATER NINETEENTH CENTURY

[We print on this and the following pages the published form of the Wesley Historical Society Lecture delivered in connexion with the Hull Conference of 1977 by the Rev. Henry D. Rack, M.A. Mr. Rack is Lecturer in Ecclesiastical History, Faculty of Theology, in the University of Manchester.—EDITOR.]

“WE know that we are of God, and the whole world is in the power of the evil one”,<sup>1</sup> says “John”, whilst “James” concedes that “religion pure and undefiled” includes visiting widows and orphans, but also to “keep oneself unspotted from the world”.<sup>2</sup> This distrustful tone is characteristic of at least the later strata of the New Testament, and has been a recurring note in subsequent Christian history. It has been expressed in the founding of religious orders, in revival movements, in new sects, and often in the more ordinary forms of church life. Denial of “the world”, separation from it, avoidance of “worldly” ways, and attempts to shape the behaviour of the faithful in manners which would express both their distinctiveness and their purity—these are instincts which have characterized much of Christianity (and indeed other religions) from earliest days. If one rejected the poet’s advice to “hie thee to a nunnery” and total separation, opting instead for family and working life in the midst of the world, then it has often seemed all the more necessary to keep up the standards of the faithful by a strong community life and rules of behaviour dictating what must be done and what must be avoided. This may even extend, as with the early Quakers, to a distinctive speech and dress. John Wesley, in his later years, showed signs of wishing the Methodists would do likewise.<sup>3</sup> Underlying this behaviour was a distinctive theology and a particular view of what Christian holiness entails; and by such means the standards of “the world” were condemned and the standards of righteousness upheld. At its worst, this could express an unpleasant and possibly hypocritical spiritual superiority over the rest of mankind—even over the rest of Christian mankind. At its best it represented a genuine idealism—the assertion not only of an alternative form of churchmanship but also, as Dr. Clyde Binfield has forcefully argued concerning nineteenth-century Nonconformity,<sup>4</sup> “an alternative vision of what society might be”.

For Wesleyanism in the nineteenth century this meant, at least

<sup>1</sup> I John v. 19.

<sup>2</sup> James i. 27.

<sup>3</sup> See Sermon LXXXVIII, “On Dress” (*Works*, vii, p. 23). (References to *Works* in these footnotes are from the 11th edn., ed. T. Jackson, London, 1856.)

<sup>4</sup> J. C. G. Binfield: *So down to Prayers* (London, 1977), p. 19. The world-denying aspects of Evangelicalism have been explored and characterized as “Evangelical Pietism” in Dr. John Kent’s *Holding the Fort: Studies in Victorian Revivalism* (London, 1978)—see especially page 10 and note. Although he partially excepts Wesleyanism from this category, the present article suggests reasons for doubt about this.

to begin with, an alternative both to Anglicanism and to the older forms of English Dissent. Methodism began as a society for promoting Christian holiness, developing almost accidentally into a new church. Its attitudes to the world and its special institutions were shaped by—and intended to express—the pursuit of perfection. Thus from one point of view the history of changing Wesleyan attitudes towards “the world” is also the history of how the Wesleyan vision of perfection and its practical and institutional expressions changed under pressures both internal and external. By the end of the nineteenth century some enthusiasts were interpreting holiness in terms of social welfare; others in terms of the cultivation of a special—if ill-defined—“experience” (the “second blessing”). Others, again, had almost ceased to interpret or think of perfection at all, but rather by precept or practice implied an altogether more relaxed—even mildly “worldly”—vision of Christian behaviour than had been acceptable to the founding fathers. At the beginning of the century, too, Wesleyanism, because of its special relationship to the Church of England and its special theological and institutional emphases, differed in important respects from the older nonconformity (though perhaps least in its cultural and moral attitudes from other evangelicals). At all events, by the end of the century, though these differences still existed, they had been considerably modified, and the Wesleyanism of 1900 was much more obviously a part of the nonconformist world and antagonistic to Anglicanism than it had been in 1800. It was, in short, less Wesleyan.

These changes could be illustrated from almost any aspect of Wesleyan life. In this paper I propose to say something about attitudes to culture (in its simple traditional sense of literature and the arts); to recreation and its place in the church; and to the related subject of education. I believe that the trends here analysed and the significance ascribed to them can also be shown to be true of other aspects of Wesleyan life in the period—for example politics, social teaching, debates about church membership, etc.<sup>5</sup> It would also be interesting to discover how these findings relate to changing Wesleyan attitudes towards economic life and commercial morality—subjects as yet hardly explored at all.<sup>6</sup> In what follows I have regretfully felt obliged to keep, in the main, to “official” attitudes, though offering some clues to the realities below this level. Much more could and should be done to clarify the latter from the abundant biographical material which survives.

<sup>5</sup> I have explored this in an essay in the forthcoming third volume of Rupert E. Davies *et al.* (eds.): *A History of the Methodist Church in Great Britain*.

<sup>6</sup> For the attitudes of Wesley and early nineteenth-century Wesleyanism on this matter see Charles Elliott: “The Ideology of Economic Growth: A Case Study”, in E. L. Jones and G. E. Mingay (eds.): *Land, Labour and Population in the Industrial Revolution* (London, 1967). There is a sustained attempt to equate religious and business virtues in Benjamin Gregory: *The Thorough Business Man: Memoirs of Walter Powell* (London, 1871), but Elliott’s evidence is a warning against any easy Weberian interpretation of this.

## I—CULTURE

IN an interesting study of "Anglican Evangelicals and Worldliness from 1770 to 1870", Michael Hennell showed how their attitude towards permissible recreations steadily narrowed throughout the period, whilst the gulf between themselves and the world steadily widened.<sup>7</sup> Wesleyanism, at first sight, experienced almost exactly the opposite development, though it will be suggested at the end that this impression is possibly misleading. From narrow beginnings the scope of the permissible gradually broadened—and more rapidly after 1870. Moreover a determined attempt was made to create an enclosed Wesleyan culture of a kind which in 1800 would have been considered "worldly". The attempt largely failed (though traces of it still remain); yet its significance as an invasion from the world was deeply equivocal, as we shall see.

The early Methodists were serious-minded people for whom culture meant primarily reading—and reading markedly biased against works of the imagination, with the partial exception of poetry.<sup>8</sup> One avoided not only the obviously impure, but also the merely frivolous—anything, in fact, which did not positively aid religion and morality. This reflected a more general attitude to life. Of the Rev. Joseph Fowler and his son Henry (later Viscount Wolverhampton, the first Methodist peer) it was said: "That life was meant for enjoyment, or profit, or anything but work, never seems to have entered their heads." And Wolverhampton's literary daughter said of them that in all things "truth was preferred to beauty".<sup>9</sup> Even books could be a snare. Legh Richmond, the evangelical author of *The Dairyman's Daughter*, was quoted approvingly in 1844: "Books are good or bad in their effects, as they make us relish the Word of God the more or the less after we have read them."<sup>10</sup>

Theology and spirituality therefore had first claim on Methodist publishing and Methodist readers. Wesley himself set the original tone with his condensations in the "Christian Library"—some Methodists disapproving of the fact that it actually included one (excruciatingly pious) novel.<sup>11</sup> The *Arminian Magazine* was begun in 1778 to illustrate and expound the doctrine of its title against

<sup>7</sup> M. Hennell: "Evangelicalism and Worldliness, 1770-1870", in G. J. Cuming and D. Baker (eds.): *Studies in Church History*, viii (Cambridge, 1972), pp. 229-36; with which contrast the broader culture of Unitarianism and Congregationalism in Binfield, op. cit. For the broadening of Nonconformist culture with special reference to novels, see V. Cunningham: *Everywhere spoken against: Dissent in the Victorian Novel* (Oxford, 1975), pp. 48-62; and on Methodism and culture see R. Currie: *Methodism Divided* (London, 1968), pp. 131-8.

<sup>8</sup> See, in general, Leslie F. Church; *More about the Early Methodist People* (London, 1949), pp. 46-52; and Maldwyn L. Edwards: *After Wesley* (London, 1955), pp. 127-31, and *Methodism and England* (London, 1943), pp. 218-27.

<sup>9</sup> E. Hamilton: *Life of Viscount Wolverhampton* (London, 1912), pp. 6, 18.

<sup>10</sup> *Memoirs of Mrs. Mary Lomas* (1844), p. 27, quoted in Church, op. cit., p. 49.

<sup>11</sup> Henry Brooke's *The Fool of Quality*. For the criticism, see L. Tyerman: *The Life and Times of the Rev. John Wesley, A.M.* (London, 1872), iii, p. 842.

the Calvinists. It was made up of divinity, religious biography, startling "particular providences", and occasional scraps of curious general information (reflecting the acquisitiveness of Wesley's own mind). The magazine, we shall see, did not markedly alter this formula before the 1890s.

Such literature may be seen as natural in official publications of the Church, but the same spirit coloured the pronouncements and practice of ministers and serious laity. John Wesley acknowledged that Methodists were not readers of romances and books of humour, nor talked "in a merry, gay, diverting manner".<sup>12</sup> Thomas Jackson as President of Conference in 1839 claimed of Methodists that "with light amusing literature they have little acquaintance", but stick to the Bible, Wesley's hymns and spiritual books.<sup>13</sup> This was somewhat misleading. Methodist biography from the beginning shows the usual passion of self-educated, humble folk for reading recognized classics on subjects other than religion; and Wesley himself had encouraged it among his preachers and in his ambitions for their children at Kingswood School.<sup>14</sup> The Greek and Roman classics could be used, if possible even in the original (though some preachers objected to wasting time on Latin).<sup>15</sup> History, biography and poetry were appropriate for relaxation. Mrs. Mortimer, a protégée of Wesley's (d. 1835) is said to have turned from novels to Greek and Roman history, and to have been able to quote George Herbert (perhaps unusual for that time?).<sup>16</sup>

Methodist philistinism in contrast to Wesley himself has often been illustrated by the story that John Pawson burned the old man's Shakespeare as "useless lumber".<sup>17</sup> Others were less dismissive. Thomas Jackson instinctively took in the classical poets in translation as part of his mental formation.<sup>18</sup> Thomas Cooper as a young and omnivorous reader included even the sinful Burns and Byron while still a Methodist—but he read everything.<sup>19</sup> The young Benjamin Gregory (b. 1820) was another compulsive reader who devoured the poetry of Wordsworth and Scott. But he did

<sup>12</sup> *Advice to the People Called Methodists* in *Works*, viii, p. 354; Maldwyn Edwards: *After Wesley*, p. 128.

<sup>13</sup> T. Jackson: *Centenary of Wesleyan Methodism* (London, 1839), p. 209 (Maldwyn Edwards, op. cit., p. 130). Jackson, in *Recollections of my own Life and Times* (London, 1874), p. 77, records that in the library of Robert Carr Brackenbury (the "Methodist squire") the story of John Gilpin was cut out of Cowper's poems as "not tending to edification".

<sup>14</sup> *Works*, viii, pp. 302 ff.; *A Short History of the School in Kingswood* in *Works*, xiii, pp. 273 f., 281 ff., where he characteristically thought he could educate better than in Oxford and Cambridge.

<sup>15</sup> "The Life of Mr. Alexander Mather" in *Lives of the Early Methodist Preachers* (4th edn., London, 1876), ii, p. 192 f.

<sup>16</sup> *Memoirs of Mrs. E. Mortimer* (1836): see p. 255 for the Herbert reference. The transfer from novels to history is claimed for her and others by Dr. Church (op. cit., p. 48 f.), though I cannot find it in her memoirs.

<sup>17</sup> H. B. Workman et al. (eds.): *A New History of Methodism* (London, 1909), i, p. 389. (Source not given.)

<sup>18</sup> Jackson, op. cit., e.g. p. 121.

<sup>19</sup> *Life of Thomas Cooper*, written by himself (London, 1873), p. 64.

reflect later that he had corrupted his imagination by reading the classics in translation and "romances"—by which he meant not novels but the poetry of Goldsmith, Prior, Pope, and Spenser. Cowper, understandably, helped towards his conversion. "Literary fever," he acknowledged, "did cut into the heart of my spiritual development."<sup>20</sup> It was fear of this kind which acted as a fundamental curb on Methodist taste, and Gregory's experience had, we shall see, a constricting influence on his later conduct of the Methodist periodicals.

If poetry usually seemed permissible in principle, it was quite otherwise with the novel. Early nineteenth-century Wesleyans shared their Evangelical Anglican contemporaries' distrust of the genre, though for some of the latter the ban was only just becoming absolute in this period. Thus the Wilberforces and John Venn had devoured Scott's novels as they fell from the press, but only one volume survived in the household by the days of his grandson. In the 1830s the ultra-Evangelical *Record* predictably condemned Scott's influence; but even earlier the moderate *Christian Observer* was lamenting that not a few "thinking persons" saw novel-reading as an open question.<sup>21</sup> One obvious reason for these hostile judgements was what evangelical and then more general Victorian taste came to feel was the coarseness and equivocal moral stance of the great eighteenth-century novelists. (Even Dr. Johnson had been horrified that Hannah More should have read *Tom Jones*.)<sup>22</sup> Benjamin Gregory recalled how as a boy he had borrowed *Roderick Random*, but was so disgusted with its "impurities" that he could never try Smollett again.<sup>23</sup> For many respectable people (including John Venn and Wilberforce) Scott undoubtedly redeemed the novel in this respect. Even the venerable Adam Clarke among the Wesleyans shocked a London congregation by quoting him from the City Road pulpit.<sup>24</sup> Yet even Scott would not do in the end, for all these works of the imagination subtly led one from truth, diverted the mind from higher things, and associated one with the world which took such things for granted. To the next generation Dickens was to prove irresistible, yet even so, whilst the strongest condemnations were reserved for silly or sensational romances in the circulating libraries, the feeling persisted that the imagination was a dangerous thing to play with, and that the mind should be dedicated to serious piety. Both Benjamin Gregory and his son Alfred certainly read Dickens, but there is a hint that they justified

<sup>20</sup> B. Gregory: *Autobiographical Recollections* (London, 1903), pp. 15, 124 ff.

<sup>21</sup> Hennell, op. cit., pp. 230, 233; *Christian Observer*, 1817, p. 371.

<sup>22</sup> M. G. Jones: *Hannah More* (Cambridge, 1952), p. 46. Mrs. More saw the Scott type of novel as amoral rather than immoral, and actually thought Fielding and his contemporaries less subtly corrupting than the popular fiction of the circulating libraries. To counter their influence she wrote her own novel, *Coelebs*. (M. G. Jones, op. cit., pp. 191 ff., 222 ff.)

<sup>23</sup> B. Gregory, op. cit., p. 72.

<sup>24</sup> *Methodist Recorder*, 15th April 1909, quoted in Maldwyn Edwards: *Methodism and England*, p. 223.

him by noting the moral and social qualities of the novels.<sup>25</sup> It is perhaps fair to say that the elder Gregory's ban on serials and even reviews of novels in his periodicals was influenced rather by hostility to the flood of sensational and romantic fiction in his day than by a wholly adverse valuation of the great Victorian novelists. And there can be little doubt that from the mid-nineteenth century many ministers and laymen read these and the lesser lights despite official disapproval.<sup>26</sup>

For an older generation and the simply pious it is possible that any emotional gap had long been filled by the excitements of Methodist biography, Hannah More's moral tales, and the ubiquitous *Fairchild Family* of Mrs. Sherwood. These we know were allowed to children from an early period of the nineteenth century. In addition, there were hair-raising collections of true (or allegedly true) stories illustrating special providences of disaster on blasphemers and rescue for the righteous with morals clearly drawn.<sup>27</sup> Fictional counterparts readily followed, if only for children; and in due course the "Christian novel" became a distinct genre for adults. It is probably important, in considering Methodist taste in matters of this kind, to allow for temperamental as well as religious and moral factors. Lord Wolverhampton, for whom books were almost his sole recreation, seldom read fiction except for a Scott novel on holiday; but this was evidently due not to moral disapproval but to a personality serious to the point of being solemn and humourless. He was delighted at the success of his novel-writing daughter Ellen Thorneycroft Fowler, and reduced her to exasperation with his clumsy attempts to improve her plots and style.<sup>28</sup>

At the official level it was Benjamin Gregory who, more than any other single person, blighted the possibility of persuading the rank and file into liberal cultural attitudes. Instead, he tried to keep them unspotted from the dangers of a secular culture. This was the more remarkable in that his own reading was more wide-ranging than one would suspect from his narrow policy as Connexionist Editor from 1868 to 1893. His practical censorship included rooted hostility to Darwinism and biblical criticism which in the end proved his undoing. It appears that he so enraged influential ministers by his rejection even of moderate biblical criticism that

<sup>25</sup> B. Gregory, op. cit., p. 306, and *Consecrated Culture: Memorials of B. A. Gregory M.A. Oxon* (London, 1885), pp. 17, 38. (But he knew, says the father, that "a fiction-fed fancy may prove a harassing foe to the spiritual life" (p. 295).)

<sup>26</sup> See below at note 35 and V. Cunningham, op. cit., p. 61 f. Was it personal reading or mere reputation that led a minister to say of Victor Hugo that he was the author of "some remarkable though unedifying books"? (J. H. Beech: *The Outward Life of a Methodist Preacher* (Burslem, 1871), p. 228.)

<sup>27</sup> e.g. Pike's *Early Religion enforced by Anecdotes* (Derby, 1838) shows man's "danger and ruin" by adventures with Bengal tigers and African lions. Hannah More's "Cheap Repository Tracts" used the fictional techniques and distribution methods of the chapbook hawkers for her pious tales. (M. G. Jones, op. cit., pp. 138 ff.)

<sup>28</sup> Hamilton, op. cit., p. 604 f.

this was a factor in his final retirement from office.<sup>29</sup> The conservatism of the Wesleyan journals, paralleled by that of their theological colleges, does not fully represent the reach even of the Wesleyan leadership's mind; and this is true even of the journals after Gregory's retirement, for the changes which then took place were less than might have been expected.

It is probable that one reason for the failure of the chief organ—the *Wesleyan Methodist Magazine*—to express the full range of Methodist culture was that it felt (or at least Gregory felt) that a decorous and serious tone was alone appropriate to a church journal. But another reason was that Methodist authors and readers did not confine themselves to the Methodist press (fortunately, they never have!). For this reason, if for no other, any attempt at a self-enclosed, self-sufficient Wesleyan culture could never have more than a limited success. The ordinary Wesleyan soul was to be jealously guarded; the less ordinary was also curbed, but by more subtle pressures.

The *Wesleyan Methodist Magazine* in the mid-nineteenth century had changed remarkably little in substance since Wesley's day. It contained religious biographies, obituaries, general religious and missionary news, occasionally religious poems, a few long and many short notices of books (almost always directly or indirectly on religious subjects), and occasional titbits (as of old) on scientific curiosities. Only the disappearance of "providential" anecdotes and the review section substantially distinguished it from Wesley's time. A review of a religious poem in 1860 gives the game away. The reviewer laid it down that a poem's quality must not be judged solely on literary grounds, as so often was the case (he said) at the present day, but by its moral and religious teaching. To do otherwise is "making poetry its own end".<sup>30</sup>

Under Gregory there was a little more science (from Dr. Dalinger, Wesleyan minister, respectable minor scientist, even a cautious—but to Wesleyans rather suspect—evolutionist).<sup>31</sup> Sometimes there were notes on current affairs—usually when there was a religious angle. On the beginnings of the Irish Home Rule movement one is not surprised to find it decried as something the Government can easily quell with a show of firmness;<sup>32</sup> and Irish events in general were judged with special reference to any sign of papal or priestly aggrandizement. In 1869 Gregory made some revealing editorial remarks. Even "moral" periodicals, he warned, can raise their circulation by making themselves "popular", but his *Magazine* aimed higher than this, and "we have to pay for the upholding of this principle". Whatever others may do, "we must discard the use of fiction" and "use a sober style of thinking and

<sup>29</sup> B. Gregory, *op. cit.*, pp. 439 ff.

<sup>30</sup> *Wesleyan Methodist Magazine*, 1860, p. 639.

<sup>31</sup> e.g. *ibid.*, 1880, p. 69—"Notes on Current Science".

<sup>32</sup> *ibid.*, 1874, p. 270.

writing." Elsewhere he expressed astonishment that publishers had sent to a magazine with this title works of fiction for review: not even religious fiction would be allowed here. Wrote he:

Others may reconcile themselves to novel reading, nay to novel writing as they best can: we hold the practice of either to be irreconcilable with the enjoyment and culture of experimental religion.<sup>33</sup>

Yet in 1877 a religious tale was included, and in the 1880s when a growing flood of books appeared aimed at the Sunday-school prize market, he permitted the review of some of these which were books on "useful knowledge" or else moralizing fiction. There was even a brief and patronizing notice of Silas Hocking's novel *Her Benny*.<sup>34</sup>

That this negative attitude to literature was out of touch with reality is suggested by a passage in the anonymous *Methodism* [i.e. *Wesleyanism*] in 1879. The author complains that whilst Dr. Johnson may be rather heavy, Rhoda Broughton and Ouida have gone too far. George Eliot "in her reflective vein" is splendid, but the great majority of novels lack the qualities "that give vigour to moral purpose". But even ministers, he says, are deserting Butler (of the *Analogy*) and Paley for Dickens and Thackeray. The sermons of younger ministers "disclose a better acquaintance with what may be called strictly modern literature than an intimacy with the suggestive authors of earlier days."<sup>35</sup> No doubt he was correct!

The other point of interest about Gregory's reign is the occasional discussion of the visual arts. This was a Methodist blind spot as a rule. As Dr. Leslie Church long ago pointed out,<sup>36</sup> there was seldom any sign of appreciation of art or even of natural beauty in the early Methodist journals—significant, surely, even when one allows for their evangelistic purpose. Wesley himself was equivocal here. As an educated man of the eighteenth century with some pretensions to taste, he was quite capable of appreciating scenery, and not infrequently visited and commented on the great landscape gardens like any other amateur connoisseur. But though he sometimes left it at that, on other occasions he expressed dislike of (for example) the indecency of the subject and the nakedness of neo-classical statuary, and often could not refrain from a sharp conclusion on the ephemeracy and vanity of such delights. These were really diversions, however fleetingly pleasing, from his real business and—since one guesses that the point of the published journals was to guide the Methodist mind on all things—the business

<sup>33</sup> *ibid.*, 1869, p. 3.

<sup>34</sup> *ibid.*, 1880, p. 630. Silas K. Hocking was a United Methodist Free Church minister turned writer and lecturer. The editor of his connexional magazine allowed him to present a serial story. (See S. K. Hocking: *My Book of Memories* (London, 1923), pp. 80-3.) His novel *The Heart of Man* has a certain sombre power. His brother Joseph wrote anti-popish novels (some are still in print).

<sup>35</sup> Anon.: *Methodism in 1879* (London, 1879), pp. 28 f., 39 f.

<sup>36</sup> L. F. Church, *op. cit.*, p. 52.

of all good Methodists.<sup>37</sup> Perhaps, as Dr. Church suggested, Methodists quickly turned away from natural and human beauty for fear of losing sight of the supreme, the spiritual vision.

In this area, too, there were to be changes. Thomas Cooper was as passionately addicted to art as to books and music (though it is not clear how far this was true of his Methodist period). He records that Dr. Jobson, later to become an important minister, was trained as an architect when a young man, and as a young convert was still "full of passion for art".<sup>38</sup> Benjamin Gregory recalls that his interest in art was first awakened at a Leeds exhibition in 1839, and among more ephemeral works he had the good taste to appreciate Correggio, Claude, Poussin and Rembrandt (though, of course, these were safe "classics").<sup>39</sup> More revealing are two articles in the *Magazine* during his period as editor which indicate the mixed feelings with which some Wesleyans approached this aspect of culture. In 1875 there was an attack on the notion that there can be such a thing as the "religious side of art".<sup>40</sup> The line of argument is far from being philistine, and a serious point is made. It is contended that the world of faith and the world of aesthetics are about different objects approached by different routes, so that the one cannot be conveyed through the other. There appears to be no necessary connexion between an artist's life and outlook and the moral quality of his work; whilst the allegedly "religious" emotions aroused by (for example) an ancient cathedral on the grounds that the "old faith" had inspired a religious quality in the building are in fact based on a mistake. The emotions aroused are really æsthetic, and only associated with religion by the accident of the place being for religious uses. Faith cannot create art, nor art inform faith.

In 1885, however, another writer implied virtually the opposite view. He praised an assemblage of now-forgotten works at the current Royal Academy exhibition; praised the moral story-telling pieces; and in a rhapsodic conclusion affirmed the "eternal forms" and "mind" revealed by art.<sup>41</sup> In 1896 there was an attack on "art for art's sake", and a strong affirmation that good art was tied to good morals in the artist: beauty which fails to serve goodness is of an inferior kind.<sup>42</sup>

The retirement of Gregory did mark a change in the *Magazine's* format and contents. Suddenly it appeared on shiny paper with plenty of pictures (none had graced its grey pages before). There were more articles of general interest; and, most significant of all,

<sup>37</sup> e.g. *Journal* (Standard edn.), v, p. 368; vi, p. 361. It was at the lovely Stourhead that he criticized the statues.

<sup>38</sup> T. Cooper, op. cit., pp. 94, 344.

<sup>39</sup> B. Gregory, op. cit., p. 218 f.; cf. J. H. Beech, op. cit., p. 149 on the Fine Art Exhibition in Manchester (1857?).

<sup>40</sup> *WM Magazine*, 1875, p. 1006. (Reprinted from the *British Quarterly Review*: presumably not by a Wesleyan, but allowed in by Gregory.)

<sup>41</sup> *ibid.*, 1885, p. 549. (Written by a Wesleyan minister.)

<sup>42</sup> *ibid.*, 1896, p. 338.

there was a monthly short story—if of a very explicitly moralizing kind. The book reviews, however, did not change very much. Years before, the *London Quarterly Review* had been founded for the more scholarly writing and reviewing of Methodists, yet under Gregory the less weighty *Magazine* had still retained a solid and sober tone. Now—in 1893—this style was relinquished in favour of that of a religious family paper—a kind of Wesleyan *Sunday at Home*.

## II—RECREATION

CULTURE modulates at some point into simple recreation. Here, too, for Wesleyans, the amusements of church and world were sharply distinguished, and for many early Methodists reading was probably their sole recreation. In both cases their tastes were shaped as much by a desire for seriousness and the profitable use of time as by a suspicion of the moral defects of “worldly” amusements. Wesley is reputed to have said that if the Kingswood boys wanted recreation they should hold a prayer meeting; less severely, as we have seen, he and other Methodists saw poetry and history as forms of relaxation. Two general social factors helped to condition Methodist attitudes here: the shortage of leisure in the early industrial world (much of it on a Sunday, dedicated to religious exercises) and the brutishness and immoral associations of much popular recreation at all levels. Both of these inhibiting factors were gradually reduced in the course of the nineteenth century.<sup>43</sup> At the same time Wesleyan moral strictness eased, and the increased prosperity of middle-class members laid them ever more open to the temptations of “the world”. At a rather lower level, the search for a formula to win the estranged masses to the Church led to a broadening of the local church’s programme. Whilst some ancient shibboleths remained, at least officially, the line became increasingly hard to hold.

Wesleyans began the century, as did other evangelicals, by ruling out some amusements entirely. These included the theatre,<sup>44</sup> opera, dancing, and card-playing; together with scruples about the time and setting of permitted public musical events. The Evangelical Anglican view on these matters hardened markedly early in the century, just as it did on the novel. Henry Venn of Huddersfield had actually had his children taught dancing; his son John did not condemn those who still allowed this, but ruled that it was unsafe and best avoided. After this, it was simply taken for granted that dancing was impossible for the godly.<sup>45</sup> Theatres were obviously immoral—condemned by John Wesley as “sinks of profaneness and debauchery”. Methodists were said to have rejoiced

<sup>43</sup> See B. Harrison: “Religion and Recreation in Nineteenth Century England” in *Past and Present*, 1967; R. W. Malcolmson: *Popular Recreation in English Society, 1700-1850* (Cambridge, 1973).

<sup>44</sup> Manchester Oldham Street Leaders’ Meeting Minutes, 20th April 1820. (MS, Central Hall, Manchester.)

<sup>45</sup> Hennell, *op. cit.*, p. 229 f.

when Covent Garden and Drury Lane were burnt down in 1810.<sup>46</sup> Cards were ruled out probably because of their associations with gambling.

Music was a more complex case. Early on it was said that popular harping and singing in North Wales had declined under Methodist influence,<sup>47</sup> and one can well believe that for English Methodists the same was true. Methodism was reputedly born in song, but the problem was to decide its proper form in church. It seems clear that popular taste put pressure on the leadership in the direction of ever more luxuriant and theatrical performances under the guise of "sacred" music; and the importation of professional skills to lead congregational singing diluted the official demands for Wesleyan personnel alone. The Conference of 1805 banned musical festivals and selections of sacred music in the church; also solos and recitatives,<sup>48</sup> and, for a time, even organs. (It will be recalled that the Leeds Organ Controversy helped to precipitate an important secession in 1827.) Back in the 1780s and 1790s it had been common to have oratorios and concerts of sacred music at least for charity events in chapels.<sup>49</sup> But even the ordinary music for worship caused constant trouble. At Oldham Street, Manchester, there were repeated attempts to restrict membership of "the singers" to full members; clashes over money and management with the paid conductor; and subtle attempts to allow for bassoons and bass viols whilst objecting to the intrusion of trumpets!<sup>50</sup> Here popular taste and an element of social pride clashed with the feeling that worship should not only be plain and decorous but also a participant rather than a spectator event. Certainly it should not (conservatives felt) offer the appearance of approximating to a secular concert.

Of the home in these matters it is less easy to speak. Here is a case from a ministerial household in the 1820s which is perhaps not untypical. They held family parties with hymn-singing and the repeating of verses of hymns and scripture in alphabetical order as a game.<sup>51</sup> No doubt this was a counter to more "worldly" parties which were infiltrating even Wesleyan homes by mid-century.

Purely physical recreation was at least tolerated. At Didsbury Theological Institute in 1850 it was permitted for men in poor health. They thought of tennis, but nobody knew the rules. Cricket

<sup>46</sup> Maldwyn Edwards: *After Wesley*, p. 127; "Methodism and the Theatre in the Eighteenth Century" (*Proceedings*, xx, pp. 166 ff.; xxi, 3 ff., 36 ff.; xxii, p. 181).

<sup>47</sup> *Torrington Diaries* (ed. C. B. Andrews) (London, 1934), i, p. 132.

<sup>48</sup> Maldwyn Edwards, *op. cit.*, p. 130.

<sup>49</sup> See *Proceedings*, viii, p. 21 for a *Passion* allowed by the "proprietor" of the chapel; sacred music at Oldham Street, Manchester, for the Strangers' Friend Society (*Manchester Mercury*, 1st November 1793); and J. H. Beech (*op. cit.*, p. 225), who at a much later date thought any other than sacred music an impropriety in the church.

<sup>50</sup> Manchester Oldham Street MS Minutes, 24th November 1796, 31st January 1805, 14th November 1811, and 12th February 1821.

<sup>51</sup> B. Gregory, *op. cit.*, p. 72.

was as yet not permissible, and eventually they settled for fives and gymnastic exercises.<sup>52</sup>

By 1854 *The Watchman* was already complaining that dancing, novel-reading, concerts, bagatelle and other trifling games have broken in wide circles on Wesleyan Methodism and have prevented the conversion of children.<sup>53</sup>

An increasing number distinguished between "promiscuous ball-room dancing" in public halls and private dancing in school or family. The debate continued for the rest of the century, and, as far as the objectors were concerned, it really turned upon three points. First, they were anxious not so much (or at least not simply) about the thing in itself as about the associations with worldly people in worldly settings that went with it. Secondly, they were alarmed about the way in which possibly innocent amusements could lead to less innocent ones as the appetite for pleasure developed more exacting tastes. Finally, they objected in the old Wesleyan way to things which were not only frivolous and unnecessary but also diverted people from real religion as well as from serious culture.

The issues were frequently debated in magazines and pamphlets and in the pulpit. In the *Magazine* for 1874 one writer tried to lay down principles, having first (rather optimistically) dismissed some amusements—gambling, the theatre, music halls, opera—as those "which none among us, caring for the honesty and virtue of society, would dream of approving".<sup>54</sup> Some of these are condemned by association, even though theoretically capable of innocence. This was the situation of the theatre, with its dark underworld of profanity and prostitution. Unwary souls (these appear regularly by now) who hope to purify it by the attendance of good people are doomed to failure. Even children's charades are condemned as leading to a taste for acting.<sup>55</sup> The apparently innocuous University Boat Race is corrupted by blackguardry and gambling.<sup>56</sup> By 1896 private evening parties had evidently for some time been the channel by which the world had penetrated the Wesleyan defences, whereas the line could still be held in some degree against public entertainments. To exclude "worldly" influences from domestic parties, a writer suggested such tame fare as reading (now including "good prose works of the imagination", i.e. novels), drawing, societies such as the YMCA and Mutual Improvement societies, Oxford extension courses, and good music. To

<sup>52</sup> *ibid.*, p. 420. See W. B. Brash and C. J. Wright (eds.): *Didsbury College Centenary* (London, 1942), p. 73, for a similar recollection. Cricket was more than redeemed in the eyes of the religious world later (see P. Scott: "Cricket and Religion in the Victorian World" in the *Church Quarterly*, October 1970).

<sup>53</sup> Quoted in Maldwyn Edwards: *Methodism and England*, p. 220.

<sup>54</sup> *WM Magazine*, 1874, p. 635.

<sup>55</sup> *ibid.* Also see Hennell, *op. cit.*, p. 232, quoting *The Record*, 1839, which saw charades as suitable for children but not for clergy.

<sup>56</sup> *WM Magazine*, 1874, p. 635.

those who pleaded (reflecting the increasing affluence, leisure, and social aspirations of the Wesleyan middle classes) that "when in Rome . . .," standards could be modified or at least sin could be inspected, the cautionary tale was told of the Yorkshire vicar who was confounded by meeting one of his parishioners as he entered the London Alhambra!<sup>57</sup> On dancing it was conceded that this is not evil in itself, nor are all who practise it simply wicked. Yet even family dances lead to balls; balls lead to dances in public halls, strangers in the home, evil associations, and money wasted on vanities. As to the theatre, even Henry Irving has admitted that it cannot pay if it is entirely "pure". Let those who like acting go in for elocution (he might reasonably have added—the pulpit!).<sup>58</sup>

That these hard-line attitudes were beginning to soften even at the official level is suggested by some of the speeches at the Methodist Ecumenical Conferences. At the first, in 1881, even family theatricals were attacked; but at the second, in 1891, one speaker defended—if to a mixed reception—the plays of Shakespeare and Henry Arthur Jones. Another claimed that Christians could and should purify the theatre by their presence, and said he thought an occasion at the Lyceum had been an ecumenical conference because so many ministers were there!<sup>59</sup>

What forces lay behind this sense of the world creeping in and corrupting the Wesleyans was suggested by a Conference Address of 1873.<sup>60</sup> This analysed the problem of suburban drift in Wesleyanism and the type of life it produces. There is the augmentation and wider distribution of wealth—multiplying methods of travel—the spread of physical comfort—the stimulus to the public mind of the cheap press. So (it says) we live at a rapid rate; the mind is so excited by a constant flow of subjects that we cannot form the habit of reflection; thoughtful, meditative piety becomes difficult. The high pressure of business and the multiplication of engagements are unfavourable to devotional retirement and attendance at the means of grace. There are "counter-attractions" to weeknight services for "the lukewarm and the young"; and the plea of intellectual culture or even of philanthropic work should not deter us from worship. In similar vein, *Methodism in 1879*<sup>61</sup> fears for the future of Methodism because of "compromise"—not on doctrine,

but simply compromise with the world. The old line so sharply drawn between the church and the world of the antecessors is scarcely so visible as it was . . . do the young people know the line?

J. H. Rigg is quoted as seeing the two great hindrances to Methodist progress to be the increased zeal of Anglicans and

<sup>57</sup>, <sup>58</sup> *ibid.*, 1890, pp. 261-8.

<sup>59</sup> Maldwyn Edwards: *Methodism and England*, pp. 18-20.

<sup>60</sup> *Minutes of Conference*, 1873; extract in D. M. Thompson: *Nonconformity in the Nineteenth Century* (London, 1972), p. 240 f.

<sup>61</sup> *Methodism in 1879*, pp. 177 ff.

the growing spirit of worldliness in our congregations arising out of the increasing temptations to society, display, luxury and privilege of the present prosperous age.

The writer was concerned about the lower middle class in towns where wealth had outstripped refinement, and where at evening parties dancing had replaced conversation. Even religious meetings were multiplying, which he saw (in the authentic manner of an earlier Methodism) as a possible danger, because trends both in recreation and in religion were eroding the older, more personal, more meditative style of former days.<sup>62</sup>

These observations were much to the point; they are not to be dismissed merely as the usual laments of conservatives for the "good old days". Something fundamental really had happened to alter the original values of Methodism based on a particular pattern of religious experience, and this had been aggravated though not simply caused by changes in the social status of Methodists.

### III—THE CHURCH PROGRAMME<sup>63</sup>

IN all these condemnations of the private habits of Wesleyans at home there were growing hints that all was not well with them at chapel either. In 1850 one could assume that much of the old round of meetings and services still obtained: class meetings, watch-nights, lovefeasts, perhaps bands; certainly catechumen classes and Sunday schools. By the early 1900s even the bald record of connexional statistics<sup>64</sup> suggests that there had been changes, especially at the juvenile level. To the Sunday school had been added Bible classes, temperance societies, Bands of Hope, and—most significant of all—the Wesley Guild. Something (as they say) had to be done "to keep the young people"—and, as the remarks of *Methodism in 1879* and Dr. Rigg had shown, not simply the young. At the very least, the plain fare of public worship and the exacting environment of the class meeting no longer sufficed: a more varied and at the same time less exacting diet was demanded. An examination of what went on in local churches and missions shows how far it had proved necessary to introduce secular recreations not only into the home but also into the church.

Critics in the Methodist press in 1882 described how the young men's class in Preston met in their schoolroom on weeknights for reading and "innocent games", thinking that

such a course would tend to unite the elder scholars more firmly to the school and would give greater facilities for becoming more intimately associated with each other.

The "innocent games" were chess and draughts, and whilst some saw these as innocent in themselves—as might be even billiards and

<sup>62</sup> *ibid.*, p. 180. For similar developments and unease in other Methodist denominations, see extracts in J. Briggs and I. Sellers (eds.): *Victorian Nonconformity* (London, 1973), p. 116.

<sup>63</sup> See my essay in *A History of the Methodist Church in Great Britain*, III.

<sup>64</sup> See statistics in *Minutes of Conference*, 1902, pp. 482 ff.

bagatelle—yet they were liable to be associated with gambling, did not help religious meetings, nor were "charitable, religious or educational", as laid down by Wesleyan trusts. Another critic darkly hinted at what might follow—he knew of a Congregational church where they laid bets on the games played and went to the public house afterwards. The Pastoral Address of the 1881 Conference had already called it "a grievous blunder"

when we try to attract the young people of our families, ourselves and our congregations to His [Christ's] religion by making concessions to their worldly tastes:

in any case they would see through the "bait".<sup>65</sup>

The ostensible target of these and other "attractions" in mission churches was the non-churchgoing, especially the working-class public: an attempt to wean them from the dubious delights of public house and music hall and win them for the church. They were mixed with popular religious services and social welfare in the crop of city missions which the Wesleyan Conference authorized from the mid-1880s, and could presumably be justified within the enlarged definition of "social Christianity" expounded by men like Hugh Price Hughes. In his London West Central Mission a wide range of social services was offered, together with "counter-attractions" such as boys' and girls' clubs, children's play-hour, literary and debating societies, cycle clubs, rambling clubs, and the inevitable church coffee-bar.<sup>66</sup> The church-building itself was not a church, but a "hall". These developments were, of course, paralleled in other churches, and they grew out of a context which included social and political tension as well as religious and philanthropic concern. Not a few Wesleyans were haunted (like their predecessors of the 1830s) by the spectre of creeping Socialism.<sup>67</sup>

It seems likely that some—though not all—of these missions were better attended by fringe adherents and suburban attenders than by complete outsiders.<sup>68</sup> But in any case the "counter-attraction" policy was never dictated simply by the needs of evangelism to the outside world. As the evidence quoted above suggests, it was equally necessary to retain those already within the church, especially the young, but by no means them alone. In 1896 a significant step was taken at the connexional level by the founding of the Wesley Guild as a "Young People's Society clearly linked to the church, holding weekly or periodical meetings for *devotional, literary and social* purposes", its members linked for "comradship in the

<sup>65</sup> *Information for the Wesleyan Conference* (1882).

<sup>66</sup> See the Annual Reports of the London West Central Mission; also the list of organizations cited in C. Booth: *Life and Labours of the People in London*, 3rd Series (1902), vii, p. 204 f.

<sup>67</sup> Some hoped that "godliness" would save London from Paris's fate in the Commune of 1871: *Metropolitan Wesleyan Chapel Building Fund*, Third Report (1871), p. 14; Edward Smith: *Three years in Central London* (London, 1889), in chapter 5 coupled together "Secularism" and "Socialism" as the enemies.

<sup>68</sup> For further discussion see my essay in *A History of the Methodist Church in Great Britain*, III.

highest principles of life".<sup>69</sup> The studied broadness—not to say vagueness—of the stated ideal, together with the partly secularized programme, show how far official Wesleyanism was already prepared to go in face of competition from the clubs of the world.<sup>70</sup>

On the implications for Methodist piety of developments like these, the Rev. Gordon Wakefield has written,<sup>71</sup> with considerable justice, that a shift had taken place from the older style of religious meeting to a broader, less explicitly devotional type—even to outright secular gatherings—and that this shows a confusion of aim in Methodism: was it primarily to enable men to fit themselves for eternal life, or was it a social fellowship as a Christian alternative to "worldly" groups?

One might make a rather similar point respecting nineteenth-century Wesleyan debates about membership and the class meeting. I have discussed this fully elsewhere,<sup>72</sup> and concluded that in the 1890s the Conference, although refusing formally to drop the requirement that membership of the Wesleyan Church must involve membership of the class meeting (the symbol and means for the original Methodist purpose of Christian holiness), nevertheless tactfully relaxed the requirement of actual attendance. Thus the barrier between Church and world was lowered in yet another area.

#### IV—EDUCATION

RELAXATION of the barriers against "the world" combining with an attempt to keep Wesleyans within the church by creating a more acceptable Wesleyan environment can be seen very clearly in the field of education.

It will be recalled that English education in the nineteenth century was bedevilled at all levels by religious strife, particularly between Anglicans and nonconformists. Until 1833 elementary education had been done entirely by voluntary effort—chiefly by Anglican and undenominational societies. From 1833 these were aided by government grants, and only in 1870 did there emerge the compromise of continuing aid for these schools, supplemented by "Board schools" run by a local authority and chargeable on the Rates. The reason for the compromise was that the Anglicans clung to the option of sustaining their own schools, whereas the

<sup>69</sup> *Minutes of Conference*, 1896, pp. 447 ff. Dr. Clyde Binfield, in his book *George Williams and the Y.M.C.A.* (London, 1973), points out a similar development in this originally strictly evangelistic organization.

<sup>70</sup> For examples from all denominations see C. Booth, *op. cit.*, passim; also H. McLeod: *Class and Religion in the Late Victorian City* (London, 1974), p. 127 f., where it is suggested that although working men were sometimes prepared to use the churches' recreational facilities, they took these as additions rather than as alternatives to those of "the world".

<sup>71</sup> G. S. Wakefield: *Methodist Devotion* (London, 1966), p. 89.

<sup>72</sup> In *A History of the Methodist Church in Great Britain*, III, and *Proceedings*, xxxix, pp. 12-21.

nonconformists, having failed in a bid to compete on a voluntary basis, had in many cases opted for "secular" schools with undenominational religious teaching as perhaps desirable in any event, and certainly preferable to what they regarded as Anglican indoctrination.

The Wesleyans were in a peculiar position, since they had not ceased to build their own schools and had a considerable number of them. They were, nevertheless, divided on policy in a way which forcefully illustrates their attitude to "the world".<sup>73</sup> Some wished, ideally, to follow the Anglican example, supporting their own schools with government aid and so preserving the Wesleyan faith of their children, servicing the schools with teachers from their own colleges. Others dropped this ideal in favour of the growing nonconformist trend to place their faith in a "secular" system. In the event they accepted the 1870 settlement and did both: a substantial body of Wesleyan schools survived for many years, though they were destined to shrink much more rapidly in the end than the Anglicans'. Here, too, the barriers against the world were lowered, in face of economic necessity and state pressure. The consolation could be drawn at the time that at least some could be saved for a Wesleyan environment; others would at least be shielded from popery (Roman or Anglican), and in the Board schools, it was hoped, undenominational Bible teaching would be virtual Protestantism—though hardly the firm Wesleyan catechetical standards to which an earlier generation had been as firmly committed as Anglicans to theirs.

For more affluent Wesleyans the problem was rather of secondary education, and here pressure from "the world" became intense. Experience suggested that the thirst for education appropriate to one's social standing tended to overpower scruples about a non-Wesleyan environment; yet a gesture in response could be made. There had long been Wesleyan schools for ministers' sons, and some private ones for the laity. In the 1870s a great deal of money was poured into such schools, and more control over them exercised by Conference. There was also talk of "lower-middle-class schools".<sup>74</sup> (Incidentally, there were dark complaints in the 1880s about worldly recreations such as plays and concerts in the schools, linked with chess and draughts in church buildings.<sup>75</sup> Such are the hazards of playing the world's game in the hope of defeating it!) Methodists of the highest class were also tempted by the fashionable public schools—no longer quite such dens of vice as in the early days of Evangelicalism, yet still dangerously Anglican. So, in 1875, the Leys School in Cambridge was founded explicitly as a safely Wesleyan version of the public school, thereby

<sup>73</sup> For further discussion of the Wesleyans and education see *A History of the Methodist Church in Great Britain*, III; and on elementary education policy conflicts, John Kent in the same work, II, pp. 239-45.

<sup>74</sup> *Wesleyan Methodist Thanksgiving Fund: Statement and Appeal*, p. 19.

<sup>75</sup> *Information for the Wesleyan Conference* (1882).

neatly combining social aspirations with Wesleyan soundness.<sup>76</sup>

Then came the universities—that is, “Oxbridge”. It is not clear at what point Wesleyans ceased to feel able to subscribe to Anglican tests there. The obstacles may have been partly financial and social, but undoubtedly the chief difficulty was the fear of loss of their hereditary faith. “A degree adds dignity to a man in the public eye,” said one leading minister, “but few Wesleyans who go] to either University come away Methodists.”<sup>77</sup> John Scott Lidgett’s father intended him for Oxford or Cambridge, but the uncle who fostered him refused to allow this on the grounds that it would not help—and would probably hinder—his Wesleyanism.<sup>78</sup> In the 1870s and 1880s, as the old universities began to be opened to nonconformists, the pressure was clearly on for the Wesleyan élite to seize this chance of entering the preparatory schools of the “corridors of power”. Yet the old fears remained. There was a proposal for a Wesleyan college in Oxford, and for a similar use of the Leys in Cambridge as a safe hall for Wesleyan undergraduates. They would get the coveted degree, but would escape moral and religious corruption. Those Wesleyans who knew the universities thought this unworkable in terms of finance and university statutes—and also, one gathers, as likely to be culturally debilitating—missing the point of being there at all!<sup>79</sup> Benjamin Gregory’s gifted son went to Manchester Grammar School, then to Oxford, then entered the Wesleyan ministry, only to die tragically young. His father wrote a life of him called *Consecrated Culture*<sup>80</sup>—a poignant, revealing expression of what it meant, alike in cultural openings and inherited limitations, for the child of the manse to be in the first generation to penetrate this stronghold of “the world”. There is a marked—and not really surprising—parallel to this episode in the conflicting views of Newman and Manning on the attitude to be adopted towards Catholic higher education and entry into the old universities.<sup>81</sup>

#### V—CONCLUSION

I HAVE tried to trace the process by which Wesleyanism had moved away from a closed culture, outside the main stream of English society and well away from the levers of political power, to the point where it had relaxed its censorious and self-enclosed attitudes, even allowing the world to enter the church programme. In the

<sup>76</sup> *Minutes of Conference*, 1875, pp. 339 ff.; J. Beaumont: “Speech Day at the Leys” in *WM Magazine*, 1882; also see D. Baker: *Partnership in Excellence* (Cambridge, 1975).

<sup>77</sup> B. Gregory: *Side Lights on the Conflicts of Methodism, 1827-52* (London, 1899), p. 386.

<sup>78</sup> J. Scott Lidgett: *My Guided Life* (London, 1936), p. 142.

<sup>79</sup> “Wesleyan Higher Education” in *WM Magazine*, 1871; “Methodism and the University of Oxford” in *City Road Magazine*, 1871; B. Gregory: *Consecrated Culture*, chapter 5.

<sup>80</sup> Sub-titled *Memorials of Benjamin Alfred Gregory, M.A. Oxon* (London, 1885).

<sup>81</sup> See V. A. McLelland: *Cardinal Manning* (Oxford, 1962); W. G. Ward: *Life of John Henry Newman* (London, 1912), chapters 21 and 24.

same period the Wesleyans were beginning, like other nonconformists, to move upwards in political as well as in social life. Some, in the 1880s, already had aspirations to achieve what seemed much more likely by 1906—to mould the mind and fate of the nation.

Yet these changes in Wesleyan attitudes to the world were less simple, more ambiguous than at first sight appears. How far had they allowed themselves to enter the world? An unknown number of Wesleyans were, for social and religious reasons, tired of Wesleyanism: they drifted gently outwards and upwards into Anglicanism. Some moved sideways into other nonconformist denominations; some downwards into the evangelical underworld. Some, no doubt, drifted into the outer darkness of "the world". For all these groups Wesleyanism may be said to have proved either too worldly or else not worldly enough. For those who remained, it may still be asked whether, despite the evidence presented in this paper, the Wesleyans at the official and even the popular level had really opened themselves so liberally to the world after all—that is, as a church in its formal activities and behaviour. Even the passion of some Wesleyans for politics, partly embodied in the elusive war-cry of the "nonconformist conscience", has been forcefully interpreted as a power struggle in a religious disguise, but one with some odd characteristics. It might be seen not simply as yet another aspect of the drive to enter the world, but an entry (if possible with a controlling interest) only on condition that "the world" conformed to the norms of evangelical pietism. That is to say, one expression of nonconformist power would be to compel the rest of the world to become like itself—to cease to be so "worldly". From another point of view, it would at last render the world safe for nonconformists to enter. Not all Wesleyans thought in this way, but some did—notably Hugh Price Hughes.<sup>82</sup>

Where culture is concerned, the picture of broadening horizons may also be partly illusory. The relaxing of bans on worldly things in private life is one thing; but the introduction of a little of the world into the church is rather different. It is possibly a sign of wavering Wesleyan self-confidence in its own standards—in a curious, ambiguous fashion, perhaps a persistence in the attempt to keep the world at bay. The older Methodists may have condemned worldly amusements, but they were confident that the church could attract anyone who was worth attracting from the world (and keep him) by severely spiritual activities. So far as secular recreation was permissible and secular reading desirable, it was pursued privately and often extensively within its limits; nor was intellectual intercourse restricted to Wesleyan circles. The Wesleyans of the later nineteenth century seemed to have lost a

<sup>82</sup> J. H. S. Kent: "Hugh Price Hughes and the Nonconformist Conscience" in G. V. Bennett and J. D. Walsh (eds.): *Essays in Modern English Church History* (London, 1966), pp. 181-205; S. Koss: *Nonconformity and Modern British Politics* (London, 1975).

great deal of the confidence of their fathers, not only in the capacity of religious exercises to hold people in the church, but also in the capacity of Wesleyans to enter the world without succumbing to it and ceasing to be Wesleyans. The solution seemed to be to install a limited and cleaned-up version of the world within the church. Perhaps, after all, the Wesleyans had neither entered the world nor introduced the world into the church, but simply retreated into what may be labelled a Wesleyan sub-culture.<sup>83</sup> In this, as in other matters, they were becoming less Wesleyan and more like other denominations.

HENRY D. RACK.

<sup>83</sup> For some discussion of this, see J. H. S. Kent: "The role of Religion in the cultural structure of the Late Victorian city" in *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 5th Series, xxiii (1973), pp. e.g. 158, 159, 164.

### MORE LOCAL HISTORIES

Handbooks and brochures from all parts of the Connexion continue to reach us, and for these we are grateful. The following are some of those which have recently come to hand. We give the prices where these are stated thereon.

*Selby Methodist Circuit during the first Twenty-five Years of the reign of Queen Elizabeth II*, by C. R. Moody (pp. 12): copies from the author at Lynton, Doncaster Road, Brayton, Selby, North Yorks, YO8 9HD.

*Methodism in Barnard Castle and Teesdale: its beginnings, circuits and membership*, by Harold L. Beadle (pp. 10), written to mark the union of the two circuits, 1st September 1978: copies, price 25p., from the author at 22, The Avenue, Richmond, North Yorks, DL10 7AZ.

*Big enough for a Church*—a history of Elm Ridge Methodist chapel, Darlington (pp. 8): copies from the Rev. Deryck N. Howarth, 140, Blackwell Lane, Darlington, Co. Durham, DL3 8QQ.

*The Church in the Orchard* (Grange Park, London, N.21)—brochure of the "Festival of the Open Door: An Exhibition of Methodism 1778-1978": copies from the Rev. Kenneth Mankin, 25, Hoodcote Gardens, Winchmore Hill, London, N.21 2NG.

*Methodism in Whitehaven, 1749-1820*, by John Burgess (pp. 6): copies, price 10p., from the Rev. Ian Sumner, 6, Fairview, Dalton-in-Furness, Cumbria.

*Methodism in Dukinfield*, by E. A. Rose (pp. 66): copies, price 50p. plus 13½p. postage, from the author at 26, Roe Cross Green, Mottram, Hyde, Cheshire.

New Brancepeth Methodist church centenary brochure, 1877-1977 (pp. 26): copies from Mr. J. Atkinson, 22, Prospect Terrace, New Brancepeth, Durham, DH7 7EJ.

*From Seahouses to Central*—a short account of the "People Called Methodists" in Eastbourne, by the Rev. Dr. D. Dunn Wilson (pp. 50), price 50p. plus 17p. postage; also *175 Years of Methodism in Eastbourne* (souvenir brochure, pp. 16), price 50p. plus 8p. postage (21p. postage on the two items). Copies from Mrs. Sheila Handley, 42, Glendale Avenue, Eastbourne, East Sussex, BN21 1UU.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY OF METHODIST HISTORICAL LITERATURE, 1977

THE author is indebted to the following for their kind assistance in the preparation of this list: Mr. W. W. Armstrong, Mrs. R. Blatherwick, Mr. M. Guest, the Rev. R. A. Hawthorne, the Rev. D. S. Hubery, Mrs. S. V. Jacquest, Mrs. J. Kirkwood, Professor Y. Kishida, the Rev. R. J. Kitching, Mr. N. J. L. Lyons, Mr. G. E. Milburn, Mr. A. Naylor, Mr. J. L. Nichols, Mr. C. N. Packett, Miss W. M. Rickard, Mr. E. A. Rose, Rose Hill Wesleyan Reform Church, the Rev. T. Shaw, the Rev. M. J. Townsend, and Mr. J. A. Vickers.

- T. P. ADDISON: "Early history of Methodism in Inverness", *Journal of the Scottish Branch of the Wesley Historical Society*, No. 9, April 1977, pp. 2-8.
- J. ADDY: "Bishop Porteous' visitation of the Diocese of Chester, 1778", *Northern History*, XIII, 1977, pp. 175-98.
- C. J. APPLEBY: "Traditions concerning John Wesley in and around Hayle", *Journal of the Cornish Methodist Historical Association*, V, No. 1, 1977, pp. 14-17.
- G. ARTINGSTALL (ed.): "And stop for nothing!" *Harpurhey Sisterhood, 1937-1977* ([Manchester, 1977], pp. 21).
- D. S. BAKER: "Patriots, and Howe!", *Contemporary Review*, CCXXX, January-June 1977, pp. 15-23.
- F. BAKER: *The Methodist Pilgrim in England* (3rd edn., Rutland, Vermont, 1976, pp. 110).
- F. BAKER: "Some observations on John Wesley's relationship with Grace Murray", *Methodist History*, XVI, No. 1, October 1977, pp. 42-5.
- R. A. BALDWIN: "Methodism and the early Scout and Guide movements", *Wesley Historical Society: Bulletin of the London Branch*, No. 16, March 1977, p. 4.
- N. BARTLETT: "Vessels of brotherly love", *Art and Antiques Weekly*, 2nd July 1977.
- J. BATES: *The Methodist Church* (Exeter, 1977, pp. 63).
- O. A. BECKERLEGE: "Significant changes?", *Proceedings of the Wesley Historical Society*, XLI, 1977-8, p. 36.
- Bedford St. Paul's Methodist Circuit Class Book: Transcribed and reproduced by the Bedfordshire County Record Office* (Bedford, 1977, pp. 181).
- J. M. BELLAMY and J. SAVILLE: *Dictionary of Labour Biography: Volume IV* (London, 1977, pp. 236).
- M. BENTLEY: *The Liberal Mind, 1914-1929* (Cambridge, 1977, pp. 279).
- J. C. G. BINFIELD: *So down to Prayers: Studies in English Nonconformity, 1780-1920* (London, 1977, pp. 296).
- M. BINNEY and P. BURMAN (eds.): *Change and decay: The future of our churches* (London, 1977, pp. 192).
- M. BINNEY and P. BURMAN: *Chapels and churches: who cares? An independent report* (London, 1977, pp. 287).
- T. A. BIRRELL: "English Catholic mystics in non-Catholic circles", *Downside Review*, XCIV, 1976, pp. 60-81, 99-117, 213-31.
- R. G. BLAIR: "Ex-Bailie James Gray, D.L., J.P., 1876-1948", *Journal of the Scottish Branch of the Wesley Historical Society*, No. 9, April 1977, pp. 8-17.
- L. L. BLAISDELL: "'Honest John' Fielden, factory reformer", *Historical Magazine of the Protestant Episcopal Church*, XLIII, 1974, pp. 305-15.
- R. BLATHERWICK: *Douglas Pursey Blatherwick, O.B.E., 1909-1973* (Newark, [1977], pp. 21).

- W. BOOTH: *Centenary History of Ashville College: incorporating New College, Harrogate (1930), Elmfield College, York (1932)* (Harrogate, 1977, pp. 40).
- K. F. BOWDEN: "'Synopsis of Wesleyan Methodism in Yorkshire': some notes", *Cirplan*, VI, No. 5, Michaelmas 1977, pp. 93-7.
- H. R. BOWES: "'Manuscript Diary of the Rev. John Doubleday Julian (1812-96)", *Proceedings of the Wesley Historical Society*, XLI, 1977-8, pp. 30-1.
- J. G. BOWRAN: "'Memories of Primitive Methodism in Hyde", *Journal of the Lancashire and Cheshire Branch of the Wesley Historical Society*, III, No. 5, January 1977, pp. 83-5.
- J. G. BOWRAN: "'My memories", *Wesley Historical Society North-East Branch Bulletin*, No. 27, March 1977, pp. 17-21; No. 28, September 1977, pp. 10-14.
- R. E. BRANTLEY: "'Johnson's Wesleyan connection", *Eighteenth-century Studies*, X, 1976-7, pp. 143-68.
- D. BRIDGE and D. PHYPPERS: *The water that divides: The Baptism debate* (Leicester, 1977, pp. 208).
- P. W. BRIERLEY: *U.K. Protestant Missions Handbook, Volume 2: Home* (London, 1977, pp. 56).
- E. J. BRISTOW: *Vice and vigilance: Purity movements in Britain since 1700* (Dublin, 1977, pp. 274).
- R. R. BROHOLM: "'Evangelizing community and social transformation", *Foundations*, XX, 1977, pp. 352-61.
- L. M. BROWN and I. R. CHRISTIE (eds.): *Bibliography of British History, 1789-1851* (Oxford, 1977, pp. 759).
- S. BUDD: *Varieties of unbelief: Atheists and agnostics in English society, 1850-1960* (London, 1977, pp. 307).
- J. BULLOCK: *Bowers Row: Recollections of a mining village* (East Ardsley, 1976, pp. 230).
- J. BURGESS: "'Digging up the old records", *Wesley Historical Society Cumbria Branch Journal*, No. 1, March 1977, pp. 4-8.
- J. BURGESS: "'Methodism in Loughborough: Part One", *Wesley Historical Society West Midlands Branch Bulletin*, III, No. 2, September 1977, pp. 13-18.
- J. BURGESS: *Methodist Ministers in Cumbria, Volume One: The Wesleyans* (Wesley Historical Society Cumbrian Branch Occasional Paper No. 2, [no place], 1977, [pp. 33]).
- J. BURGESS: *Methodist Ministers in Cumbria, Volume Two: Primitive and United Methodists* (Wesley Historical Society Cumbrian Branch Occasional Paper No. 1, [no place], 1977, [pp. 43]).
- J. BURGESS: "'Wesleyanism in the Carlisle District: A nineteenth century survey based on its buildings", *Wesley Historical Society North-East Branch Bulletin*, No. 27, March 1977, pp. 23-30; No. 28, September 1977, pp. 14-19.
- D. W. BUSHBY: *The Circuit Book of the St. Neots Methodist Circuit, 1813-1837: Transcribed, with an Introduction and Index* (St. Neots, 1977, pp. 39).
- J. F. BUTLER: "'Methodist Architecture in relation to Methodist Liturgy", *University of Birmingham, Institute for the study of Worship and Religious Architecture: Research Bulletin*, 1977, pp. 20-45.
- J. F. BUTLER: "'Reminiscences of St. Paul's, Didsbury and Didsbury College", *Journal of the Lancashire and Cheshire Branch of the Wesley Historical Society*, III, No. 6, August 1977, pp. 113-15.
- G. R. CASSE: *A Prisoner of France (1809-1814): A narrative of the Napoleonic Wars* (reprint of the 1841 edition, London, 1976, pp. 170).

- R. M. CASTO: "Exegetical method in John Wesley's *Explanatory Notes upon the Old Testament*: A description of his approach, use of sources and practice" (Duke University Ph.D. thesis, 1977, pp. 562).
- T. R. CHATER: "Aspects of the history of Methodism in Hartlepool", *Wesley Historical Society North-East Branch Bulletin*, No. 27, March 1977, pp. 4-11; No. 28, September 1977, pp. 4-9.
- J. CLARKE: *The price of progress: Cobbett's England, 1780-1835* (London, 1977, pp. 200).
- J. T. CLEMONS: "John Wesley: biblical literalist?", *Religion in Life*, XLVI, 1977, pp. 332-42.
- B. COLLOMS: *Victorian Country Parsons* (London, 1977, pp. 288).
- R. M. COLLS: *The Collier's Rant: Song and culture in the industrial village* (London, 1977, pp. 216).
- R. CURRIE, A. D. GILBERT and L. HORSLEY: *Churches and churchgoers: Patterns of church growth in the British Isles since 1700* (Oxford, 1977, pp. 244).
- W. H. DANIEL: "The reaction of British Methodism to the Civil War and reconstruction in America", *Methodist History*, XVI, No. 1, October 1977, pp. 3-20.
- D. DAVIE: "Dissent and the Wesleys, 1740-1800", *Journal of the United Reformed Church History Society*, I, 1973-7, pp. 272-85.
- A. A. DAVIES: *The Moravian Revival of 1727 and some of its consequences* (Annual Lecture of the Evangelical Library, 1977, London, 1977, pp. 22).
- J. W. DAWE: "Rules of the Callington Wesleyan Sunday school—passed Sept. 3rd, 1846", *Wesley Historical Society: Proceedings of the Plymouth and Exeter Branch*, IV, No. 2, February 1977, pp. 24-6.
- A. DELGADO: *The Annual Outing and other excursions* (London, 1977, pp. 173).
- W. B. T. DOUGLAS: "George Whitefield: The man and his mission", *Methodist History*, XVI, No. 1, October 1977, pp. 46-53.
- T. DOWLEY (ed.): *The History of Christianity* (Berkhamsted, 1977, pp. 656).
- A. DUNSTAN and J. S. PEART-BINNS: *Cornish Bishop* (London, 1977, pp. 174).
- B. H. EDWARDS: *Through many dangers: The story of John Newton* (Welwyn, 1975, pp. 270).
- M. S. EDWARDS: *S. E. Keeble: The Rejected Prophet* (Broxton, 1977, pp. 71).
- K. EYRE: *Chapel in the Dunes* (St. Annes-on-Sea, 1977, pp. 46).
- R. EYRE: "Rome, Leeds and the desert", *The Listener*, 13th October 1977.
- C. D. FIELD: "Bibliography of Methodist Historical Literature, 1975", *Proceedings of the Wesley Historical Society*, XLI, 1977-8, pp. 53-60.
- C. D. FIELD: "The social structure of English Methodism: Eighteenth-twentieth centuries", *British Journal of Sociology*, XXVIII, 1977, pp. 199-225.
- R. W. FOX (ed.): *Bromley Common Methodist Church, 1877-1977* (Bromley, 1977, pp. 28).
- L. E. GAGE: *Descriptive Catalogue of Pamphlets on British Methodism, 1791-1900* (Leigh-on-Sea, 1977, pp. 50).
- K. B. GARLICK: *Mr. Wesley's Preachers: An alphabetical arrangement of Wesleyan Methodist Preachers and Missionaries, and the Stations to which they were appointed, 1739-1818* (London, 1977, pp. 54).
- B. GASCOIGNE: *The Christians* (London, 1977, pp. 304).
- A. R. GEORGE: "The changing face of Methodism: I. The Methodist Service Book", *Proceedings of the Wesley Historical Society*, XLI, 1977-8, pp. 65-72.
- A. R. GEORGE: "Infant Baptism: The Methodist position", *Epworth Review*, IV, No. 2, May 1977, pp. 59-64.
- L. M. GOLDTHORPE: "John Wesley's visits to the Upper Calder Valley", *Transactions of the Halifax Antiquarian Society*, 1977 for 1975, pp. 55-74.

- R. GOULD: *Chalk up the memory: An autobiography* (Birmingham, 1976, pp. 176).
- F. R. GRANT: "The revolution in religious rhetoric: John Wesley and the evangelical impact on England", *The Historian*, XXXIX, 1976-7, pp. 439-54.
- K. GRAYSTON: "What is Methodist doctrine? First fruits of a search", *Epworth Review*, III, No. 3, September 1976, pp. 44-7.
- R. GREEN: *The Works of John and Charles Wesley: A Bibliography* (reprint of the 1906 edition, New York, 1976, pp. 291).
- H. GURDEN: "The Methodist parish chest", *History Workshop*, No. 3, Spring 1977, pp. 73-9.
- P. C. HAMMOND: *The parson and the Victorian parish* (London, 1977, pp. 224).
- T. R. HARRIS: "Thomas Garland: Cornish Methodist stalwart", *Journal of the Cornish Methodist Historical Association*, V, No. 1, 1977, pp. 5-13.
- G. E. HARRISON: *Ein Sohn der Susanna* (Stuttgart, 1977, pp. 237).
- S. G. HATCHER: "Hugh Bourne's walking stick", *Methodist Recorder*, 24th February 1977, and *Wesley Historical Society Yorkshire Branch Bulletin*, No. 30, April 1977, pp. 7-8.
- S. G. HATCHER: "The introduction of Primitive Methodism into the West Riding", *Wesley Historical Society Yorkshire Branch Bulletin*, No. 31, September 1977, pp. 2-7.
- S. G. HATCHER: "Modern Methodism and primitive Methodism", *Methodist Recorder*, 3rd March 1977, and *Wesley Historical Society Yorkshire Branch Bulletin*, No. 31, September 1977, pp. 7-9.
- S. G. HATCHER: "Primitive Methodist Circuit Plans before 1820: Some notes", *Cirplan*, VI, No. 5, Michaelmas 1977, pp. 97-103.
- A. J. HAYES: "The extinct Methodist societies of South-East Scotland: 1. Dunfermline", *Proceedings of the Wesley Historical Society*, XLI, 1977-8, pp. 12-21; "... 2. Haddington", *ibid.*, pp. 43-52; "... 3. Musselburgh", *ibid.*, pp. 77-85.
- A. J. HAYES: "A Warrenite secession in Edinburgh", *Journal of the Scottish Branch of the Wesley Historical Society*, No. 10, September 1977, pp. 3-18.
- D. N. HEMPTON: "Methodism and anti-Catholic politics, 1800-1846" (University of St. Andrews Ph.D. thesis, 1977, pp. 343).
- R. HODGKINSON and W. W. ARMSTRONG: *The Methodist Church, Bamber Bridge, Centenary Celebrations, 1878-1978: Souvenir Handbook* (Preston, [1977], pp. 34).
- E. M. HODGSON: "John—or Charles—Wesley?", *Proceedings of the Wesley Historical Society*, XLI, 1977-8, pp. 73-6.
- H. E. HOPKINS: *Charles Simeon of Cambridge* (London, 1977, pp. 240).
- D. S. HUBERY: *The Methodist contribution to education in England (1738-1977)* (London, 1977, pp. 61).
- S. V. JACQUEST: *Emmanuel: The story of Methodism in the Ormskirk area, 1792-1978* ([Ormskirk, 1977], pp. 52).
- F. JEFFERY: "The Irish contribution to Methodism", in *World Methodist Historical Society, Quinquennial Meeting, August 24, 1976, Dun Laoghaire Methodist Church, Ireland: Lectures* ([no place], 1977, pp. 1-18).
- I. H. JONES: "Roots of Methodist hymnody", *Methodist Recorder*, 4th August 1977.
- O. W. JONES: "The Welsh Church in the eighteenth century", in D. WALKER (ed.): *A History of the Church in Wales* (Penarth, 1976, pp. 103-20).
- M. G. KELLY: *Cregagh Methodist Church Jubilee, 1927-1977* (Belfast, 1977, pp. 32).

- J. H. S. KENT: "A late nineteenth century Nonconformist renaissance", in D. BAKER (ed.): *Renaissance and renewal in Christian history: Papers read at the Fifteenth Summer Meeting and the Sixteenth Winter Meeting of the Ecclesiastical History Society* (Studies in Church History, 14, Oxford, 1977, pp. 351-60).
- E. KENYON: *The Methodists of Whalley, 1777-1914* ([Christleton], 1977, pp. 86).
- J. KERSLAKE: *Early Georgian Portraits* (2 vols., London, 1977, pp. 391 + 953 plates).
- J. KIRKWOOD: *The Methodist Church, Windsor: The Centenary Story* (Windsor, 1977, pp. 28).
- Y. KISHIDA: *Jon Uezuri Kenkyu* (Kyoto, 1977, pp. 379).
- Y. KISHIDA: "Kokuyokaiha no Syakairinri to Uezuri", *Journal of the Faculty of Literature, Nagoya University*, No. 62, 1974, pp. 77-104; No. 65, 1975, pp. 43-73.
- R. J. KITCHING: "The conservative-evangelical influence in Methodism, 1900-1976" (University of Birmingham M.A. dissertation, 1976, pp. 40).
- J. A. KLASAS: "Geographical aspects of religious change in Victorian Liverpool, 1837-1901" (University of Liverpool M.A. thesis, 1977, [pp. 332]).
- W. R. LAMBERT: "Some working-class attitudes towards organized religion in nineteenth-century Wales", *Llafur*, II, No. 1, Spring 1976, pp. 4-17.
- D. LAZELL: "Francis Sharr and his popular lectures", *Great Preachers* [No. 1, 1977], pp. 2-8.
- D. LAZELL: "From street arab to evangelist: The remarkable record of Albert Shakesby", *ibid.*, [No. 1, 1977], pp. 19-24; [No. 2], 1977, [pp. 13-17]; [No. 3], 1977, [pp. 22-6].
- D. LAZELL: "The loving heart of Dinsdale T. Young", *ibid.*, [No. 3], 1977, [pp. 3-8].
- D. LAZELL: "The story of Mark Guy Pearse", *ibid.*, [No. 1, 1977], pp. 13-18.
- W. LEARY: *Methodist Preaching Plans: A guide to their usefulness to the historian* (Sudbrooke, 1977, pp. 25).
- W. LEARY: "Transcription of extracts from Richard Abey's diary relating to Cornwall", *Journal of the Cornish Methodist Historical Association*, V, No. 1, 1977, pp. 35-7.
- A. E. LEIGHTON and J. L. NICHOLS: *The first hundred years: A brief history of Trinity Methodist Church, Clacton on Sea* (Clacton on Sea, 1977, pp. 32).
- J. H. LENTON: "The Snedshill affair, 1851-1852", *Wesley Historical Society Shropshire Branch Bulletin*, No. 10, [1977].
- Limavady Methodist Church Centenary, 1877-1977* (Limavady, 1977, pp. 40).
- E. A. LIVINGSTONE (ed.): *The Concise Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church* (Oxford, 1977, pp. 570).
- S. LUDLOW: "'Sammy—village blacksmith': Samuel Hick (1758-1829)", *Wesley Historical Society Yorkshire Branch Bulletin*, No. 30, April 1977, pp. 2-5.
- N. J. L. LYONS and L. CRAVEN: *The Memoirs of Richard Cook: South Ferriby in the mid-19th century* (Brigg, 1977, pp. 57).
- G. I. T. MACHIN: *Politics and the Churches in Great Britain, 1832 to 1868* (Oxford, 1977, pp. 438).
- D. H. MCLEOD: "White collar values and the role of religion", in G. J. CROSSICK (ed.): *The lower middle class in Britain, 1870-1914* (London, 1977, pp. 61-88).
- J. MANOR: "Coming of Britain's age of empire and Protestant mission theology, 1750-1839", *Zeitschrift für Missionswissenschaft und Religionswissenschaft*, LXI, No. 1, 1977, pp. 38-54.

- M. MARQUARDT: *Praxis und Prinzipien der Sozialethik John Wesleys* (Göttingen, 1977, pp. 176).
- F. E. MASER: "John Wesley's only marriage: An examination of Dr. Frank Baker's article 'John Wesley's first marriage'", *Methodist History*, XVI, No. 1, October 1977, pp. 33-41.
- METHODIST CHURCH DIVISION OF PROPERTY: *Change and change over: Division of Property Annual Report, 1975* ([Manchester, 1975]), pp. 24.
- G. E. MILBURN: "The Census of Worship of 1851 and its value to the local historian", *Tyne 'n' Tweed: The Journal of the Northumberland Local History Society*, No. 29, Spring 1977, pp. 3-13.
- G. E. MILBURN: *The Christian Lay Churches* (Sunderland, 1977, pp. 48).
- G. E. MILBURN: "Methodist records and the genealogist", *Journal of the Northumberland and Durham Family History Society*, II, No. 2, January 1977, pp. 34-7.
- W. L. MILLER: *Electoral dynamics in Britain since 1918* (London, 1977, pp. 242).
- S. MILLS: "A petty attack on Wesley's Hymns", *Proceedings of the Wesley Historical Society*, XLI, 1977-8, pp. 22-5.
- R. L. MOORE: "Justification without joy: Psychohistorical reflections on John Wesley's childhood and conversion", *History of Childhood Quarterly*, II, 1974, pp. 1-30.
- R. S. MOORE: "Religiosity and stratification in England", *Sociological Analysis and Theory*, IV, No. 3, October 1974, pp. 75-100.
- J. A. P. MORRIS (ed.): "Bow Methodism", *Wesley Historical Society Bulletin of the London Branch*, No. 16, March 1977, pp. 5-7.
- A. NAYLOR (ed.): *Thornbury Methodist Church, Leeds Old Road, Golden Jubilee Anniversary Celebrations: Souvenir Handbook, 1928-1978* ([Bradford, 1977], pp. 40).
- S. NEILL: *Anglicanism* (revised edition, London, 1977, pp. 447).
- J. R. NELSON: "Methodism and the Papacy", in P. J. McCORD (ed.): *A Pope for all Christians? An inquiry into the role of Peter in the modern Church* (London, 1977, pp. 148-75).
- H. NEWBY: *The deferential worker: A study of farm workers in East Anglia* (London, 1977, pp. 462).
- J. A. NEWTON: *Search for a saint: Edward King* (London, 1977, pp. 128).
- J. E. ORR: *The eager feet: Evangelical awakenings, 1790-1830* (Chicago, 1975, pp. 248).
- J. N. OSWALT: "Wesley's use of the Old Testament in his doctrinal teachings", *Wesleyan Theological Journal*, XII, 1977, pp. 39-53.
- A. C. OUTLER: "John Wesley: Folk-theologian", *Theology Today*, XXXIV, 1977-8, pp. 150-60.
- S. PARGELLIS and D. J. MEDLEY (eds.): *Bibliography of British History: The Eighteenth Century, 1714-1789* (reprint of the 1951 edition, Hassocks, 1977, pp. 642).
- D. PEPIN: *Pilgrim's Guide to the South East: Places, events and people in Britain's Christian heritage* (London, 1977, pp. 65).
- D. PERMAN: *Change and the Churches: An anatomy of Religion in Britain* (London, 1977, pp. 240).
- S. PICKERING: *The moral tradition in English fiction, 1785-1850* (Hanover, New Hampshire, 1976, pp. 184).
- E. PIGOTT (ed.): *Wesley's England* (revised edition, [London], 1977, pp. 32).
- J. POLLOCK: *Wilberforce* (London, 1977, pp. 368).
- H. D. RACK: "Methodism and Revolution: A problem in relating religion to politics", *Papers in Religion and Politics*, No. 2, Lent Term 1977, pp. 5-8.

- D. B. REES: "Decline of Nonconformity: Notes on some historical and sociological factors", *Planet*, No. 32, June 1976, pp. 12-17.
- E. E. REYNOLDS: "The Roman Collar", *The Tablet*, 3rd September 1977.
- N. J. RICHARDS: "British Nonconformity and the Liberal Party, 1868-1906", *Journal of Religious History*, IX, 1976-7, pp. 387-401.
- W. A. RIDLEY: "The Primitive Methodist Centenary Plate", *Wesley Historical Society Cumbria Branch Journal*, No. 1, March 1977, p. 9.
- W. A. RIDLEY: "Some interesting extracts from Carlisle circuit PM minute books", *ibid.*, No. 2, July 1977, pp. 15-16.
- P. W. ROBINSON: "Louth and the rise of Free Methodism", *Journal of the Lincolnshire Methodist History Society*, III, No. 1, Autumn 1977, pp. 2-9.
- S. J. ROGAL: "John Wesley's women", *Eighteenth-century Life*, I, 1974-5, pp. 7-10.
- A. ROGERS: *Approaches to local history* (2nd edition, London, 1977, pp. 265). *Rose Hill Wesleyan Reform Church, Dodworth Centenary, 1876-1976* ([Dodworth, 1976, pp. 38]).
- D. M. ROSMAN: "What has Christ to do with Apollo?: Evangelicalism and the novel, 1800-30", in D. BAKER (ed.): *Renaissance and renewal in Christian history: Papers read at the Fifteenth Summer Meeting and the Sixteenth Winter Meeting of the Ecclesiastical History Society* (Studies in Church History, 14, Oxford, 1977, pp. 301-11).
- E. ROUTLEY: *The musical Wesleys* (reprint of the 1968 edition, Westport, Conn., 1976, pp. 272).
- E. ROUTLEY: *A Short History of English Church Music* (London, 1977, pp. 122).
- G. ROWELL: *The Liturgy of Christian Burial: An introductory survey of the historical development of Christian burial rites* (Alcuin Club Collections, No. 59, London, 1977, pp. 137).
- E. G. RUPP: *Just Men: Historical pieces* (London, 1977, pp. 181).
- R. M. RYAN: *Keats: The religious sense* (Princeton, N.J., 1976, pp. 235).
- N. A. D. SCOTLAND: "Methodism and the 'Revolt of the Field' in East Anglia, 1872-96", *Proceedings of the Wesley Historical Society*, XLI, 1977-8, pp. 2-11, 39-42.
- I. SELLERS: *Nineteenth-century Nonconformity* (London, 1977, pp. 102).
- C. SHAW: *When I was a child* (reprint of the 1903 edition, Firle, 1977, pp. 258).
- T. SHAW (ed.): *Fraddon Methodist Church Centenary Year Book of memories* (St. Columb Major, 1977, pp. 48).
- T. SHAW: "Free Church views of the Diocese of Truro, 1877-1977", *Truro Diocesan Centenary: One hundred years a diocese* (Truro, 1977, pp. 27-9).
- D. K. SHEARING: "Aspects of the Sunday school movement in Sheffield", *Studies in the local history of Education* (History of Education Society, Occasional Publication No. 3, Leicester, 1977, pp. 9-17).
- E. SIMPSON: "Extracts from the Crewe circuit records", *Journal of the Lancashire and Cheshire Branch of the Wesley Historical Society*, III, No. 6, August 1977, pp. 111-13.
- J. M. SIMS and P. M. JACOBS (eds.): *Writings on British History, 1955-1957* (London, 1977, pp. 362).
- G. SLATER: "Voices from the past: 1. Hugh Price Hughes (1847-1902)", *Worship and Preaching*, VII, No. 1, February 1977, pp. 28-34; "... 3. Leslie D. Weatherhead (1893-1976)", *ibid.*, VII, No. 3, June 1977, pp. 29-36; "... 4. George Jackson (1864-1945)", *ibid.*, VII, No. 4, August 1977, pp. 30-6; "... 5. J. Ernest Rattenbury (1870-1963)", *ibid.*, VII, No. 5, October 1977, pp. 28-35; "... 6. W. E. Sangster (1900-60)", *ibid.*, VII, No. 6, December 1977, pp. 30-6.

- A. SMITH and M. GUEST: *Cradley Heath Methodist Church, Graingers Lane: Souvenir Guide to mark 150th Anniversary—a record of the years 1956-1977* ([Cradley Heath, 1977], pp. 56).
- W. A. SPECK: *Stability and strife: England, 1714-1760* (London, 1977, pp. 311).
- J. STACEY: *Groundwork of Theology* (London, 1977, pp. 383).
- L. STONE: *The Family, Sex and Marriage in England, 1500-1800* (London, 1977, pp. 800).
- W. STRAWSON: "The significance of Leslie Dixon Weatherhead as a preacher", *Methodist Recorder*, 9th June 1977.
- D. STUART: "Local Nonconformist history", in A. ROGERS (ed.): *Group projects in local history* (Folkestone, 1977, pp. 117-39).
- N. W. SUMMERTON: "Dissenting attitudes to foreign relations, peace and war, 1840-1890", *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, XXVIII, 1977, pp. 151-78.
- E. W. TATTERSALL: "Have camera will snap you", *Methodist Recorder*, 31st March 1977.
- E. W. TATTERSALL: "I was a Conference camera", *ibid.*, 21st April 1977.
- A. E. TEALE: "Methodism in Halifax and district, 1780 to 1850: A study of the development of Methodism and its impact upon a rapidly changing society in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries" (University of Bradford M.Sc. thesis, 1976, pp. 407).
- R. F. S. THORNE: *The locations of the Methodist records in the Plymouth and Exeter District of the Methodist Church (including Devon, East Cornwall, West Somerset and part of West Dorset)* (supplement to *Wesley Historical Society Proceedings of the Plymouth and Exeter Branch*, IV, No. 2, February 1977, [pp. 4]).
- R. F. S. THORNE: "William O'Bryan: Bi-centenary of his birth, 6th February 1778", *ibid.*, IV, No. 3, September 1977, pp. 31-3.
- M. J. TOWNSEND: "An examination of the nature and role of the Nonconformist ministry and congregation in some English novels, 1845-1890" (University of Leicester M.Phil. thesis, 1977, pp. 200).
- J. M. TURNER: "'Of Methodists and Papists Compar'd'", *Proceedings of the Wesley Historical Society*, XLI, 1977-8, pp. 37-8.
- J. A. VICKERS: "Current research in Methodist history", *ibid.*, XLI, 1977-8, pp. 93-4.
- J. A. VICKERS: *John Wesley: Founder of Methodism* (Loughborough, 1977, pp. 53).
- J. A. and H. VICKERS: *Methodism in a cathedral city: Southgate Methodist Church, Chichester, 1877-1977* (Chichester, 1977, pp. 32).
- C. WALLACE: "Simple and recollected: John Wesley's life-style", *Religion in Life*, XLVI, 1977, pp. 198-212.
- P. WATKINS: "Contrasting types of lay ministry: Anglican readers and Methodist local preachers compared", *Church Times*, 2nd December 1977.
- C. WEAKLEY: *The Holy Spirit and power: John Wesley* (Plainfield, N.J., 1977, pp. 189).
- C. WESLEY: *The Journal of the Rev. Charles Wesley, M.A., sometime student of Christ Church, Oxford: The early journal, 1736-1739* (new edition, Taylors, S.C., 1977, pp. 324).
- J. WESLEY: *Devotions and Prayers of John Wesley* (ed. D. E. Demaray, Grand Rapids, 1977, pp. 109).
- D. L. WILBERFORCE: "A study of the formative influences governing the development of John Wesley's social, political and ecclesiastical methods and practices" (University of Newcastle upon Tyne M.Litt. thesis, 1976, pp. 405).

- D. WILLIAMS: *A History of modern Wales* (second edition, London, 1977, pp. 318).
- C. R. WILSON: "Relevance of John Wesley's distinctive correlation of love and law", *Wesleyan Theological Journal*, XII, 1977, pp. 54-9.
- R. L. WOLFF: *Gains and losses: Novels of faith and doubt in Victorian England* (London, 1977, pp. 537).
- G. M. YOUNG: *Portrait of an age: Victorian England* (annotated edition by G. K. Clark, London, 1977, pp. 423).

CLIVE D. FIELD.

### Brief Notices

*The Church in our times: An Ecumenical History from a British perspective*, by the Rev. Rupert E. Davies (Epworth Press: pp. 132, £1 95p.) is an excellent "plain man's guide"—or should we have written "plain person's guide"—to the ecumenical scene since the beginning of the present century. It moves from the Church divided and entrenched in its divisions in 1900, through "The Growth of the Ecumenical Idea" (chapter 3) and subsequent "Advance and Rebuff" (chapter 4) to the present "Hope awaiting Fulfilment" (chapter 8). The author has a style which carries the reader along with him, so that it is a pleasure to read—though pleasure is also derived from the fact that much of the book covers events through which all but the youngest of us have lived. As Mr. Davies has been at the centre of things for many years—particularly those concerned with the developing ecumenical awareness and experiment—he writes with clarity and authority. Apart from a couple of slight misprints, we have noticed two errors of fact, namely the year of Hugh Price Hughes's death given as 1920 instead of 1902 (page 16) and Professor T. W. Manson referred to as a Congregationalist (page 54) whereas he was indeed a Presbyterian. At £1 95p. it is a bargain!

*Sammy Hick: The Blacksmith of Micklefield*, by the late W. L. Ridge (pp. 16) is a pamphlet circulated in connexion with a circuit rally at Micklefield to celebrate the 150th anniversary of Sammy Hick's death. Copies may be obtained from the Selby circuit archivist, Mr. Richard Moody, Lynton, Doncaster Road, Brayton, Selby, Yorks, YO8 9HD.

*The Eagle and the Dove*, by the Rev. Peter S. Forsaith (pp. 68) is a study of John Fletcher, vicar of Madeley. It is sub-titled "Towards a new assessment", and sheds new light on the industrial background of that Madeley parish, examining afresh also Fletcher's relationships with John Wesley. Copies may be obtained from the author at 46, Copgrove Road, Leeds, LS8 2SP.

The Rev. Dr. Paul Ellingworth reports that an article entitled "John Wesley's method of Biblical Interpretation", by Wilbur H. Mullen, appeared in *Religion in Life* (Nashville, Tenn., USA), Vol. 47, Part I, pp. 99-108).

To mark the 200th anniversary of the birth of Jabez Bunting, who was born in Manchester on 13th May 1779, an exhibition of books, letters and portraits, drawn from the Methodist Archives and other Methodist collections in the Library, was held during May and June in the Deansgate Memorial building of the John Rylands University Library of Manchester. This is the first exhibition of particular interest to Methodists to be held in the Library since the Methodist Archives were transferred to the John Rylands University Library.

## NOTES AND QUERIES

1319. "A FULL, FREE, AND PRESENT SALVATION".

Dr. Beckerlegge's query (No. 1310, in *Proceedings*, xli, p. 166) regarding the origin of the expression "a full, free, and present salvation", although specifically lexical, raises interesting theological and pastoral issues. The last issue, intriguing as it is, is outside the scope of this note, and requires separate treatment. The theological issue is briefly discussed in Part III of this contribution.

## I

So Wesley-like is this expression, so clearly does it echo Wesley's writings, that many would say without hesitation or doubt that it is Wesley's own. But almost certainly they would be wrong.

Undoubtedly the salvation he declared and defended was, in the first place, FULL. This was the adjective he put hardest to work. For example, the phrase "full salvation" occurs not less than thirty times in the *Letters*—for typical instances see (Standard edition) iv, p. 100 and viii, p. 188. Examples from the *Journal*, where it occurs seven or eight times, may be seen in iv, p. 459 and vii, p. 4 (Standard edition). It occurs only three times in the Sermons, as found in *Works* (1872 edition), vi, pp. 46, 51, 419. The phrase appears a few times elsewhere.

Indisputably also salvation for Wesley was FREE, although it is somewhat of a surprise to discover that the precise phrase "free salvation" occurs rarely—perhaps only twice in the whole corpus of his collected works. The references are: *Journal* ii, p. 71 and iv, p. 440.

Again, unquestionably Wesley proclaimed PRESENT salvation. Incidentally, "Now is the day of salvation"—so italicized—was one of his favourite texts. The specific phrase "present salvation" occurs about ten times, e.g. *Letters*, i, p. 308; *Journal*, ii, p. 491; *Works*, v, p. 10. In four places—e.g. *Letters*, vii, p. 314 and *Journal*, vii, p. 122—we get the combination "full and present salvation". Thus all the constituents of the expression which is the subject of our query are to be found in Wesley's writings, but it would seem not the expression itself.

## II

What is striking, however, is that only when they are harnessed to the noun JUSTIFICATION does Wesley drive these adjectives three-in-hand. Remarkably in one place—*Letters*, iii, p. 228—he mentions "present salvation" and "present, free, full justification" in the same breath. Twice in Sermon CVII he speaks of "free, full, present justification" (*Works*, vii, pp. 205, 212). Of course, he put the adjective "full" to other nouns denoting aspects of experimental religion—notably "redemption" and "sanctification". Again, he frequently extols "free grace", "free mercy", and so on. Rarely did he write of "present sanctification", but a cautious use of that expression may be seen in *Letters*, vi, p. 145. In one place—*Works*, vii, p. 490—he writes of "full, present conviction". The fact is that the only other nouns to which he attaches these adjectives (variously coupled) are "pardon" and "forgiveness"—which in Wesley's teaching meant the same thing as justification itself (see *Letters*, ii, p. 224; *Journal*, ii, p. 83; *Works*, vi, p. 516).

## III

So much for the lexical facts. Have they any theological significance? Much will depend upon whether we hold that these facts are fortuitous or

at most customary, fairly loose elements of evangelical idiom, or whether they are marks of precise thought. This note proceeds upon the belief that this last view is the correct one.

"Salvation" is Wesley's most comprehensive word for "the life of God in the soul of man". Wonderful though "full, free, present salvation" is, he requires a further host of adjectives to express his expansive conception of its majesty. And so he writes of Christian, eternal, everlasting, final, finished, future, gospel, gradual, great, high, higher, increasing, universal salvation. And that list may not exhaust his stock.

Because of this the compound "full, free, present" could not for Wesley be definitive regarding "salvation". But the case is different regarding justification/pardon/forgiveness, where there is nothing contingent. Past and present experience only is involved.

In Wesley's literary works this adjectival trio unite only in the presence of one element of soteriology. Crystal clearly, the expression "full, free, present justification" summarizes his unwavering teaching on the subject. It is in fact a definitive absolute. Surely that cannot be merely a happy accident.

GEORGE LAWTON.

#### 1320. SILAS HOCKING, PREACHER.

Silas K. Hocking (1850-1935) was a pacifist, the best-selling author of wholesome novels, and a Free Methodist minister. These three aspects of his life were closely bound together, and it is of considerable interest to know that a very large collection of his manuscript sermon notes is now in the custody of the Modern Records Centre of the University of Warwick Library, Coventry. These were purchased in 1976, and amount to about 800 sermon texts, each of some eight or ten pages. The period covered is from 1871 to 1896, with the biggest concentration for 1885 to 1892. Most of the sermons were preached in the North—Manchester, Liverpool, Southport, Llandudno, etc.

The Archivist of the Modern Records Centre, Mr. R. A. Storey, would be glad to assist any historian wishing to consult these manuscripts.

ROGER F. S. THORNE.

#### 1321. METHODIST BELLS.

When Portland Chapel, Bristol, was opened in 1792, the building contained the unusual feature of a chapel belfry, in which was hung a bell, bearing the date 1698, that had formerly been hung in St. Ewen's church in the city, and was to continue its service as a "Methodist" bell for a further 180 years or so. It seems likely that this novel feature was copied only in a few places—all of them (?) in Cornwall. When the Port Isaac Wesley chapel was rebuilt in 1800, a bell-turret was provided. This chapel has been closed recently, and when the bell was sold at auction it was obtained by our Cornish branch. It is a brass bell, inscribed "W & H 1800", and underneath this lettering is the single letter "B", representing Bristol as its place of origin (?). At that period there were direct trade links along the coast between Bristol and Port Isaac, and Richard Wood—Wesley's host at Port Isaac and, by 1800, the leading layman in the society there—was a merchant. In the City Museum at Bristol there is a Delft-ware plate inscribed "Richard Wood, Port Isaac, 1764".

From Port Isaac the idea of using a chapel bell as a call to worship spread along the coast to the Wesleyan chapels at Padstow (1827) and Lelant (1834); and a belfry was added to the Newquay chapel in 1849.

At the time of the disruption of the Camelford circuit in 1834-5 the Wesley bell was slightly damaged by the supporters of the Reformers, but the Reform chapel was soon to have a bell of its own. This bell—still in use at the Roscarrock Hill chapel—came from the merchant ship *Bencoolen* when it was wrecked off Bude in 1862. I know of no other "Methodist" bells with the exception of the one at Tregadillett (1873), near Launceston (which appears to have no connexion with the North Cornwall series), and the American-inspired carillon at the Watchorn Memorial ex-PM chapel, Alfreton. The historic Portland bell, following the closure of that chapel, was moved to another Bristol chapel—Victoria, Whiteladies Road.

THOMAS SHAW.

1322. CHARLES JENNENS AND HANDEL'S "MESSIAH".

Handel's tune *Gopsal* (MHB 247) was composed expressly for Charles Wesley's triumphant hymn "Rejoice, the Lord is King!"<sup>1</sup> It is not borrowed from some extended work, as is, for example, the tune *Maccabæus* (MHB 213), which we sing to a translation of Edmond Budry's splendid French hymn *A Toi la gloire, O Ressuscité*. I find it intriguing, imagining these two great men, Handel and Wesley, meeting one another in eighteenth-century London. Certainly they had a link through Mr. and Mrs. Rich of Covent Garden. Charles Wesley's two brilliant sons became enthusiasts for Handel's music, as they were for the music of Bach. Apropos this, one is astonished that it was not until nearly seventeen years after its composition that John Wesley went to hear *The Messiah* performed: he tells us in his *Journal* that it was in August 1758 (at the time of the Conference, and a year before Handel's death). The entry reads:

Thur. 17.—I went to the cathedral [Bristol] to hear Mr. Handel's *Messiah*. I doubt if that congregation was ever so serious at a sermon as they were during this performance. In many parts, especially several of the choruses, it exceeded my expectation.<sup>2</sup>

Remembering some of Wesley's strictures on choral singing, one is not in the least surprised to learn this! At the same time, everything Handel wrote had to be copied by hand in time for rehearsal; it is doubtful whether *Messiah* was ever printed until shortly before the composer's death. All we have for certain is the title-page of a score which may date from around 1749.

But to return to the term *Gopsal* in our hymn-books: this place-name leads us to the name of the man who prepared the book (or libretto) for "Mr. Handel's *Messiah*"—Mr. Charles Jennens, for he hailed from a small village in Leicestershire called Gopsall. Jennens himself is an elusive person. He certainly came from a wealthy family, and when his father died, in 1747, Charles, the sole surviving son, inherited a considerable estate at Gopsall, and here, one gets the impression, he lived in some state, building himself a mansion where he could entertain his friends. He also had a London house in Great Ormond Street. Handel must have been a friend of his, for, according to Sir Hubert Parry, he was not above pointing out to Handel "gross faults in the composition [of *Messiah*]"<sup>3</sup>; and occasionally, he tells us, he had difficulty in persuading the master to correct some of them, adding that "some passages" were "unworthy Handel, but more unworthy of the *Messiah*"<sup>4</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> cf. A. S. Gregory: *Praises with understanding*, p. 225.

<sup>2</sup> cf. Erik Routley: *The Musical Wesleys*, p. 252 (Appendix 2, transcribed from Winter's *The Wesley Family*, p. 25).

<sup>3</sup> *Journal*, iv, p. 282.

<sup>4</sup> C. H. H. Parry: *Studies of the Great Composers*, p. 55.

Yet alongside this aspect of Jennens's character there is another we read of, for according to some of his contemporaries he was "a pompous, conceited, wealthy fop", "a wealthy and eccentric literary dilettante"; and Dr. Samuel Johnson—who must have known him fairly well, for he was once an usher at the ancient Dixie grammar school in Market Bosworth, not far from Gopsall—roundly called him "Solyman the Magnificent", adding the comment

... a vain fool, crazed by his wealth, who, were he in heaven would criticize the Lord Almighty. Who never walks abroad without a train of footmen at his heels, and, like Wolsey, with a scented sponge neath his nose, lest the breath of the vulgar herd should contaminate his sacred person.

Clearly, Jennens was a "character" in an age of characters. Yet this is the man who provided Handel with the scheme for the latter's most famous work—*Messiah*. To do this he searched diligently both the Bible and the Prayer Book, choosing fifty-three passages from fourteen biblical books—seven from the Old Testament, seven from the New Testament: they tell succinctly the story of God's Anointed, the promise of His coming, and all that He endured here on earth. Reverting to John Wesley's comments when he first heard this glorious music, one wonders how many people have been led to the Lord by this marvellous sermon in song; and the text was chosen by Charles Jennens of Gopsall in Leicestershire!

JOHN T. WATSON.

#### 1323. THE TITLE "REV." IN METHODISM.

I have two copies of Coke and Moore's *Life of Wesley*—one dated 1837, published by J. Robins, Brick Court, Fleet Street, and the other a small squat volume with no date but having an interesting frontispiece of a full-length portrait of Wesley, and published by Milner & Co., Paternoster Row. Each book claims to be a new edition. Each book has two title-pages, one of which is engraved and carries a picture of Wesley's Chapel.

The 1837 book describes itself on both pages as being written by "Dr. Coke and Mr. Moore", but the other, in the second inscription, as by "The Rev. Dr. Coke and the Rev. H. Moore". The title "Reverend" for a Methodist preacher was sanctioned by Conference in 1818; but when did it come into general use?

J. KINGSLEY SANDERS.

In addition to the list printed on page 54, the following are among the accounts of Methodism in particular localities which members and friends of our Society have recently produced:

*In Every Generation*—a brief history of the Methodist churches in Nottingham, 1764-1978, by Rowland C. Swift (pp. 82, with 4 illustrations and a Foreword by the Chairman of the Nottingham and Derby District): copies, price 75p. post free, from the author at By the Wood, Freshfield Lane, Danehill, Haywards Heath, West Sussex, RH17 7HE. Proceeds for the Radford Community House, Nottingham.

*John Wesley's North Eastern Itinerary, 1742-1790*, by Geoffrey E. Milburn (pp. xxi): copies, price 30p., from the author at 8, Ashbrooke Mount, Sunderland, Tyne and Wear, SR2 7SD.

Leaflet of services celebrating the bicentenary of Methodism in Robin Hood's Bay, with an historical note (pp. 4): copies from the Rev. Raymond L. Jones, 88, Coach Road, Sleights, Whitby, North Yorks.

