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

https://biblicalstudies.org.uk/articles_whs_01.php

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METHODIST UNION

THIS article is intended to give the general reader (of whom there are many in our Society) a broad view of the events leading to Methodist Union in 1932. It is not a scholarly essay; no original research has gone into its preparation; no new discoveries are announced, no startling revelations to disturb or excite a waiting world. As I began my ministry in the year that Union took place, I am one of a dwindling band who can draw on memory as well as history to recall what it meant, fifty years ago, to be a Wesleyan, a Primitive or a United Methodist. Should the aforesaid "general reader" desire to learn more about the Union negotiations, he is recommended to turn to John Kent's *The Age of Disunity* (1966), Robert Currie's *Methodism Divided* (1968), or John T. Wilkinson's *Arthur Samuel Peake* (1971). I write before the publication of Rupert Davies's Conference Lecture on Methodist Union, but I have had by me his essay *The Church in our Times* (1979).

I am still old-fashioned enough to suppose that the masculine includes the feminine, so when I use the term "layman" or its pronoun in a general sense, I include "laywoman". There is no need to invent the clumsy word "layperson".

I. Union implies division

Methodist Union can be understood only against the background of its divisions, numerous and complicated though they be. Some of these were secessions which wounded and diminished the parent body, for they were protests against its polity and procedure. Among these secessions we include the Methodist New Connexion (1797) and the United Methodist Free Churches (1857). The Bible Christians and the Primitive Methodists were offshoots rather than secessions, for they were not protests against Wesleyan polity, but revival movements whose founders had their roots in Wesleyan Methodism but found that body too rigid to contain their exuberance.

Early Methodism contained within itself the seeds of its own proneness to division. While Wesley lived he ruled as a benevolent dictator, and any discontent with his system was quietly suppressed;

but it smouldered beneath the surface only to break out after his death. Two main issues disturbed the peace: one concerned lay representation, and the other the administration of the sacraments. The dissidents clamoured for lay representation in all the courts of Methodism; they also argued that as Methodism was now a church in its own right, the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper should be administered in Methodist chapels by Methodist preachers. As neither of these reforms found favour with the ruling party, the dissidents formed the Methodist New Connexion. There was a second breakaway in 1827, when the celebrated Leeds Organ case led to the formation of the Protestant Methodists, and a third in 1834 over the proposal to found a training college for the preachers, so the Wesleyan Methodist Association came into being. Even more serious was to come when, from 1844 to 1848, the Fly Sheets agitation eventually resulted in the formation of the United Methodist Free Churches (1857). For the rather sad and complicated story of these secessions, readers should turn to my book *Pastor and People* (1975); suffice it to notice here that all these secessions emphasized, in varying degree, lay participation in all the affairs of the connexion, including the administration of the sacraments. In other words, they were all, in one way or another, a revolt against ministerial autocracy in Wesleyan Methodism. This autocracy was, in turn, but the outward expression of the Wesleyan doctrine of the Pastoral Office.

The Bible Christians and the Primitive Methodists also strongly emphasized the part played by the laity.

In so far, then, as both secessions and offshoots were decidedly lay-orientated, one might have expected a united front against Wesleyanism, but as they were all so fiercely independent, each with its own life-style, union even on a limited scale was out of the question, and it was not until 1907 that the Methodist New Connexion, the Bible Christians and the United Methodist Free Churches came together to form the United Methodist Church. The fact was that, as movements protesting against Wesleyanism, they had " no collective view of Wesleyan ills . . . and . . . no uniform vision of the purpose of a separate body ".[1]

To sum up the position in 1932 : three bodies remained—Wesleyans with 517,551 members, Primitive Methodists with 222,021 members, and United Methodists with 179,527 members. The question is: Why was Union delayed so long, and why did it happen to come in 1932? We must now consider the reasons for union, and the difficulties encountered in achieving it.

II. The reasonableness of Union

On the face of it, the fragmentation of Methodism was wasteful, irrational and regrettable. No doubt the various secessions were justified in their time and their protests valid, but by the end of the

[1] D. A. Gowland: *Methodist Secessions* (Manchester, 1979), p. 169.

nineteenth century the time was ripe for a "get-together". Many reasons—some obvious, others less obvious—can be discerned for this.

1. In a letter to his followers in America, John Wesley wrote: "The Methodists are one people in all the world";[2] and nowhere should this have been more patently true than in the homeland. It was only natural that Methodists, however much they might differ in organization, should, with their common heritage and mission, be one body, but it was not until the Wesleyans admitted laymen to the Conference—which they did in 1878—that union with the "Free" Methodists could be discussed.

2. The twentieth century—and to some extent the last quarter of the nineteenth—was an age of unity, from the League of Nations and railway groupings to Church amalgamation. Church union took place in Scotland, in Canada, and in the United States. World Methodism was finding its focus and voice in its own Ecumenical Councils, which met first in 1881 and thereafter at ten-yearly intervals. Overlapping on the Mission-field was increasingly regretted, and the first great Missionary Conference was held in Edinburgh in 1910 and the World Conference on Faith and Order in 1927. The first World War brought men face-to-face with the realities of a sinful world, and dispelled much easy optimism and false security. It also created, in the aftermath, an idealism which, rightly or wrongly, made anything (including Methodist Union) seem possible.

3. Methodism, however, had to face reality within its own borders, namely decreasing membership and economic hardship. No church found shelter from the cold winds of materialism. The drift from the churches made huge buildings too large for the dwindling congregations and too expensive to maintain. For economic reasons, if not for organizational or theological reasons, the existence of a Wesleyan chapel on one side of the street and a PM chapel within earshot was plainly nonsensical.

4. Social differences were beginning to wear thin, and the lifestyle of the Primitive Methodist was not so very different from that of the Wesleyan or the United Methodist. It was a sign of the times that class distinctions were disappearing. The terms "upper", "middle" and "lower" had less meaning than of yore, and "Jack was becoming as good as his master", or at least a "Prim" little different from a Wesleyan. This factor must not be exaggerated, for whilst these distinctions were being gradually eroded, so as to be listed here as a spur to union, they were until the early twenties at the latest sufficiently marked as to act as an impediment to unity, as we shall see in the next section.

5. Polemical factors were looking rather out of date. It is well known that the Methodist New Connexion, the United Methodist Free Churches, and to a lesser degree the Primitive Methodists and the Bible Christians, existed as protests against certain aspects of

[2] *Letters*, viii, p. 260. (Letter to Ezekiel Cooper of Philadelphia.)

Wesleyanism, and that during the early years of the twentieth century Methodist Union was advocated as a potential deterrent to Anglo-Catholic tendencies in the Church of England. However, "Time makes ancient good uncouth", and as the century wore on, anti-Wesleyanism waned, though the continued spread of Anglo-Catholicism in the Church of England remained as a spur to the Union of 1932.

6. Finally, the theological climate was auspicious. Doctrinal differences between the Methodist bodies were real—real enough to provide the most serious stumbling-block on the road to unity, but the general tendency was for a blurring of the edges of controversy and a willingness to compromise. The Wesleyan doctrine of the Pastoral Office was defended by "The other side"[3] in a valiant but futile rearguard action, but once the surrender had come, unified Methodism could take its stand behind what John Kent calls "vague but respectable terms like 'evangelical' or 'the Reformation'".[4]

So, even though all seemed set fair for Methodists to unite, it took an unconscionably long time for them to achieve unity. To find out why this was so, we must now turn to the difficulties which the negotiators encountered.

III. Difficulties encountered

In a sense, Methodist Union was inevitable. What had happened in 1907, or even in 1857, was bound to reach its 1932 consummation; but the difficulties were so intricate and ingrained that it took twenty-five years to sort them out. It is a debatable point as to whether the War of 1914-18 hastened or retarded the process, but internally the differences were of ethos, organization, and doctrine. We shall consider them in that order, and in the next section see how they were surmounted by compromise.

1. There were differences of ethos; that is, social differences between the three Methodist bodies. Although (as we have seen) class distinctions were wearing thin, they had not entirely vanished, but still imparted a distinctive ethos to each of the negotiating bodies. The Wesleyans were branded as snobbish; ministers' stipends were higher than those of the Primitives and the United Methodists. They drew largely upon the upper middle classes—tradesmen and professional people. A recipe for success in many a town was "Take a corner shop and join the Wesleyans". Sons of Wesleyans went to Oxford and Cambridge, and there were more graduates among the Wesleyan ministers than among those of the other connexions. Wesleyans and many United Methodist ministers wore the clerical collar; Primitive Methodists generally preferred collar-and-tie. The Wesleyan minister, especially if he were a superintendent, was much more a man in authority than his Primitive or United Methodist counterpart. Politically the Primitives were much further left than the Wesleyans; in some places, especially in County

[3] See below, p. 108.

[4] *The Age of Disunity*, p. 4.

Durham, they were closely identified with the trades unions and the Labour Party. Therefore, as John Kent has said,

> this complicated pattern of social and historical prejudice goes a long way to explain why there was so much resistance to union in the Wesleyan ministry.[5]

Then there were the lay folk—the "people in the pew". In a way little known today, lay folk were closely identified with their own brand of Methodism; their lives stood or fell by its fortunes. Let a Wesleyan go on holiday on a Saturday, his first act would be to reconnoitre for a Wesleyan chapel in which he could worship next day—but it must be Wesleyan!—and the same applied, *mutatis mutandis*, for a Primitive or a United Methodist. To the layman of pre-Union days, the disappearance of his own denomination meant the end of a deep loyalty in his life.

2. When union became a talking-point and negotiations really began, much more serious difficulties were encountered. Differing traditions were matters of principle, and were held with equally deep sincerity on both sides. In the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, for instance, the Wesleyans used a liturgy, whereas the Primitives and the United Methodists abhorred a service "read out of a book". The Wesleyans communicated kneeling at the rail; in the majority of Primitive and United Methodist chapels communicants remained in their seats while the elements were distributed by the stewards, Presbyterian-fashion. In Wesleyan Methodism only ministers administered; in Primitive Methodism and in some branches of the United Methodist connexion laymen, generally local preachers, could and often did take the service.

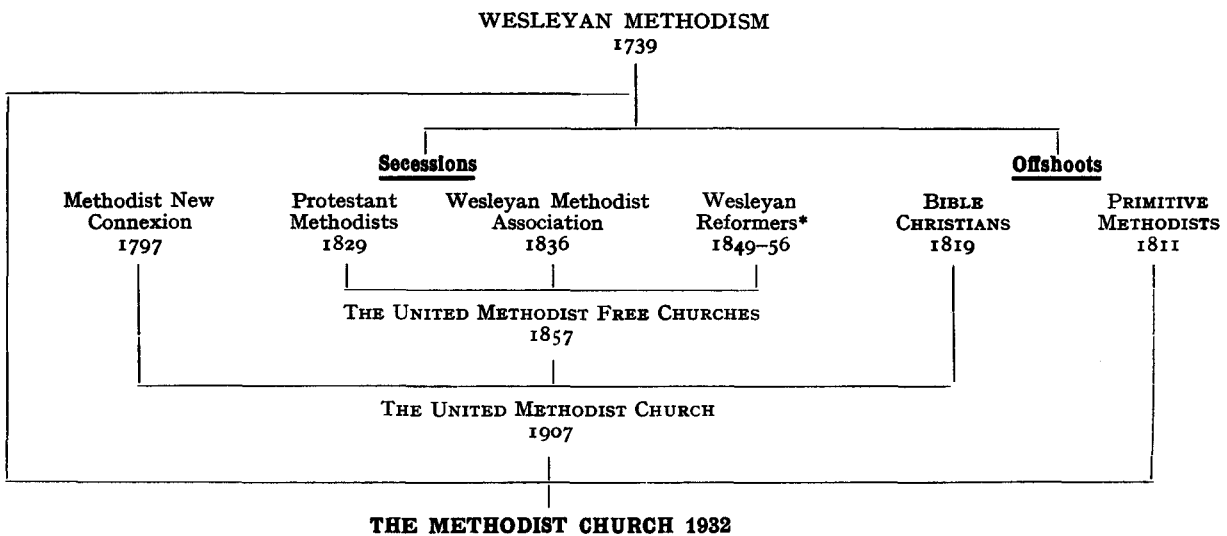
The Wesleyans were greatly attached to the works of the Wesleys —so much so that the other two bodies came to regard these as the preserve of the Wesleyans, and in the Union debates much discussion took place before it was agreed to accept Wesley's Sermons and *Notes on the New Testament* as the basis of our doctrinal standards.

Ordination in Wesleyan Methodism was by the laying-on of hands at a service held in association with the Conference. The United Methodists also ordained at Conference, but without the laying-on of hands, whilst ordination within Primitive Methodism always took place at the District Meeting.

3. Details of administration presented differences which were radical and complex. The protest of the Methodist New Connexion —the first of its kind against the polity of Wesleyan Methodism— was concerned with lay representation, and this remained a stubborn road-block on the way to unity. Until 1932, the Wesleyan Conference met in two sessions—one ministerial and the other composed of laity and ministers in equal numbers; at the heart of this Conference was the "Legal Hundred"—a self-perpetuating band of ministers first selected by John Wesley in 1784 in accordance with the Deed

[5] op. cit., p. 40.

Diagrammatic Illustration of the Branches of Methodism, 1739-1932



* NOTE—The Wesleyan Reformers were never organized into a separate denomination. They remained more or less within the Wesleyan Connexion, hoping to reform it from within. When this proved impossible, they joined with others to form the United Methodist Free Churches.

of Declaration. Against this procedure there had to be set that of the Primitive Methodists and the United Methodists, both of whom regarded a ministerial session with grave suspicion and had no sympathy with a "legal hundred" composed, as it was, entirely of ministers. The Primitive Methodist Conference was made up of two laymen to one minister; the United Methodist sat in parity of ministers and laymen. The task of finding a compromise between these incompatible traditions exercised the patience and ingenuity of the negotiators for many weary hours; with what result we shall see later.

In Wesleyan Methodism the minister was *ex officio* chairman of all local meetings. In United Methodism he had this right, but could be expelled from the chair for delinquency. In Primitive Methodism the minister, theoretically, had no such right at all, although in practice he probably chaired virtually all meetings by 1900.[6]

In Primitive and in United Methodism the offices of President and Secretary of the Conference were open to laymen; in Wesleyan Methodism these were always filled by ministers. In Wesleyan Methodism stationing was done by ministers in the Ministerial Session; in the other connexions laymen shared in the work.

4. With regard to doctrinal differences, opinions differ. Some historians maintain that there were no doctrinal differences separating the three uniting bodies. As far back as 1907, Dr. Scott Lidgett said, "The theology of all branches is identical", and this point of view persisted down the years, so that as recently as December 1981 the Rev. Benjamin Drewery, in an article in the *Methodist Recorder*, could state that doctrinally "there was no radical difference between the three negotiating bodies". If this were strictly true, one is tempted to ask: Why, then, was union so long delayed? The answer is that the reason for the delay was that there *were* "radical differences" between the three bodies, especially in the doctrine of church, ministry and sacraments. John Kent has argued (rightly, we think) that it was "the doctrinal factors which provided the real difficulty of the negotiations"—and it all stemmed from the Wesleyan conception of the Pastoral Office, which, inherited from John Wesley, moulded Wesleyan polity, shaped the form of the Conference, and, *inter alia*, explained why only ministers were allowed to administer the sacraments and why so much authority was vested in superintendents.

IV. Difficulties overcome

We have considered the difficulties confronting those who negotiated Methodist Union. We must now see how those difficulties were faced and overcome. The Union of 1932 was, of course, but the last of a series of attempts to weld the various bodies into some sort of unity. From 1860 onwards, various mutations were tried: UMFC–MNC (1867), BC–MNC (1868), W–BC–MNC (1886), UMFC–MNC (1886), PM–BC (1892), PM–UMFC–MNC (1895), and BC–UMFC–MNC (the successful grouping which formed the

[6] Robert Currie: *Methodism Divided*, p. 164 f.

United Methodist Church in 1907). Thus in 1907 there remained three major Methodist connexions—the Wesleyan Methodist, the Primitive Methodist, and the United Methodist—and it took until 1932 to bring these three into union. Proceedings were interrupted by the first World War, but in 1920 a scheme nearly achieved acceptance, only to be blocked by a last-ditch defence of high Wesleyanism by a group which came to be known as "The other side". However, this 1920 scheme became the basis of the eventual settlement. It is impossible, within the confines of this article, even to outline the progress of negotiations—so protracted were they and complex—so we must be content with a brief account of the final compromise which formed the constitution of the Methodist Church.

1. Concerning administration, and first of all Conference representation: parity of ministers and laymen was the obvious answer here, for this was the system already in vogue for both the Wesleyan and the United Methodist Conference, but it was more difficult to compromise on the Ministerial Session and the Legal Hundred, so highly prized by the Wesleyans. In the end, the Legal Hundred was dissolved in exchange for a band of Conference-elected Representatives consisting of thirty ministers and thirty laymen. "These shall retire in a rotation of ten Ministers and ten Laymen per year."[7] This was a move to give some continuity to the membership of Conference, as the floor of the house (i.e. the District representatives) changed every year. In return for this concession by the Wesleyans, the other bodies accepted a Ministerial Session to deal with ministerial matters but with no power to veto the decisions of the Representative Session. Another concession to Primitive and United Methodists was the appointment of a Vice-President elected from the ranks of the laity. With regard to the authority of the superintendent, the ex-Wesleyan after 1932 would find it considerably reduced, but the ex-PM and the ex-UM would find it increased.

2. With regard to the administration of the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, so deeply ingrained were the differing traditions that virtually nothing was changed to begin with. A *status quo* Standing Order stated that

> . . . it will be natural . . . for each Circuit to continue the practice of the Church denomination or Connexion to which it originally belonged [and] . . . the general usage of administration by Ministers . . . will continue. Where however it can be shown that any Church is deprived of a reasonably frequent and regular administration through lack of ministers the Circuit concerned may apply to the Conference for the authorisation of persons other than Ministers to administer the Sacrament.[8]

Nothing more than this could be enforced at the time, for it was clear that to the Wesleyans lay administration was a matter of expediency only, but to the other bodies it was a matter of principle.

3. Doctrinally, a major battle was waged between the heavyweights on both sides. The chief contest was over the place of

[7] *Minutes of the Uniting Conference*, p. 185. [8] ibid., p. 303.

Wesley's Sermons in the doctrinal standards. If the final compromise owed anything to one man, it was to that sagacious and far-sighted Primitive Methodist biblical scholar Professor A. S. Peake. He it was who steered his people to the acceptance of the formula that the Sermons and *Notes* were

> not intended to impose a system of formal or speculative theology on Methodist Preachers but to set up standards of preaching and belief which should secure loyalty to the fundamental truths of the Gospel of Redemption . . .[9]

With regard to the ministry, the high Wesleyan doctrine of the Pastoral Office virtually disappeared with the retreat of "The other side". This was not altogether surprising, for the Wesleyans had long been veering towards a "representative" view of the ministry so beloved of Free Churchmen in general and succinctly expressed by the *United Methodist Magazine* in 1922: "Free Methodism has always held that whatever was done by a minister could be equally done by a layman".[10] The Deed of Union was at pains to point out that there existed no priesthood differing in kind from that which is common to the Lord's people, but the Wesleyan idea (in this context I mean "going back to Wesley") of the office of a minister as one who was called "to watch over souls whom God commits to his charge as he that must give account"[11] was sunk without trace.

V. Conclusions

It is not the strict role of an historian to be either a prophet or a moralist, but this would be but an arid study if a few personal comments were not offered, even though it could not be expected that everyone would agree.

If the events of 1857, 1907 and 1932 have anything to teach us, it is that every union is a compromise, and that colourful characteristics are lost on both sides. In the case of 1932,

> Both the Wesleyan ideal of a free presbytery responsible only to God, and the reformed Methodist ideal of a genuine lay participation in all church acts, were compromised.[12]

And again:

> The Methodist Church was made possible because the Wesleyans took a long step to meet liberal Methodists and liberal Methodists took a longer step still to meet the Wesleyans. Both surrendered much ground, in hope.[13]

Furthermore, it is never wise to make extravagant claims as to what union will achieve. It was confidently expected that after 1932 Methodism would enter a new phase of revival, make an unmistakable impact upon the outside world, and prove an effective bulwark against the growing influence of Anglo-Catholicism in the Church of England, but none of these predictions has been fulfilled. Perhaps this is why the Silver Jubilee of Union was not celebrated. The excuse that such a celebration after fifty years would jeopardize

[9] ibid., p. 302. [10] Quoted in Currie, op. cit., p. 260.
[11] *Minutes*, 1744. [12] Currie, op. cit., p. 294. [13] ibid., p. 296.

the procedures regarding proposals for a Covenant of Unity affecting Anglicans, Methodists, Moravians and the United Reformed Church has been rudely shown to be irrelevant.

Opinions differ as to the post-1932 policies of the unified Methodist Church. It was one thing, and comparatively easy, to amalgamate at the top, that is to join together connexional departments and colleges, but quite another thing, and much more difficult, to decide which chapel, the Wesleyan or the PM, should close in the High Street. John Kent believes that more radical changes should have been made at circuit and District level from the start—that the new was too much like the old.[14] On the other hand, Robert Currie would have had local changes, especially chapel closures, done more gradually.[15] Be that as it may, economic factors alone would have enforced local closure, union or no. On the credit side, though, Dr. Currie calculated in 1968 that there were more members per chapel and fewer chapels per minister than there were in 1932,[16] which was some achievement of union. Certainly union has resulted in a Methodism which is more compact, and less wasteful of men and resources, and it has given us an opportunity to develop " Methodism as it is ", with a healthy participation between ministers and laymen. One could be forgiven for hoping that we shall be spared, at least in the immediate future, any attempt at further union, with its time-consuming negotiations and, in the end, its inevitable compromises.

JOHN C. BOWMER.

[14] *The Age of Disunity*, p. 14.

[15],[16] Currie, op. cit., p. 300.

MORE LOCAL HISTORIES

The Methodist Chapel and Schoolroom, Steyne Road, Seaford, Sussex —an illustrated souvenir and history to mark the dedication of the rebuilt schoolroom in 1981: copies, price £1, from Mr. P. O. Beale, 10, Cornfield Road, Seaford, East Sussex.

London Road Methodist Church [Horsham], by C. T. Haynes and J. Colin Tod—celebrating the 150th anniversary of Methodism in Horsham (pp. 24): copies, price £1 20p. post free, from Mr. Cecil T. Haynes, 61, Hillside, Horsham, West Sussex, RH12 1NF.

Methodism in Ashby, by M. G. White (pp. 18): copies, price 75p. post free, from the author at 4, Northfield Close, Scunthorpe, Lincs, DN16 2LE.

Methodism in Sturminster Newton, 1832-1932 (pp. 64): copies, price 70p. post free, from Mr. George Lydford, Avondale, Bath Road, Sturminster Newton, Dorset, DT10 1DU.

The Beginning of Methodism in Upper Teesdale and the story of Newbiggin Chapel, by Harold L. Beadle (pp. 36): copies from the author at 22, The Avenue, Richmond, Yorks, DL10 7AZ (no price stated).

The Story—commemorating the opening and dedication of Christ Church, Chichester (Methodist and United Reformed), 2nd October 1982 (pp. 12): copies, price 30p. plus postage, from Mr. J. Bailey, 2, Upton Road, Chichester, West Sussex, PO19 2QQ.

ROBERT FEATHERSTONE WEARMOUTH
(1882-1963): Methodist Historian

THIS year marks the centenary of the birth of R. F. Wearmouth, who was one of the most notable of the products of the last phase of Primitive Methodism. Born into a mining family, he left school at the age of twelve to become first a pit-boy, then a soldier, acquiring a commission, then again a miner. He found meaning and purpose in life and proper ambition in the "little chapel by the wayside", as he always affectionately called it, at Oxhill in County Durham. He became one of the foremost historians of the religious side of working-class consciousness. But that was when he was middle-aged and elderly! Before that, on leave from the Army, he had been converted at a Christian Endeavour meeting by the warm-hearted chapel life of his village and the preaching of his beloved mentor John Clennell, who gave him the rudiments of a sound education. He was trained for the ministry at Hartley College —one of "Peake's men". He was a Primitive Methodist chaplain in the first World War—a story written up later in *Pages from a Padre's Diary* (1958). Serving as a minister in Grimsby, Oakham, Birmingham, Penzance, West Ham, Willesden Green, Leighton Buzzard, Berkhamsted and South Bank and Eston, he eked out time to complete his M.A. degree at Birmingham and his B.Sc. and Ph.D. at London University when G. D. H. Cole, Harold J. Laski and H. L. Beales were teaching. In the end he was an esteemed extra-mural lecturer and a part-time history master at Berkhamsted School. This is a saga in itself of what Methodism was able to do for the underprivileged, for here was a man who could exercise not only a ministry *for* the poor but *with* the poor, for he was one of them.

This is the background of his pioneering work in chronicling the relationship of Methodism with the "common people". At a time when the religion of the people and "folk religion" are in vogue, typified by Hugh McLeod's *Religion and the People of Western Europe* (1981),[1] it is salutary to consider just how much Wearmouth *was* a pioneer in what is now a far more sophisticated enterprise backed up by tools of sociological analysis not available to him. I want in this article to outline what Wearmouth wrote and to attempt a brief critique of his thesis, indicating some of the directions in which the argument has been taken since his work.

The mid-1930s saw the appearance of three significant books in the historiography of the "middle years" of Methodism—Maldwyn Edwards's *After Wesley, 1791-1849* (1935), Ernest R. Taylor's *Methodism and Politics, 1791-1851* (1935), and R. F. Wearmouth's first and, in my estimation, his best book, *Methodism and the Working Class Movements in England, 1800-1850* (1937). Dr. Wearmouth clearly accepted the general thesis of Dr. Edwards and Mr.

[1] See the review on p. 135.—EDITOR.

Taylor, especially the familiar view that in Wesleyanism a "dominant Toryism" made way for an "underlying Liberalism". Wearmouth's background was quite different from that of the Cambridge-trained pupil of Kitson Clark and of the erudite Welshman. He was one of the last of those Methodist autodidacts who wrote his books as a circuit minister and in retirement. This is history "from below". The first book, basically his doctoral thesis, shows the way in which Methodist *methods* and *techniques*—the class system, class meetings, quarterly meetings, camp meetings, "the plan", and Conference—were picked up by the early working-class movements. Whilst the movements operated on parallel lines, there were also many Methodists deeply involved in the movement of working-class consciousness, especially Chartism and the early miners' unions. Wearmouth's case is clear, well argued, and influential. It is significant that a chapter in the Hammonds' study *The Town Labourer* was radically re-written in the light of Wearmouth's book. They speak, despite their strictures on its conservatism and quietism, of Methodism as "an admirable school of democrats equipping working men for popular leadership". The Methodist society gave opportunities to poor men to learn to speak in public, to organize common effort, and to take part in government and administration.

> As a mere exercise in self government and social life, the chapel occupied a central place in the affections and thoughts of people who had little to do with the government of anything else.[2]

Wearmouth's point about the widespread borrowing of techniques has never been disputed. E. P. Thompson, whilst propounding his own version of Halévy's thesis about stability, acknowledges Wearmouth's pioneering work and pushes it further:

> Those Wesleyan Annual Conferences with their "platform", their caucus at work on the agendas and their careful management seem uncomfortably like another "contribution" to the Labour movement of more recent times.[3]

A later book—*Some Working Class Movements of the Nineteenth Century* (1948)—contains a mine of information about the radical societies of 1816-23, the political unions of 1831-5, and the Chartists (1836-50), as well as the Luddites. Again there are parallels with Methodism. Sunday, 1st May 1842, was

> indeed a highday at Barnsley . . . at two o'clock in the afternoon there was a grand teetotal and anti-tobacco camp meeting on the Barebone; the preacher spun a long yarn about the "grand principles of the charter" and as was expected all Hull, Hell and Halifax were there.[4]

From 1837 to 1850 five hundred such meetings, on the Primitive Methodist pattern, were organized by the Chartists, at most of which hymns were sung, prayers offered, and political sermons preached. Wearmouth now needs to be supplemented by those fine studies of

[2] J. L. and B. Hammond: *The Town Labourer, 1760-1832*, II (1949 Guild Books edn.), p. 108; p. 95.
[3] E. P. Thompson: *The Making of the English Working Class* (1963 Pelican edn.), p. 47.
[4] p. 148.

Edward Royle: *Radical Politics, 1790-1900: Religion and Unbelief* (1971); *Victorian Infidels* (1974) and *The Infidel Tradition* (1976). Royle is particularly good on the influence of Thomas Paine and Richard Carlile, the Zetetic Societies, and the generally anti-religious nature of many of the radical groups perhaps underestimated by Wearmouth. The well-known astute articles of E. J. Hobsbawm —"Methodism and the threat of Revolution" in *Labouring Men* (1964) and the perceptive "Labour Sects" in *Primitive Rebels* (1959)—are also relevant here, especially the point about the relationship of Primitive Methodism to "one-industry" areas such as the Durham coalfield and the relationship of religion to the early unions. Hobsbawm stresses the strength of the "Primitives" in the semi-village (Durham, East Anglia, and the "miserable zone of petty and archaic industries in the West Midlands"). Hobsbawm also traces the infidel, rationalist element in English socialism, and is right to point to an "apostolic succession" from the English Jacobins and Francis Place through anti-religious Owenites and Co-operators on to the free-thinking radicals who followed Holyoake and Bradlaugh, to the SDF and the Fabians with their dislike of "tabernacle gas". We might add the "idealist stream", which takes up F. D. Maurice and the Christian Socialists, the Guild of St. Matthew, the CSU, Scott Holland, Gore, Temple and Clement Attlee and the contribution of Methodism with its element of meliorism rather than revolution. No one stressed this more than Wearmouth, and it includes Tommy Hepburn, George Loveless, Joseph Arch, George Edwards, Thomas Burt, Arthur Henderson, Jack Lawson and Len Murray.

The next book takes us back to origins and roots: *Methodism and the Common People of the Eighteenth Century* (1943), published during the War. I would think this rather underrated by historians. It contains a very clear account of working-class conditions, especially the food riots and deprivations and the role of the mob. John Walsh's articles "Methodism and the Mob" (*Studies in Church History* (eds. G. J. Cuming and D. Baker), vol. 8 (1972)) and "Elie Halévy and the rise of Methodism" (Royal Historical Society, Fifth Series, vol. 25 (1975)) and the writings of George Rudé, not to speak of E. P. Thompson's *Whigs and Hunters* (1975), fill out the picture now, but Wearmouth is by no means wholly dated, more especially since he shows how Methodism used people's talents, giving them scope in that strange combination of autocracy and democracy which became the Wesleyan system. Here was not, to use Thompson's phrase, "the chiliasm of the defeated and the hopeless",[5] but a society which fuelled the *aspirations* of the artisans whose numbers were very high in early Methodism, pointing to that "labour aristocracy" which features so much in recent writing and which was clearly influenced by Methodism and partly *produced* by it.[6]

[5] *The Making of the English Working Class*, p. 415.

[6] Cf. C. D. Field: "The Social Structure of English Methodism, Eighteenth to Twentieth Century", *British Journal of Sociology*, xxviii (1977), pp. 119-225.

Wearmouth's next book—*Methodism and the Struggle of the Working Classes, 1850-1900* (1954)—covered the later Victorian period. It illustrates his method—relentless and massive use of primary sources; no generalization without particularization! The contribution of Methodists to the unions in the North-East is established beyond a doubt, though at times Wearmouth overstates his case, attributing to Methodist influence what is true rather of some whom we may call "lapsed" Methodists. No doubt they took some of their Methodism with them. It acted often as a stepping-stone either to secularism or to the Establishment.

More recent work by Pamela Horn, A. R. Griffin, G. M. Morris and Colin P. Griffin[7] tends to support Wearmouth's assertion of Methodist influence on moderate "labour" politics, as does Nigel Scotland's recent *Methodism and the Revolt of the Field* (1981), which deals with East Anglian agricultural unionism, and James Obelkevich's outstanding *Religion and Rural Society: South Lindsey, 1825-75* (1976). Obelkevich shows Primitive Methodism appearing at a critical moment as the traditional culture was passing, "but before the subsequent working class culture had developed to replace it". Robert Moore's *Pitmen, Preachers and Politics* (1974) uses data from Wearmouth's own heartlands. Moore, however, shows that the conciliation style broke down in the 1920s with a breach between older styles of Methodist leadership and more abrasive styles of socialism, revealing weakness in Wearmouth's approach as lacking precise definition of socialism and the actual *policies* of the Methodists he lists.

The last large book was *The Social and Political Influence of Methodism in the Twentieth Century* (1958). This is Wearmouth's least convincing work. It begins with sections on the struggle of trade unions for full recognition, decent hours and living conditions, the birth of the Labour Party, and the development of the Welfare State. Then follows a section illustrating Methodist decline—due, Wearmouth believed, to lack of direct evangelism and revival and to Methodist Union itself, with its bureaucracy and large circuits. Union certainly led to further decline; but did Wearmouth really prefer a divided Methodism? Union in itself was hardly the *cause* of decline. The lack of any analysis of the secularization and de-Christianization of Western Europe is evident here. A. D. Gilbert's *Making of Post-Christian Britain* (1980) fills this gap to some extent. We then get the much more familiar Wearmouth style: details of Methodist involvement in local government typified by Wearmouth's friend Tom Benfold. The church was ready to service the "New Leviathan" with responsible, incorruptible people. The early Labour Party owed much, claims Wearmouth, to people like Arthur Henderson, Jack Lawson, Ellen Wilkinson and William Whiteley (all North-Easterners), and at local level Peter Lee. The book ends with a rather scrappy section on Methodist social thinking

[7] See volumes xxxvii and xxxix of these *Proceedings*.

—W. F. Lofthouse, S. E. Keeble and the rest—which can be supplemented by both Maldwyn and Michael Edwards's writings on the almost-forgotten Keeble. Contemporary history is difficult to write. Wearmouth didn't enhance his reputation by attempting it, though clearly his tributes to individuals will have evoked response with those who knew them.

The last two books were *Pages from a Padre's Diary* (1958), giving autobiographical insight into the war of 1914-18, which ties in with Alan Wilkinson's recent superb work on *The Church of England and the First World War* (1978), and *Methodism and the Trade Unions* (1959), a summary of the earlier books.

Wearmouth's books hammer home the thesis that Methodism—and more especially Primitive Methodism—made a vital contribution to the particular style which socialism assumed in the trade unions and the Labour Party. "The Labour Party is more Methodist than Marxist," said Morgan Phillips in 1951 in an oft-misquoted half-truth. At the level of ideology this is probably not the case; in idealism and personnel it was much more so. Wearmouth's thesis is supported, in the main, by the influential Harold Perkin in *The Origins of Modern English Society, 1780-1880* (1969). He shows how religion, especially Methodism, gave expression to emancipation from what he calls the "dependency system" before it hardened into overt class-antagonism, provided models of class-organization, and gave forth examples of the benefits of non-violent organization influencing class-conflict in the direction of non-violence, and so "administering an analgesic against the pains of labour".

One last and vital point which more recent researches would suggest is the possibility of the explanation of the parallelism between Methodism and radical social movements being that both were dominated by the "labour aristocracy". Engineers, cobblers, carpenters, blacksmiths, cutlers, bricklayers, small shopkeepers, printers, saddlers and harness-makers and the like who were becoming marginally prosperous (or retaining a poverty-stricken independence like domestic textile workers) were those who brought political consciousness to the British working class. Were not these the very strata of the population to whom both the moderate Chartists and the Methodists would make their appeal? Certainly the classes who gained self-expression and self-consciousness in the chapels were also those who were likely to take a lead either in the struggle for popular radicalism or in the politics of the class-struggle. The fluid mass beneath—whom Engels and more recently E. R. Wickham (*Church and People in an Industrial City* (1957)) and Kitson Clark (*The Making of Victorian England* (1962), chapter VI, "The Religion of the People") describe as being outside the reach of the churches altogether—in all probability escaped the influence of the politician and, at least until the "new" unionism, of the trade union organization also. The respectability of the "labour aristocracy" made a barrier between them and "fustian jackets, unshaven chins

and blistered hands"—a barrier made greater by the Temperance movement so well portrayed by Brian Harrison in *Drink and the Victorians, 1815-1872* (1971). The same style of thrifty worker would join a temperance group and a craft trade union. Dissatisfaction with one's position within the working class was in the nineteenth century more important politically than dissatisfaction with the position of the working class in society at large. The link between temperance, some forms of Dissent and liberal radicalism is clear enough. Temperance reformers were certainly straining towards a positive, collectivist view of the state which in T. H. Green's phrase was bound to remove "obstacles to freedom". Not for nothing were many radicals teetotalers and therefore frowned upon by Wesleyans who came later on the temperance scene. Dr. Harrison is right to point to the temperance movement as one of several mid-Victorian agencies delaying the emergence of any distinctive and lasting working-class ideology. This is another piece of evidence suggesting that Victorian England has elements (the role of the Sunday-school is another) in its working-class movements not to be found on the Continent, preventing English working-class ideology from becoming totally Marxist.

But let a near-Marxist, Harold J. Laski (certainly no friend of Methodism) have the last word:

> Dr. Wearmouth shows that the psychological influence of Methodism was to teach its votaries self-respect, self-confidence, the ability to organize and the ability to formulate their ideas, and his book [the first one] is an illuminating explanation of the foundations upon which some of the more characteristic of the features of the British Socialist Movement have been built.

That, indeed, was Wearmouth's achievement as an historian.

J. MUNSEY TURNER.

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SIR ISAAC HOLDEN, Bart. (1807-97)

His place in the Wesleyan Connexion

THREE generations of the Holden family were ardent followers of Methodism. Their individual experience in the Wesleyan Connexion extended from Wesley's lifetime to the close of the nineteenth century, when Methodism had become a church as well as a society.

By their thrift, industry and sobriety, Methodists prospered economically. Material possessions brought bourgeois respectability. The Industrial Revolution brought wealth to the self-made men, who by the last decades of the century became successful entrepreneurs. The careers of the Holden family illustrate in detail these generalizations.

As a result of one of John Wesley's missions to the mining villages of Cumbria in 1776, the grandparents of Isaac Holden were converted and joined the Methodist society. Holden's father, a lead-miner and tenant farmer at Nenthead, near Alston, was an "intelligent, kindhearted, hardworking and religious Cumberland farmer", according to his son, and he early acquired an intellectual superiority among his contemporaries through the Methodist society, where he spoke with eloquence at class meetings and as a local preacher.[1]

Search for work as a coal-miner took Holden's father to Scotland, where by 1822 he and his family had settled in Paisley and joined the Methodist chapel there. It had been built in 1810, largely through the efforts of Angus Love, who in 1832 became Isaac's father-in-law. Love's conversion to Methodism came in 1799, when as a young man he was a tailor in Leeds.[2] On his return to Paisley he was chapel trustee, local preacher and class leader, and taught in the Sabbath schools "a, b, c, to big boys and girls from 10 to 16 years of age".[3] He was to remain the bulwark of that society in the 1830s and '40s when schism was to decimate the congregation.[4]

Isaac Holden's early career in the Wesleyan Connexion

In 1824, at the age of seventeen, Isaac Holden decided to offer himself for the Wesleyan ministry. He was selected by a voluntary company for itinerant mission work in western Scotland, but found

[1] E. Crawford: "Sir Isaac Holden", *Review of Reviews*, Character Sketches (n.d.). H.P.B. 87 (i.e. Sir Isaac Holden Collection of Business and Family Papers, *c.* 1840-1897 (University of Bradford), package no. 87. Footnote references to other items in this collection are so styled throughout this article.)

[2] A. Love to A. Holden, 24th January 1850. H.P.L. Box 7/1 (i.e. Isaac Holden & Sons Ltd., West Riding Wool Textile Industry Business Records (University of Leeds), box no. 7, sub-package 1).

[3] A. Love to I. Holden, 6th January 1857. ibid., Box 7/8.

[4] I. Holden to J. Kennedy, 20th March 1835. ibid., Box 5/6. [For an account of Methodism in Paisley at this time see Dr. O. A. Beckerlegge's article in *Proceedings*, xxix, pp. 97 ff.—EDITOR.]

himself physically unable to fulfil the arduous tasks involved, and remarked that "strong men only need apply".[5] He had read Wesley's *Works*, borrowed from the library, and in 1825 began to preach. By 1828 he had written fourteen sermons and preached eleven, and had set forth upon a lifetime's task as a local preacher.[6] He became a candidate for the Wesleyan ministry from the Paisley circuit.

That year, following the death of his father and because of the need to support his mother and a younger brother, he took a teaching post at Queen Square Academy, Leeds. James Sigston, the headmaster, was a leader of Wesleyan Methodism in Leeds, who in 1828 was expelled from the society for reasons connected with the famous "Leeds Organ Case", and with others began the "Protestant Methodists". Holden was invited by Sigston to join them as a minister, but declined the offer and was in consequence dismissed.[7]

He then promptly accepted a post to teach English and Commerce at Lingards School, Slaithwaite, near Huddersfield. Applying to be recognized as a local preacher in the Huddersfield circuit, however, he was rejected on grounds considered "wholly unconstitutional".[8] His mother's comment was that "it was the will of God [he] should not be called out for a time".[9] Early in 1829 he was told by his headmaster that the vicar of Slaithwaite threatened to inform their patron, the Earl of Dartmouth, if "that Methodist" remained at the school.[10] So Holden decided to leave. Thus in that decade he was attacked not only by the established Church for being a member of a much-maligned society but also by disaffected persons from among his fellow-Methodists.

Undeterred, the year 1829 saw Holden as a teacher at Castle Street Academy in Reading, where he enjoyed a short period as a local preacher on the Reading circuit plan. His mother, however, reopened the idea of a career in the Wesleyan ministry. She wrote to say: "I would like you to keep yr. eye always upon the ministry, for remember, he that winneth souls is said to be wise."[11] Such psychological pressure from home, coupled with a breakdown in health, led to his return to Scotland in 1830, where he opened a small school for the teaching of Commerce, English, and Bookkeeping. Through the Methodist network—a kind of "bush-telegraph"—he was within six months invited to take up a post as book-keeper in the textile mill of Townend Bros. at Cullingworth, near Bingley in the West Riding of Yorkshire, at a salary of £100 per annum.

[5] Crawford, op. cit., p. 235. H.P.B. 87.
[6] Personal journal, 1824. ibid., 1B.
[7] *Leeds Mercury*, 27th May 1892. [For an account of the Leeds secessions, and Sigston's part therein, see the Rev. John T. Hughes's article in *Proceedings*, xxxvii, pp. 133 ff.—EDITOR.]
[8] Rev. E. Grindrod to I. Holden, 9th December 1828. H.P.L. Box 5.
[9] M. Holden to I. Holden, 23rd November 1828. ibid., Box 5.
[10] *Leeds Mercury*, 27th May 1892.
[11] M. Holden to I. Holden, 6th February 1830. H.P.L. Box 5.

Isaac Holden as textile inventor and technologist

The explanation for Holden's sudden change of career from teacher to textile technologist can be given. Certainly the offer of £100 per annum and a house came first, as it gave him the opportunity for marriage with Marion Love, his boyhood sweetheart. Secondly, he was to work for the Townend family, an old-established Wesleyan household dating its conversion from William Grimshaw's ministry at Haworth (1742-63). Holden was thus assured of a welcome to the Bingley circuit.[12] His social standing in that community was secure, and was valued. Finally, he was in a position to pick up the threads of his early instruction from the age of ten, alongside his days in Scottish schools, as a "drawboy to weavers, on looms of a novel and elaborate construction", then as a "piecing apprentice" in a cotton-mill, to be followed when he was thirteen years old by an apprenticeship to a shawl-weaver in Paisley. Holden's comment in old age on this turn in his career and his return to the West Riding was simple: "I did not care so much about bookkeeping as about the opportunity thus presented of getting amongst machinery."[13]

He remained at Cullingworth for sixteen years, dividing his time between the perfecting of machinery for combing wool to a degree not possible by handcombers and as a circuit steward, class leader and local preacher in the Methodist community where he no longer feared ostracism or dismissal. He was said to have given discourses

> more of a philosophical character than are generally heard from lay preachers; in fact they verged on what might be termed the metaphysical . . . as was the custom of the day, they were long.[14]

It is interesting to note that during this period an exodus of Wesleyans from Paisley took place. They joined the great migration to England and overseas. With Holden's help and advice, many of them obtained posts in the West Riding as engineers in mills and on railways and canals.

Holden himself spent every Sunday preaching in some village chapel on the Pennine moorlands around Cullingworth, travelling to his appointments on horseback. In 1843 he was asked to preside at a missionary meeting in the circuit "for the sake of getting you for a single day beyond the steam and smoke and clatter of the mills".[15] Dedication to the missionary work of the society remained a strong priority throughout his life.

His devotion to Methodism, linked with his recognition of the importance of education from his Scottish schooldays, led to a determination to open a Wesleyan day-school at Cullingworth. In 1840 the free school there was closed and the freehold sequestrated

[12] I. Holden to Rev. W. Jessop, 19th December 1843. H.P.L. Box 6/4.
[13] *Leeds Mercury*, 17th May 1892.
[14] *Methodist Times*, 26th August 1897.
[15] Rev. W. Jessop to I. Holden, 12th December 1843. H.P.L. Box 6/4.

by the local vicar, determined to build a National School on the land. Holden took up the trustees' case, and appealed to H.M. Inspector Tremenhere on behalf of the free school. He petitioned for part of the freehold property to start a school in accordance with the decision of the Wesleyan Conference of 1837 to build day- and infant-schools. The school opened in the trust's building near to Townend's mill, and provided for "half-timers as young as 8 years old"—a policy which it was hoped would "work well for the masters hereafter".[16] This view, be it noted, was quite acceptable to society in the 1840s.

The setting-up of such a school led Isaac Holden to join the controversy concerning Graham's proposed Factory Bill in 1843. The Bill threatened to establish an Anglican monopoly of factory schools. Nonconformists began a campaign for equality with the Church of England in both educational and religious matters. They demanded the right to their own schools, and the principle of "voluntaryism" became their slogan. Holden wrote to the editor of *The Sun* newspaper upon this issue. He stated that Wesleyans were not anxious to see National Schools set up with the support of public funds taking control of education. He proposed that non-sectarian teacher-training schools be set up with government support, to award diplomas by examination, in order to raise teaching standards.[17] These suggestions antedate the 1846 Privy Council Minutes written by J. K. Shuttleworth, and reveal Holden's intelligent appraisal of schooling requirements. As a result of nonconformist pressure, grants were made to their denominational schools, and Graham's Bill was withdrawn.

By 1846, in consequence of his dedicated and expert knowledge of the textile process, Holden had become manager of Townend's mill, and because of his improved status was able to send his two sons to the recently-opened Methodist boarding-school, Wesley College, Sheffield, where they were educated for two years. Their withdrawal from Wesley College coincided with the failure of the small-scale textile mill he set up on his own account in Bradford from 1846 to 1848 and with the premature death of his wife from tuberculosis.

The year 1848 was one of crisis for Holden. He thought seriously of emigrating to America, encouraged to do so by a group of Wesleyan friends from Bingley, already established in New York State.[18] As a widower, with two sons and two younger daughters, he decided against that proposition. Instead, he accepted a proposal by Samuel Lister, Bradford's dynamic mill-owner and inventor of textile machinery, with whom he had worked on a joint machinery invention in 1847, to set up a mill for the combing of wool in France, in an effort to capture a virgin market.

[16] J. Baker to I. Holden, 22nd February 1844. H.P.L. Box 6/5.
[17] I. Holden to Editor, *The Sun*, 6th May 1843. ibid., Box 6/4.
[18] W. and N. Northrop to I. Holden, 16th May 1848. ibid., Box 6/9.

Isaac Holden's Methodist mission in France, 1849-63

The events of 1848 to 1851 within the Wesleyan Connexion in Britain were to change the nature of the church and lead ultimately to the triumph of Liberal Methodism—a movement in which Holden was to play an important part as a layman. His removal to France in 1848 took him out of the furore within the society, and he was not to witness the blood-letting of the 1849 Conference, when Jabez Bunting was attacked for his political and pro-Church views. Instead, he was to operate in almost virgin territory at the mill community created by him at Grand Barrage, St. Denis, Paris.

St. Denis, celebrated for its cathedral, the burial-place of the kings of France, was a small town with manufactories along the canal. The work-force at Grand Barrage was formed initially of textile operatives from Bradford and Scotland who held key positions there. By 1851 there were 350 workpeople on the roll—English mechanics, woolsorters, combers, warehousemen, and French workers, both men and women.

Motivation at St. Denis centred on Wesleyan worship and paternalistic management. At Mill House, where the Holden family and some of the Bradford workers lived, there was family worship morning and evening, when a hymn was sung, a chapter read, and prayers said.[19] On Sundays there was morning and evening service in a chapel-building in the mill yard for the English employees, the service being taken by visiting Wesleyan preachers or else by local preachers, English and French.[20] Isaac Holden included himself in the rota of preachers, and also encouraged members of his work-force to do the same. The most notable of these was Charles Faulkner. He astonished visitors by his abilities as a preacher, and could be called upon in an emergency to take a service, as at the funeral of Holden's nephew, who died aged thirteen during a cholera outbreak in France in 1855.

Commitment to Wesleyan Methodism was reinforced for Holden when in 1850 he married Sarah Sugden, then aged forty-five. They were to enjoy forty years of married life, until her death in 1890. The importance of that marriage cannot be underestimated. In many ways it determined the course of Holden's later career, and returned him to public life in Yorkshire's West Riding.

The Sugden family were old-established worsted manufacturers at Oakworth in the Worth Valley. As head of the family, Jonas Sugden, Sarah's eldest brother, was a shrewd businessman, and his firm's name was a byword for stability and success in the textile trade. The Sugdens were staunch Wesleyan Methodists. Jonas, a well-known local preacher, attended meetings every weeknight, acting also as sick visitor and as host to visiting Wesleyan preachers at Oakworth. As a mill-owner he enforced certain rules on his

[19] S. Holden to J. Sugden, n.d. [? 1850]. H.P.B. 22.
[20] *Methodist Times*, 26th August 1897.

employees. These included attendance at a place of worship on Sunday, and attendance of their children at Sunday- and day-schools from the age of six. Other rules dealt with aspects of moral behaviour: no gambler or drunkard to be employed, and when young persons "fell into sin" they must marry or face dismissal. A sick club to which the firm contributed gave help to the needy.[21]

Sarah Sugden played her part in the Wesleyan community at Oakworth, where she was class leader for the womenfolk, and had charge of the Dorcas group. When Jonas Sugden married, she took charge of the family home and was housekeeper for her unmarried brothers. The family was well acquainted with Holden from his time at Cullingworth in the spheres of both textiles and religion. As a widower in 1849, Holden would be well aware that marriage into such a family would enhance his social status and provide stability.

It was a marriage between a middle-aged couple, united initially by their Wesleyan way of life and by a shared experience of dedication to the textile industry. Transported to life in France, without any knowledge of the language, Sarah entered the small expatriate community at St. Denis as an outsider with an entrenched domestic entourage and four motherless children. She complained that she would feel more comfortable if she had a "Christian society" to mix with and an "English establishment to inspect".[22] As a determined and independent woman, she was to establish herself as hostess to the streams of Wesleyan visitors invited there. Familiar as she was with the Wesleyan ethic of hard work and thrift, she supported her husband in his management to the full.

Her first concern was for the education of the children. Suitable boarding-schools were found. Edward Holden spent a year at Sion House Academy in Jersey,[23] before moving on to Dr. David Gunton's Wesleyan school at Soham, Cambridge.[24] Mary and Margaret Holden stayed two years at the Ladies' School, Moravian Chapel, Gomersal (Yorks), then went to The Priory, Pontefract.[25] Mrs. Holden had known the Misses Watts, who ran the latter school, for several years, so the girls spent four happy years there until 1858, when Mary came of age and Margaret was sent to a very progressive Wesleyan young ladies' school—Laleham Lodge, Clapham Park, Surrey.[26]

Mrs. Holden joined her husband in their care for the mill community. A class meeting was held weekly, led by either Isaac or Sarah. In 1852 the chapel was officially reopened after alterations

[21] J. Hodgson: *Textile Manufacture and other Industries of Keighley* (Keighley, 1878). [22] S. Holden to I. Holden, 1850. H.P.B. 21.

[23] Sion House Academy, Jersey. H.P.L. Box 5/16.

[24] D. Gunton to I. Holden, ——July 1854. ibid., Box 7/4/1.

[25] Prospectus, The Priory, Pontefract. ibid., Box 5/6.

[26] Prospectus, Laleham Lodge, 9th November 1859. ibid., Box 7/10. [For Laleham Lodge, see also Dr. Clyde Binfield's *Belmont's Portias* (Dr. Williams's Library, 1981).—EDITOR.]

and decoration had been carried out. Jonas Sugden wrote to say that his sister would "now be better satisfied with France as she has got a chapel so near". From all the available evidence regarding Sarah Holden's character, there is nothing to support the stereotype of a meek and submissive Victorian wife or stepmother.

The reopened chapel was officially graced by the presence of Dr. Charles Cook, the respected leader of the Wesleyan mission in France, who preached there on 21st March 1852.[27] In January 1853 one of the best-known Wesleyan preachers in England, the Rev. William Arthur, paid a visit:

> The chapel was crowded to suffocation by a most respectable congregation, even in the steps of the gallery and the pulpit, and people stood in the aisles. Mr. Arthur was in raptures about the cleaning of the chapel and repairs.[28]

When a preacher visited St. Denis, Holden took the opportunity to enlist his aid with moral problems among the workpeople. One man, a Methodist class-member and so bound by the rules of the society, had been seen drunk. Confession having been made to the preacher, Holden said that he must now dismiss him, but at the same time he felt sorry for "his poor wife and family".

All his workers were free to join the chapel community, but no pressure was put upon them to do so. In a speech to them at the Christmas dinner and party in 1857, he made this remark:

> . . . Let me recommend religion—don't be jealous, I will regard you without prejudice if possible if you are not religious—but I would choose a religious man and love him the more—who would not, if rightly informed?[29]

Membership of the society stood workers in good stead when they applied to join the Lister–Holden concern. Once there, the chapel provided a welcoming community, especially when workers were living in a foreign land.

The success of the St. Denis chapel-centred community led Holden to apply the model to the two factories he was to build in 1853 at Croix (Roubaix) and Reims. Land was bought, and mills, workshops, chapels, mechanics' institutes, and housing for both workers and managers constructed. In each place a "cité anglaise" was created. The Holden works at Reims were destined to be destroyed by German bombardment in 1918; those at Croix survived until 1938, when the threat of war brought the reluctant decision to close.

At both Croix and Reims comfortable enclaves were built for the English workpeople. At Croix a little chapel and schoolroom were built in 1861, to be looked after by Charles Faulkner, the workman and lay preacher from St. Denis. In 1858 he chose to study

[27] St. Denis Chapel. *Holden–Illingworth Letters*, published privately, Bradford, 1927. (Bradford Central Reference Library.)
[28] I. Holden to S. Holden, 2nd January 1853. H.P.B. 24.
[29] I. Holden, Memorandum book, 1856-7. ibid., 91.

for the Anglican ministry, and was then posted to the Pas de Calais diocese. From there he linked up with Croix. Ordained in 1861, he returned permanently to Croix, where the Holdens were happy for the Prayer Book service to be used, in order that Faulkner should remain. So popular was he that a visiting Wesleyan minister remarked wistfully that in the weekly prayer meetings " they pray for Mr. Faulkner often, but not for *me* "![30] The manager of the mill—one of Holden's nephews—played the organ, and Holden himself confessed that the services there were so " profitable and agreeable . . . it was enough to reconcile one to chanting " !

In addition to the chapel at Croix, both a Sunday-school and day-schools were opened for the children of the English workers in 1861, and the daughter of the Wesleyan preacher at Reims was engaged to take charge.

Likewise at Reims a " cité anglaise " was created by the family firm of " I. Holden et Fils ". Houses for both French and English staff and work-force were built. A communal wash-house, lecture hall, games and recreation room, a school, and a handsome Wesleyan chapel for the English were provided. The chapel was said to be architecturally "a gem, due to the talent of Alphonse Gosset ".[31] Unfortunately it has been demolished to make way for suburban development.

Isaac Holden's part in Foreign Missions

The arduous task of setting up and managing three woolcombing concerns at St. Denis, Croix and Reims in the 1850s in no way deflected Holden from his commitment to the wider cause of Methodism in Europe.

The Methodist Church in France was the offspring of the Channel Islands Mission sent there by Wesley in 1783. The Conference of 1791 sent a Guernsey local preacher to look after a small Protestant body in Normandy, and thence to Paris. Little progress was made in the abnormal climate of the French Revolution, and it was not until 1818 that Conference sent Charles Cook to Paris, where he was to remain for forty years. Among his followers was the Hocart family from Jersey, with whom Holden was to establish a long and friendly relationship. Dr. Cook, a frequent visitor to the Holdens' home at St. Denis, obtained entry into a number of Protestant churches on the premise that Methodism was not a church, but an amalgam of societies.

In 1852 the French Conference at Nîmes (where there was a strong Wesleyan society) declared itself an independent separate church, with 821 members and 18 ministers. Cook was accused of deceit; but independence was essential, due to Napoleon III's distaste for foreign missionaries on French soil.[32] The Missionary

[30] A. Naylor to I. Holden, 5th February 1862. H.P.B. 3A.
[31] *La Dépêche*, Reims, 12th October 1922, quoted in *Holden–Illingworth Letters*.
[32] See G. G. Findlay and W. W. Holdsworth: *History of the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society* (Epworth Press, 1921-2), iv, p. 454.

Secretaries—prominent among whom was William Arthur—decided that Methodism in France must be French. Each station was to have a conference of its own and be financially independent, not drawing on the Missionary Fund.[33]

Self-support proved difficult, as members were poor. Stations in northern France were scattered, and in the South there were numerous small Protestant denominations. Holden's entry into the French mission-field was doubly welcome. His ardent faith and efficiency in organization were coupled with generous financial support. Sarah Holden shared his ardour, and her sister-in-law was moved to liken Sarah's lot to that of a missionary's wife surrounded by savages, with the proviso than residence in France was among "civilised people [with] its comforts and convenience".

The Holden family worshipped officially with the Wesleyan community in Paris, meeting in a room at the rue de l'Oratoire. Isaac Holden gave liberal financial support, and was made treasurer of that society. As a member of the Finance Committee, he attended the French Wesleyan Conference in 1853, where he found "a strong principle of spiritual life in our French cause", which brought a revival in the South of France.[34]

Mr. and Mrs. Holden paid several visits to the Nîmes society, and some of their members went to work at St. Denis. Numerous requests for monetary aid were made to him. They range from "an isolated chapel on the Moselle" to Calais, Lille, Côte d'Or, and Nîmes. None was refused. The Paris minister praised Holden "for the good you have done for the cause of Evangelism in France".[35]

A special relationship was established with the Hocart family in Switzerland. Hocart himself had built at Lausanne not only a Methodist chapel, but also a seminary for the training of Methodist preachers. He was for many years dependant upon Holden for large-scale loans to enable him to create a going concern there.[36] After Holden's return to England in 1861 the two men kept up their friendship, and in 1863 spent a long walking holiday together in the Swiss Alps. They climbed to the St. Bernard Hospice, and stayed with the monks there.

By 1865 Holden, as the result of unrivalled success in combing fine wool in France, was a wealthy man. His residence there had given him the desire and the means for long continental holidays around the Mediterranean. In 1867 an extended visit to Italy was undertaken. He took a lively interest in the Methodist stations there. A visit was made to the Methodist community in Naples, and this was followed up by a lively correspondence with the

[33] W. J. Townsend, H. B. Workman and G. Eayrs: *A New History of Methodism* (Hodder & Stoughton, 1909), II, pp. 43-4.
[34] I. Holden to S. Holden, 7th September 1853. H.P.B. 24.
[35] J. Eberhard to I. Holden, 9th August 1857. ibid., 64.
[36] J. Hocart to I. Holden, 22nd April 1864. H.P.L. Box 4.

Welsh minister in residence, T. W. S. Jones. Jones was particularly scornful of the near-pagan attitude of the Roman Catholic church to the eruptions of Vesuvius. Together with his wife, Jones ran both Sunday- and day-schools for his people. Mr. and Mrs. Holden gave generously to support their efforts, and were told that the schools prospered "slowly but surely".[37]

The church in Naples was housed in fine premises—once a ducal palace—"a stone's throw of the old Bourbon palace". Protestant missions had been opened there as a result of Garibaldi's triumph in 1860, and some of the Italian ministers there were old Garibaldian soldiers, recruited by him in South America.

One of the oldest Methodist stations in Italy, at the Instituto Internazionale in Padua, was visited by Holden in 1873, when he was asked for funds to help finish the chapel.[38] Financial support to these missions in a country predominantly Catholic was at that time a sound investment. Until 1860 the evangelical cause had been kept alive by the Waldensians in remote valleys of Upper Piedmont, without any state support. The Methodist churches had the advantage over the Waldensian after that date, being in close corporate contact with powerful, vigorous churches outside, from whom financial aid and inspiration stemmed. The British preachers at Padua and Naples, together with a small band of Italian fellow-ministers, and backed by the Wesleyan Church, made a considerable contribution to life there.

Mr. and Mrs. Holden must have experienced a sense of authentic Wesleyan mission in an alien field during their residence in France under the Second Empire. They provided an oasis of Wesleyan piety at St. Denis, in proximity to Paris; upon which Sarah made this comment:

> Mr. Holden shewed me some parts of Paris, in order to give me some idea how the Sabbath was spent, but I do assure you it gave me no pleasure, but great pain.[39]

On her return to England she was thanked by the Paris minister for her continued interest and financial support "in the work of Christ in this gay, wicked city".[40] That return was not without regrets. Another minister enjoined her to resume class leadership:

> This is a very important step. It will be a cross to you, but I think you should follow the cloud here. We do not wonder you have lingerings for France, your position there was so important and useful.[41]

ELIZABETH JENNINGS.

(To be continued)

[Elizabeth Jennings, M.A. (Oxon), Ph.D. (Bradford) retired as Principal Lecturer, Department of History, Sheffield City Polytechnic, in 1978. A native of Haworth (Yorks), she was familiar with the wool-combing trade. Sir Isaac Holden's career is recorded in her doctoral thesis.]

[37] Rev. T. W. S. Jones to I. Holden, 15th April 1864. H.P.B. 3A.
[38] Instituto Internazionale, Padua to I. Holden, 1st March 1873. H.P.L. Box [9/1.
[39] S. Holden to J. Sugden, 1850 (?). H.P.B. 21.
[40] Rev. H. P. Wilson to S. Holden, 31st December 1861. H.P.L. Box 4.
[41] Rev. J. Mayer to S. Holden, 18th February 1862. ibid., Box 8/8.

SCOTTISH METHODISM IN THE EARLY VICTORIAN PERIOD

[The volume bearing the above heading as its title, and sub-titled *The Scottish Correspondence of the Rev. Jabez Bunting, 1800-1857*, edited by Dr. Alan J. Hayes and Dr. David A. Gowland, has been published by the Edinburgh University Press (1981), pp. viii. 144, price £8.]

THIS work consists for the most part of material from the Methodist Church Archives and elsewhere not included in the two volumes of Bunting correspondence edited by Professor W. R. Ward—*The Early Correspondence of Jabez Bunting, 1820-1829* (1972) and *Early Victorian Methodism : The Correspondence of Jabez Bunting, 1830-1858* (1976)—and, in rounding off the publication of selections from this source, completes one of the most valuable enterprises in Methodist historical scholarship for many years. At the same time it places Scottish Methodism among those local and regional areas of Methodist development of which the published histories in the last two decades have gone more and more to show that it is more accurate to differentiate several sorts of Methodism rather than to speak dogmatically of Methodism *tout court*. It is this critical historical dimension which distinguishes the treatment in this work of Methodism in Scotland from its last substantial treatment in the late Rev. Wesley F. Swift's Wesley Historical Society Lecture of 1947, and emphasizes the value of the work done by such branches of the Wesley Historical Society as the Scottish, to whose *Journal* substantial reference is made in the notes of the present work.

The editors provide a useful introduction to the 127 letters published. This introduction covers not only the now familiar ground of Bunting's role in the moulding of Methodist organization in the first half of the nineteenth century, but also, more valuably, the developments in the distinctively Scottish ecclesiastical situation which led up to the Disruption in the Church of Scotland in 1843. This event sent into orbit another model of ecclesiastical organization, the Free Church of Scotland, with which the relations of Methodists were as ambiguous as they were with the established churches north and south of the Border and with historic dissent in England. Drs. Hayes and Gowland follow the convenient practice established by Professor Ward in printing explanatory footnotes and references at the end of each letter, and only on the last page of the text does this system break down. There a note identifying Cardinal Wiseman has got mislaid, and to the Cardinal is attributed the career of Dr. Thomas Coke. Wiseman would have been embarrassed, Coke might not have declined the red hat, and Alexander Kilham would have found his most jealous suspicions confirmed by such an eschatological elevation! The transcriptions of the original documents must have presented many problems, not least because of the experimental character of some of the correspondents' spelling. I have discovered only two glaring errors: Samuel Dunn was presumably

"determined to strengthen the stakes [not shakes] . . . of our Zion" (p. 72), and on page 101, in Letter 80, "work" should read "week". The 18 plates in the work include pictures of Scottish Methodist chapels, portraits of Bunting himself and of some of the more prominent of his correspondents, and facsimiles of parts of three of the letters printed in the text.

The editors conclude their introduction with the judgement that if Bunting had not existed he would have been a necessary invention, but it would be superficial to assume that the problems which his Scottish correspondents rehearsed were only a particularly exasperating version of similar problems which his English correspondents brought to his notice. Money went freely into Scotland to relieve financial hardship, chiefly the result of over-optimistic chapel-building, and Bunting was not alone in protesting that it would be no great loss if the whole of Scottish Methodism were to be put up to auction. But if we compare this experience with the success of Chalmers's fund-raising for church extension—a programme which was one of the precipitants of the Disruption—we are brought up against the radically different situation which Methodism faced in Scotland. One Dundee church, built but not paid for, was put up for public roup [*anglice* auction] after the Disruption, and went to the new Free Church, which commanded the hearts and minds—and the pockets—of a substantial and shrewd section of the community. A petty wrangle over payment for furniture in an Aberdeen Methodist manse dragged its weary way through two Conferences. Yet when in 1824 Samuel Dunn, in the Shetland mission-field, found the local cost of glass for his manse and three chapels too high, he had only to lobby the London Methodist MP Joseph Butterworth, through Adam Clarke, for the glass to be sent by sea within a month. Nor did Clarke, in his promotion of the Shetland work—an apostolate or *episcopé* perhaps—fail to warn against the "Calvinist" establishment: "the dog in manger wretches will now throw in their Decree men to unhinge a people whom they did not before strive to save" (p. 47). Few of the other ministers in the Scottish circuits were as blunt as Clarke, but the complaint he voiced runs through all the correspondence. In 1801, the probationer Thomas Preston writes from Edinburgh:

> The great bar which prevents Methodism from prospering in this Country is the Doctrines of Calvin [being] nearly universally received, so that as soon as a general salvation is offer'd we are looked upon as deceiver[s] of the People . . . At present Salvation is seldom heard in the churches, the Gospel being preach'd rather as a system of Doctrines than as Truths which are to be experienced. (p. 26)

In 1846, George Scott pleaded from Aberdeen for the continuing

> "testimony" of Methodism in favour of spiritual mindedness, and Christian fellowship . . . I . . . strongly fear certain tendencies in favour of a *respectable* Scotch Methodism, a Methodism without the Communion of Saints which if yielded to will be the cutting of Samson's locks, and we shall become quiet, weak, formal and carnal as any of the petrified Presbyterians around us. (p. 119)

Gossip pretends to the dignity of diagnosis when the Edinburgh evangelical physician John Coldstream in 1839 says of his fellow Presbyterians that "instead of their religion leading them to God, they make a god of their religion" (p. 88). The dilemma is a perennial one, and probably not absent from Coldstream's endeavours in the Medical Missionary Society and the post-Disruption Free Church. This ideological dilemma—the incompatibility of the extremes of Methodism and Calvinism—was equally capable of transmission across the generations and out to the mission frontier. Scholars of the Bible Christians will recall Sam Pollard, temporarily cooped up in 1887 in a China Inland Mission station on the Yangtze:

> . . . their rank Calvinism and persistent longing for our blessed Lord to come and do the Emperor, I don't like. These ideas must necessarily influence all their methods of work. I don't want Christ to come down to reign as an Emperor. Let us have the meek and lowly Jesus as our King until the world is won, and when we leave here let us enter into the other Kingdom.[1]

Pollard could overcome his disgruntlement with a noisily triumphant —and sweaty—all-night prayer meeting, and take off to the freed spirit's open places; Wesleyans in Scotland had to wear their rue with a difference.

It is noteworthy that in the pioneering days of Methodism in Scotland the societies frequently occupied disused Episcopalian chapels —disused because of the penal legislation against Episcopalians introduced after the 1745 Jacobite rising. The hegemony of Presbyterianism thereafter meant that there was not in Scotland that empty territory between Establishment and Dissent which Methodism was able to occupy in England, so that in Scotland the fate of a religious movement such as Methodism was the same as it was in Lutheran Germany, where a secure and confident establishment could contain new movements and push their most zealous exponents to the margins of society. The identity of religion and society in Scotland in a Presbyterian mode continued in a national dimension the *societas perfecta* of mediæval Christendom. Whereas English Methodism could, perhaps in an inarticulate way, appeal to the old radical Puritan concern for "casting off the Norman yoke" and taking the light of the Gospel to the "dark places of the land", in Scotland the yoke was English and already cast off, and the evangelicals in the Church of Scotland could handle the problems of the unchurched new industrial areas. What is noticeable in the picture of Scottish Methodism which these letters present is the absence of those laymen of "affluence and influence" whom Bunting discerned as the support of what he understood as a truly Wesleyan pastorate. Yet Bunting's protégé John Maclean in 1855 could look back wistfully to

> the *primitive Church* and . . . our primitive Methodism. Have you not noticed how the godly men of business of Mr. Wesley's days, got superseded by the spiritual men, and how the secular spirit accumulated upon our poor but pious leaders thereby, has been exploding in our

[1] W. A. Grist: *Samuel Pollard* (n.d.), p. 20.

leaders and Quarterly Meetings whenever the external atmosphere has become favourable . . . ? (p. 132)

The change from "primitive" to "Primitive" in Methodist development encapsulates all the ironies. The Scottish experience of Methodism may suggest that whilst the structure established by Wesley—the itinerant ministry, the societies, the pastoral office—could serve as an evangelizing instrument, it was not calculated to promote an alternative territorial church where the need for one was not felt, or to sustain the less anxious continuities of a "gathered church" where the social environment was alien. When Bunting writes to Chalmers in the interests of the Evangelical Alliance his glib and artificial rhetoric anticipates much of that striking of attitudes which was to be the characteristic posture of too much of later Victorian Nonconformity in its public face. And yet they had to

> . . . long to
> Be where they've never been that they may long to
> Be where they really are.[2]

The behaviour of Methodism in Scotland may be seen in a different perspective if we look at a movement of renewal that developed in the Church of Scotland in the present century. It took a World War and a period of industrial depression to produce the Iona Community under the leadership of George McLeod and T. R. Morton; what Wesley or Calvin might have made of such a reflection we need not speculate upon.

A. N. CASS.

[The following slips should be corrected:
p. vii—"J. Radcliffe" should read "F. Ratcliffe";
p. 85 note 5—"1763" should read "1796";
p. 91 note 1—"Patley Bridge" should read "Pateley Bridge";
p. 127 note 4—"Pars Wood" should read "Parrs Wood".
Joseph Entwisle appears as "Entwistle" on pages 55-6 and 58, and in the Index as "Entwhistle". Daniel McAllum should precede Duncan McAllum in the Index, and not vice versa.—EDITOR.]

[Mr. Alan Cass, M.A., A.L.A. is on the staff of the University Library, Sheffield, and an active layman in the Sheffield Carver Street circuit.]

[2] Norman Nicholson: "Innocents' Day" (published in *The Pot Geranium* (Faber & Faber, 1954)).

Alexander Kilham's second wife, Hannah (1774-1832) has been the subject of two brief notes in these *Proceedings* (xxxix, pp. 93, 185), and her remarkable life-story has now been retold for modern readers by Mrs. Mora Dickson in *The Powerful Bond* (Dennis Dobson (1980), £7 50p.). After her husband's death she became a Quaker, and developed a keen interest in education, first in Sheffield and then among liberated African slaves in Sierra Leone, where she virtually pioneered African mother-tongue instruction. This most readable biography gives her the recognition she deserves.

The replacement pulpit at Hanham Mount, Bristol, is to be dedicated by the President of the Conference (the Rev. Norwyn E. Denny) at noon on Saturday, 7th May 1983, when he will preach from the text used there by John Wesley on 8th April 1739. The service will be preceded by a march from St. George Park, Bristol, to Hanham Mount.

THE ANNUAL MEETING AND LECTURE

WESLEY Chapel, Saltash, where we received a warm Cornish welcome, was the venue for the Annual Meeting and Lecture on Monday, 28th June. Once again we were the recipients of the generous hospitality of our Treasurer and his wife, who provided the tea, prepared by ladies of the church. Sincere thanks were expressed by the Rev. Kenneth Garlick.

Business Meeting

The chair at the Annual Meeting was taken by our President, the Rev. A. Raymond George. Standing tribute was paid to the memory of six members who had died during the year. Mr. R. C. Swift as Treasurer and Registrar, to whom thanks were expressed for his meticulous work, presented the accounts (see next page), and reported that membership numbers were still gradually increasing.

Mr. Garlick reported on the progress of the Library cataloguing and on the acquisitions, but this year the main concern of the Librarian and the Annual Meeting was about the proposed move by Southlands College of the Library from its position in the basement of the college library to the Workman Room. [See the official notice on back cover.—EDITOR.]

The Rev. William Leary (Exhibitions Secretary) voiced the Society's appreciation to the Rev. and Mrs. Thomas Shaw for their unremitting efforts in collecting and mounting an excellent and fascinating exhibition entitled "Methodism in the South-West" including a section on Methodist Union 1932. Mr. Shaw himself as Local Branches Secretary reported steady progress by all the branches, and hoped that branch officials would encourage their members to join the parent Society also.

All the members of the Executive were re-appointed, and in addition the Rev. Peter Howard was elected to the new office of Conferences Secretary. The meeting took note of the fact that Mr. Geoffrey E. Milburn of Sunderland has become Secretary of the World Methodist Historical Society (British Section) in place of Mr. John A. Vickers, who has been appointed Vice-President of that organization. Mr. Vickers intimated that arrangements were well in hand for the joint Conference at Westhill, Birmingham (8th to 11th April 1983), but that bookings were rather slow coming in, and he urged members to publicize the Conference.

The Annual Lecture

Remarking that it was interesting to take part in an assessment of the history of our own times, Dr. Morna D. Hooker (Lady Margaret Professor of Divinity in the University of Cambridge) presided, and introduced the lecturer, the Rev. Rupert E. Davies, who gave a comprehensive view of the Methodist Union of 1932 and its fruits. At the outset, the knitting together of three churches presented many difficulties. There were amalgamation problems as well as theological and cultural ones which were easy to resolve in theory, but not in practice. The Methodist Church today is still evaluating the long-term results of Union, but the short-term results can be seen in many spheres. Of especial value is the catholicity of Methodism, whereby a mediating role can be sustained between Protestant and Catholic historic stances in ecumenical affairs, evangelism, the training of the ministry (both ordained and lay), education, and worship. In the next fifty years there would need to be revision of restructuring and redefinition of the Presidential office. Finally, he quoted Charles Wesley:

When the work is done,
The work is but begun.

E. DOROTHY GRAHAM.

WESLEY HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Financial Statement, 1st January to 31st December 1981

EXPENDITURE.	£	p.
Proceedings and Printing	1,089	96
Insurance	13	17
Secretarial, Editorial and Registrar's Expenses ...	262	0
Lecturer's Honorarium ...	20	0
Stand at Conference ...	12	0
Subscriptions	9	95
Library—		
Re-binding and Acquisitions	388	38
Voluntary Helpers' Travel, Subsistence, etc. ...	187	59
Excess of Income over Expenditure	226	80
	£2,209	85

INCOME.	£	p.
Subscriptions in advance br't forward from previous year—		
Ordinary Members ...	696	20
Life Members	510	0
Received during year ...	1,358	92
	2,565	12
Less Unexpired Subscriptions (see Balance Sheet) ...	1,296	82
	1,268	30
Proceedings (back nos.) sold	14	45
Advertisements	7	46
Irish Branch	90	0
War Stock Dividend ...	7	68
Conference Lecture Collect'n	4	50
Lecture Donation	20	0
Library—Reader's Ticket ...	1	0
,, Sale of Books ...	240	0
Publications sold	157	99
Insurance Refund	4	27
Bank Interest	394	20
	£2,209	85

Balance Sheet as at 31st December 1981

LIABILITIES.	£	p.
Unexpired Subscriptions—		
Ordinary Members ...	769	32
Life Members (108) (say)	527	50
	1,296	82
Accumulated Funds b/fwd.	2,239	52
	3,536	34
Add Excess of Income over Expenditure	226	80
	£3,763	14

ASSETS.	£	p.
Cash in hand—Treasurer ... Registrar ...	14	23
War Stock (at cost) ... (Market Value £60)	225	0
Trustee Savings Bank ...	1,008	30
Midland Bank Deposit A/c		12
National Savings Bank ...	2,515	49
Library, Publications Stocks, Filing Cabinet, etc. unvalued		
	£3,763	14

(Signed)
ROWLAND C. SWIFT, *Treasurer*.

28th June 1982.

AUDITOR'S CERTIFICATE

I have examined the Income and Expenditure Account and the Balance Sheet with the books and records of the Society. No account has been taken of subscriptions in arrears at 31st December 1981, whether or not recovered since, but any previous arrears received in the year are included in Subscription Income. Subject to the foregoing, the Balance Sheet and Accounts show, in my opinion, a true and fair view of the state of affairs of the Society as at 31st December 1981, and of the excess of Income over Expenditure for the year ended on that date.

Sproull & Co.,
31-33, College Road,
Harrow, Middlesex.

(Signed)
A. C. SARGENT, B.A., F.C.A.,
Chartered Accountant, *Auditor*.

BOOK NOTICES

The Nonconformist Conscience: Chapel and Politics, 1870-1914, by D. W. Bebbington. (Allen & Unwin (1981): pp. x. 193, £10.)

A very wide spectrum of interpretations of late Victorian and Edwardian Nonconformity has become available of recent years, ranging from Clyde Binfield's beautifully sensitive, porcelain-like celebration of a whole culture through Henry Rack's and John Kent's analyses of the spiritual forces at work within the churches and their uneasy adjustments to "the world" and then on to down-to-earth accounts of the outworkings of the nonconformist conscience in practical politics. It is this last with which David Bebbington's book is primarily concerned.

The author combines in an impressive way his own researches, particularly in the pages of the *British Weekly* and the *Christian World*, with the conclusions of recent scholars working in this field. There is only a slight overlapping with Stephen Koss's *Nonconformity and Modern British Politics* (1975), for Koss is mainly concerned with educational struggles, and takes his story far beyond Bebbington's cut-off date of 1914. One striking omission is any account of Labour politics, the Co-operative movement, or the trade unions, but these matters, the author assures us, will be the subject of a subsequent volume. Otherwise we have excellent chapters on the Nonconformists and their politics (i.e. their conscience), on the Liberation Society, on social questions (Contagious Diseases Acts, drink, housing, gambling, etc.), on the Free Church Council movement (a particularly valuable chapter breaking much new ground), on the Irish question, a section which contains the best account to date of the nonconformist Liberal Unionists and their motivation, on the role of Britain in the world which chronicles Dissent's conversion from a strident anti- to an equally vigorous pro-imperial stance, on education with an equally decisive shift from voluntaryism to an advocacy of state intervention, and a final chapter on the end of the "conscience"—whose active life had, according to the author, come to a close by 1910.

Inevitably this thematic approach leaves something to be desired. We can hardly force apart, for example, Hugh Price Hughes's utterances on world affairs from his onslaught against the established Church at home: they are, as Dr. Kent reminds us, the obverse and reverse of the same imperialist coin. Again, the disillusionment with political solutions after 1906 and the transformation of the Free Church Councils under the inspiration of F. B. Meyer—to whose significance, with that of the anonymous *Nonconformity and Politics* (1909) the author does real justice—cannot be divorced from the rise of Keswick-type pietism within the churches. Indeed, was there emerging after about 1906 a "new" Nonconformity, rather akin to the "new" Liberalism, rejecting the prostitution of the churches to political campaigning, rediscovering its spiritual roots, yet retaining and deepening in fact its social reforming passion—a "new" Nonconformity destroyed in its infancy by the first World War? Political Nonconformity such as Dr. Bebbington describes was, after all, as Koss reminds us in one of his telling phrases, more like a Halley's comet than a permanent, fixed constellation. Finally, as the author surveys the passing scene largely through metropolitan spectacles, some of his conclusions will need to be tested, but will probably be reinforced by local studies of the Nonconformity of this period—two in particular: the general awkwardness and prickliness of the Wesleyans *vis-à-vis* the other Free Churches in matters of mutual concern, and the extent and speed of the switch-over

to Toryism as suburbia spread (this was much more than a London or a Home Counties phenomenon even before 1914).

These, however, are not criticisms so much as pointers to the need to set such themes within a much wider culture context: possibly Dr. Bebbington's fellow Baptist historian Dr. Michael Watts will do just this in the second volume of *The Dissenters*. Meanwhile, our appetites whetted by this present work, we eagerly await its companion, which will refine the pioneering insights of Wearmouth, Inglis, Mayor and Peter d'A. Jones and provide us with a definitive account of Nonconformity and the rise of the Labour movement. IAN SELLERS.

Ellen Wilkinson, by Betty D. Vernon. (Croom Helm: pp. [xvi]. 254, £14 95p.)

No one under forty will be able to remember the forceful and sparkling impact which this fiery little red-haired Mancunian made upon British politics before, during, and just after the second World War. Born in a Methodist home, and never divesting herself of—or ever denying her debt to—that Methodist background, with a sympathetic brother in the Methodist ministry, Ellen Wilkinson rose by dint of sheer persistence, hard work, and native wit, to become, ere the zeal of her mission burnt her up, The Right Hon. E. C. Wilkinson, M.A., LL.D., Privy Counsellor, Member of Parliament for Jarrow, Minister of Education, etc., etc. Nor was it without justice that she earned for herself the less laudatory titles of "Red Nellie" or "Little Miss Perky". Always fearless, generally charming, sometimes gullible, a champion of women's rights and children's education, she certainly "got things done", and done in the most difficult of days.

Betty Vernon has given us a lively and (so it would seem) a faithful portrait of her heroine, so that one does not need to be of the same political persuasion to acknowledge the debt we all owe to that heroine and to those like her who fought and won for us so many of the privileges that we enjoy today. This is another testimony, if one were needed, to the wholesome contribution of Methodism to the cause of the under-privileged.

JOHN C. BOWMER.

Dig or Die, being papers given at Wesley Heritage Conference, Sydney, 1980, edited by James S. Udy and Eric G. Clancy.

The title of this book is explained by James Udy in the Introduction. A tree marked DIG stood at Burke's Camp 65 on Cooper's Creek. Below the word was a further code, the message of which, had it been heeded, would have saved the explorer Burke from death. DIG OR DIE is a parable of sections of the Christian Church, and appropriate to members of the Uniting Church in Australia.

The book contains the addresses given by Dr. Albert Outler, Dr. Frank Baker, Dr. Harold Wood, Dr. Arnold Hunt, Dr. Frederick Norwood, Dr. Homer Calkin, and several others who attended that Conference. It is possible that some of the addresses are abridged, yet it is a book of 335 pages, with textual notes, references and appendices, and a full list of those who were present. The subjects bear upon the Wesley Hymns, Methodism in the World Christian community, aspects of Australian Methodism, Canada, Papua, Methodism among the indigenous peoples of the Pacific, a Marxist look at Methodism, and a report on the *Union Catalogue of World Methodist Manuscript Collections*.

This is a book worth having, for the material is lively, challenging, and deep. It is obtainable from Dr. J. S. Udy at Wesley College, Newtown, 2042, Sydney, NSW, Australia. WILLIAM LEARY.

Religion and the People of Western Europe, 1789-1970, by Hugh McLeod. (Oxford University Press (1981): pp. 169, £8 95p. hardback; £3 95p. paper-back.)

Dr. McLeod's book reflects the recent movement in church history towards the study of popular belief and practice and away from the treatment of bishops and ministers, theology and ecclesiastical machinery. Fresh evidence has emerged and is presented here concerning magical and superstitious beliefs, sex- and class-differences in popular religion, and the place of church or chapel in the community; and this concisely-written and -arranged book is especially stimulating in its inclusion of much unfamiliar evidence from Western Europe, so that contrasts between national religious cultures and between Catholic and Protestant forms of popular religion emerge clearly. The English reader is reminded of the contrasts presented by Irish, Scottish and Welsh religious practice, and learns of the very low church-attendance of the liberal middle class of Germany, of the anti-clerical secularism of the French middle class, and of the strength of Roman Catholicism in industrial working-class cities of Belgium. Our Victorian heritage of a respectable church-going middle class and a largely unchurched urban working class is clearly a pattern susceptible of continental variation. The author's description of Ultramontane popular piety among French Catholics and his point about the lack of sects in Catholic countries are also both revealing contrasts for readers from the Protestant tradition. On the other hand, it also emerges clearly from this book that common to a number of European countries was the experience of religious revival from the eighteenth century. To see the Evangelical Revival as a British growth influenced by German pietism appears increasingly insular, especially in view of Scandinavian evidence. Local historians have given us chapel-by-chapel accounts of English Methodism, and we have John Kent's history of revivalism, but a comparative account of European revivals and popular religion might be very suggestive.

Perhaps it was inevitable that a book concerned with popular religion from the French Revolution to the present should omit the religion of social élites. But in forming a picture of the place of religion in society, the beliefs and practice of the élite are often a major influence on the religion of other social groups who may seek to dissociate themselves from the dominant group by their faith, as English nonconformists did from the state church. In his previous book on religion in late nineteenth-century London, Dr. McLeod included an excellent chapter on upper-class religion, but here there is little more than a partial account of the Clapham Sect.

The theme with which Dr. McLeod seeks to give coherence to his otherwise wide-ranging evidence is the growth of pluralism in Western European religion during the period 1789-1970. He begins with an admirably clear and detailed chapter on the fractions and fissures which occurred in French religion and society when the Revolution breached the almost monolithic position of the Catholic church; and his concluding chapter on recent developments is headed "Fragmentation", which may well be a more apt characterization than the more usual concept of secularization. But, not surprisingly, in some instances the evidence seems more complex than the theme will allow. Polarization between religious and the anti-religious groups occurred in some countries, as Dr. McLeod acknowledges in his third chapter, and this is a very different thing from pluralism. Pluralism in English religion has historical roots far deeper than the late eighteenth century, yet understanding of these is precluded by the scope

of this book. Another omission is the development of religion in America, which has perhaps served as a model of pluralism for Europe. With all its difficulties and exceptions, it may be that class structure is the more satisfactory theme with which to unify the religious history of this period.

SARAH POTTER,

Charles New and the East Africa Mission, by R. Elliott Kendall. (Nairobi: Kenya Literature Bureau (1978), pp. xi. 194. Obtainable from the Methodist Church Overseas Division Bookshop, 25, Marylebone Road, London, N.W.1 5JR, £1 60p.)

A little late for the centenary of Charles New's death in 1875, a former Chairman of the Kenya District of the Methodist Church pays fitting tribute to one of its founders.

The heart of the story is New's own *Life, Wanderings and Labours in Eastern Africa*, deservedly reprinted by Frank Cass in 1971. This is supplemented by secondary sources, by the sadly scanty overseas records of the UMFC, and by the author's personal exploration of places in which New lived and worked, both at home and abroad.

The author strikes a happy balance between mere chronicle on the one hand and a full assessment of New's achievement (best left to African historians) on the other. New is frankly presented as a man of his time —conscious of European superiority in his dealings with Africans, yet humble in his commitment to Christ; not spectacularly successful as an evangelist, yet the initiator of education in the area; a man who saw no contradiction between British colonization and "Africa for the Africans". From the whole account there emerges a double impression: first, of the almost insuperable difficulty of human contact in a pioneer situation; and secondly, of the shortness of time. New had barely thirteen years, and it was not enough.

Mr. Kendall modestly says that he is not attempting a biography of Charles New; yet in fact New's life is well set in the context of the beginnings of the East Africa Mission and the society from which the missionaries came. Kendall's other 1978 publication, *The End of an Era* (SPCK), has been attacked as a piece of liberal anti-missionary *Schadenfreude*. The motto of the present work shows how far this is from the truth: it reads simply, "There are so few now."

Negative comments concern externals. The bibliography could perhaps have been better presented. Among significant misprints, "conversation" near the bottom of page 25 should be "conversion"; "internment" near the bottom of page 83 should be "interment"; "St. Chishone" on page 45 should be "St. Crischona"; and the author's name is mis-spelled on the back cover.

PAUL ELLINGWORTH.

Soldiers and Preachers Too, by Owen Spencer Watkins, is an account of Wesleyan chaplaincy work in the British Army, first published in 1903. It has now been reprinted in paper-back by the Royal Navy, Army and Royal Air Force Board at £2 50p. The text has been reproduced in typescript, and no attempt has been made to bring the story up to date.

The Achievements of Cumbrian Methodism, by John Burgess, may be had as a separate issue of the Cumbria Religious History Society, 65p. post free from the author at 41, Millcroft, Whiteclosegate, Carlisle, CA3 0HZ. The development of Methodism in Cumbria is also the subject of an article by Mr. Burgess in volume xvii of *Northern History* (1981).

NOTES AND QUERIES

1363. A PRIMITIVE METHODIST CELEBRATION IN YORK.

The 175th anniversary of the Primitives' famous birthday of prayer on Mow Cop was marked by an enthusiastic rally on Saturday, 22nd May 1982, in Trinity chapel (formerly Petty Memorial Primitive Methodist), Monkgate, York, organized by the Yorkshire branch of the Wesley Historical Society. "From Mow Cop to Peake" was a celebration supported by members of other branches and by exhibitors and choir-singers drawn from neighbouring circuits.

Between 250 and 300 people attended the crowded day's events, which were officially opened by the Rev. Richard M. Davison, who spoke of our PM heritage and its enriching influence today. His anecdote about a newspaper-seller he had heard shouting "Read it in the pictures!" aptly described the presentation of much of the historical material. The Rev. Stephen G. Hatcher exhibited items from his rare and impressive collection of memorabilia which, like the Band of Hope banners and the slides which followed, enlivened the proceedings with their pictorial charm.

The principal speaker was the Rev. John Munsey Turner, whose talk on "Primitive Methodism: its contribution to Methodism and English society" was both entertaining and informative. On a screen of generous proportions Mr. Geoffrey E. Milburn then displayed a series of slides depicting "Primitive Methodism north of the Humber".

The evening's grand finale was a performance of *Pioneers of Primitive Methodism*, a service of song written and compiled by Thomas Mitchell (a well-known PM minister nearly a century ago). The narrative pieces read alternately by Mrs. Christine Dews and Mr. Milburn were interspersed with old-time "Ranter" hymns. The singing of the choir and soloists was much enjoyed, and the audience too fulfilled its part nobly. The hymn "My soul's full of glory" was perhaps the most popular of all, due to its melody, and all who had taken part went away from what had undoubtedly been the best event in the Yorkshire branch's history echoing the sentiments of its first verse—"Could I meet with angels, I'd sing them a song!"

JOHN C. HARTLEY.

1364. FEMALE PREACHERS.

Mrs. E. D. Graham writes:

Further to my request in May 1981 for information about "female itinerant" preachers in early Methodism, I am now concentrating on the PM branch, and would be grateful for any material, however slight, which any reader might have or know of, or for any clues leading me further. I have a list of about seventy names and stations, but in many cases that is all, and I would dearly like to clothe the skeleton with some flesh!

I have also become interested in those women who were not stationed by the Conference, but worked virtually as itinerants, and were known as "hired local preachers". I suspect that these may have operated beyond the period when regular female ministry seems to have ended, in the mid-nineteenth century. Such people were Hannah Petty and Jane Spoor, to name but two. There was a Miss Bennett in the Chester area in the late 1800s: was she a hired local preacher, I wonder?

If anyone could help with information regarding itinerants or hired local preachers, I should be delighted. I would willingly supply names, dates, areas, etc., to aid the search. Please contact me at 34, Spiceland Road, Northfield, Birmingham, B31 1NJ (Tel. 021-475 4914).

1365. COMMEMORATION AT CLOWES MEMORIAL, HULL.

On Wesley Day (Monday, 24th May), 1982, there was an open-air rally, attended by some 250 people, at the Clowes memorial in Spring Bank cemetery, Hull, in commemoration of three different Methodist events: (i) the first Primitive Methodist camp meeting, held 175 years previously, at Mow Cop, Staffordshire, 31st May 1807; (ii) John Wesley's spiritual awakening at a meeting in Aldersgate Street in London, 24th May 1738; (iii) the Union fifty years ago (20th September 1932) of the Wesleyan, Primitive and United Methodist connexions. In such a setting, the emphasis of the occasion was very much upon Primitive Methodism and the part played in that movement by William Clowes. Clowes's tomb, recently improved but minus its obelisk, was just beyond the last row of seats and within earshot of the speakers.

Mr. J. C. Watson (chairman of the organizing committee) welcomed those who had come, and shared a dream for the future with a vigour that astonished the under-eighties! The Rev. Ronald Atkinson (Chairman of the York and Hull District) spoke about the life of William Clowes, and the Rev. Arthur Crozier (minister of the Hull Central Hall) challenged his audience to be similar radiant Christians today. The opening prayer was offered by the vicar of Holy Trinity, Hull (the Rev. Gerald B. Bridgman), representing the Bishop of Hull.

The music was provided by the Salvation Army band. After an initial thirty minutes of community hymn-singing, followed by the addresses, the proceedings reached their triumphant conclusion with (of course) "Hark! the gospel news is sounding". This hymn was sung twice—to two different tunes—and all were satisfied! STEPHEN G. HATCHER.

1366. METHODIST BELLS.

Mrs. E. V. Chapman writes:

Further to the Rev. J. Munsey Turner's note of the Halifax (King Cross) bell in *Proceedings*, xliii, p. 76, there is an interesting story about it. The building was erected by the Rev. Jonathan Akroyd (an Anglican) as a private venture church, licensed but not consecrated. The cause did not prosper, and it absorbed all the incumbent's private fortune, so that he was sent to York Castle as a debtor. The building, named Christ Church, was offered for sale, and as a tremendous act of faith the handful of Wesleyans meeting in a nearby small school bought it. The present chapel was built in 1878, and the old Christ Church was sold, bell and all!

1367. THE BELL OF STAVELEY.

Following recent paragraphs relating to Methodist bells in use, it seems timely to mention the bell at Staveley PM chapel, mentioned by Joseph Hawkins on page 81 of *O'er Hill and Dale and by the Solway Shore* (Carlisle, 1907):

> Staveley, five miles away [from Kendal], figures largely in the circuit's history. The writer knows of no other Primitive Methodist Church which rings the people in for service. I had preached at Kendal in the morning, and was to proceed to Staveley for afternoon and evening services. Descending the sloping road, I enquired of my companion and guide, if, besides our service, the Anglicans held one. This, because I heard the tolling of a bell. He replied in the negative, and said, the bell was for our service, and sure enough, for still it rang out its mellow note as I passed through the porch and entered the Gothic building.

Staveley was an industrial village dependent on bobbin-making mills in which the Primitives maintained strong interests. The old chapel of about 1838 was replaced in 1866 by the building with the bell. Kelly's *Directory of Cumberland and Westmorland* notes in 1894 on page 130 that

> the Primitive Methodist chapel, also [along with the Wesleyan] at Over Staveley, on the banks of the River Gowan, and built in 1866, at a cost of about £1,300, [is] similar in style, but has a porch and a turret with one bell: the organ cost £120: there are 350 sittings.

The village possessed a particularly strong Primitive Methodist society, and sent a number of converted young men (mainly wood-turners and other mill-hands) into various ministries: J. E. Balmer (Congregational), Primitives Daniel Jackson, John Atkinson and John Taylor, James Lupton, and the three Peill brothers—John, George and Jeremiah. Taylor's brother William also entered the Congregational ministry. But what happened to the bell? And where did it come from originally?

JOHN BURGESS.

1368. THE ARMINIAN MAGAZINE.

The recent addition of a copy of *The Arminian Magazine for the Year 1828, consisting of Extracts and Original Treatises on Universal Redemption*, Vol. VII, Printed and sold at the Office of the Arminian Bible Christians, 5, Mill-Pleasant, Stoke-Damerel, by S. Thorne, to the "Shaw Collection" at the Royal Institution of Cornwall prompts the following comments:

1. A clear distinction must be made between John Wesley's *Arminian Magazine*, 1778-97, which thereafter became first the *Methodist* and later the *Wesleyan Methodist Magazine* and the similarly-titled *Arminian Magazine* published by the Bible Christians from 1822 to 1828, which from 1829 was re-named the *Bible Christian Magazine*.

2. Wesley's concern to assert his theological Arminianism in the title of his magazine was paralleled by William O'Bryan's both in the name he chose for his denomination—the Arminian Bible Christians—and in the title of its magazine. It owed something also to the innate Wesleyanism which never left him; as he confessed in a letter to his daughter regarding Wesley, "I doubt not but that he is always with me."

3. Of the rare seven volumes of *The Arminian Magazine* (Bible Christian), six are at Wesley College Library, Bristol, five at the Royal Institution of Cornwall, and four at the Methodist Archives and Research Centre, The John Rylands Library, Manchester. Until recently all these collections lacked the years 1828 and 1829. However, Professor Charles Thomas, the honorary librarian of the Royal Institution at Truro, and a vice-president of our Cornish branch, has "discovered" a copy of the 1828 volume among his own books, and has added it to the "Shaw Collection". This volume contains the concluding part of O'Bryan's important "Rise and Progress of the Connexion", serialized (as we now know) from 1823 to 1828; it brings that account to the year 1824, and is mainly about the work in the Isle of Wight.

4. The 1829 volume (the first of the new series) still awaits discovery. It could come to light anywhere. There were contacts between the Bible Christians and the Primitive Methodists at that early period, and the 1823 volume at Truro is unexpectedly interleaved with portraits of Primitive Methodist preachers.

THOMAS SHAW.

1369. CONCERNING DALKEITH.

I was interested to read Dr. Hayes's query concerning "The Dalkeith Methodist chapel" (*Proceedings*, xliii, p. 72) and the difficulty in finding a possible reason for its apparent expansion and decline. It has become clear during my researches into the work of the Scottish mathematician Colin MacLaurin (1698-1746), who was Professor of Mathematics in the University of Edinburgh from 1725 until his death, that MacLaurin moved from nearby Newbattle to Dalkeith in 1744, having, after his marriage in 1733, lived in a number of villages in the countryside surrounding Edinburgh. The reason for "commuting" he made plain as early as 1724, when from Marseilles in France he wrote: "As to Cleanness, 'tis too like Edin^{r} & strangers find a most Offensive air in most Streets".[1] Thus, shortly after his move to Dalkeith he was able to write from Edinburgh: "My family is at Dalkeith and as I go thither every week & return on Monday, I have escaped the toothach & Colds this year."[2]

At this time, of course, Edinburgh only consisted of the Old Town (basically that around the "Royal Mile"), and there was much overcrowding. The majority of middle and upper classes were, by 1750, commuting weekly from such towns as Dalkeith, until in 1767 the Town Council of Edinburgh was forced to adopt James Craig's plan for the New Town (the Georgian part north of Princes Street Gardens). But, as T. C. Smout points out, ". . . the middle classes had not completed their movement into it until some time after 1800."[3]

MacLaurin was not alone, of course, in living outside Edinburgh, and I am wondering if it could be this week-end removal from Edinburgh of its middle classes (which during the latter half of the eighteenth century escalated and surely must have included Methodists) which accounts for the enlargement of Dalkeith chapel possibly to include a manse? It must almost certainly be the reason for the alterations—removing the chapel to the first floor and converting the ground floor into shops in 1814-15. In short, by this time the Edinburgh middle classes preferred just to cross a bridge rather than travel ten miles. It really is most unfortunate that there are no records for Dalkeith prior to 1806. STELLA MILLS.

[1] S. Mills: *The Collected Letters of Colin MacLaurin* (Nantwich, 1982), p. 22.
[2] ibid., p. 124.
[3] T. C. Smout: *A History of the Scottish People, 1560-1830* (Glasgow, 1969), p. 343 in paper-back edn.

In addition to local histories on page 110, the following also are in print:

Selby Wesleyan Day School, by C. R. Moody (pp. 52): copies, price 50p. plus postage, from the author at Green Lodge, Brayton Lane, Selby, N. Yorks.

The Heritage of the Red Hall Methodist Church, Audenshaw, 1782-1982, by E. A. Rose (pp. 45): copies, price £1 20p. post free, from the Rev. Kenneth Bounds, 41, Roker Park Avenue, Audenshaw, Manchester, M34 5NJ.

W.M.H.S.–W.H.S. RESIDENTIAL CONFERENCE

Westhill College, Birmingham - Tuesday to Friday, April 5-8, 1983

The cost will be around £40. Details and booking forms available from Rev. Peter Howard, 38, Derby Street, Ormskirk, Lancs.

If you have not yet booked, please do so without delay.

[N.B.—The above dates are correct, and not as referred to on page 131.]