

Theology on the Web.org.uk

Making Biblical Scholarship Accessible

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

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



Buy me a coffee

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



PATREON

<https://patreon.com/theologyontheweb>

PayPal

<https://paypal.me/robbradshaw>

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

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

Proceedings

OF THE

Wesley Historical Society

Editor: E. ALAN ROSE, B.A.

Volume 52

October 1999

THE WESLEYAN REFORMERS IN NORFOLK

The claim made by James Jerom Topham, Superintendent of the Norwich Wesleyan Circuit and Chairman of the District in February 1851, that Norfolk was 'the most disturbed county in the kingdom' was, it seems, no exaggeration.¹ Indeed, an editorial in a local newspaper published in the same month claimed that 'the power of the Wesleyan Conference in Norwich is paralysed'² and it certainly appeared that the life blood of Norfolk Wesleyanism was fast haemorrhaging away, leaving a District enfeebled, poverty-stricken and depopulated.

Evidence of the progress of the dispute in Norfolk and its turbulent effects can be found in preaching plans, chapel and circuit financial records, trustees' and local preachers' meeting minute books, legal records, the reminiscences of contemporary observers, the returns of the Religious Census of 1851, together with articles, letters and editorials in the local press; in addition, references to events in Norfolk were also made in the *Wesleyan Times*, the *Watchman* and the *Wesley Banner* and in the *Minutes of Conference*.

The Conference of 1849

Wesleyans in the county in the summer of 1849 were not wholly ignorant that a disputatious Conference session was likely to ensue. The *Norfolk News* had, since 1847, reported on the proceedings of Conference more fully than simply listing the stationing of ministers in the District with which it had been content in the previous year.³ In 1848 reporting

¹ *Norfolk News*, 15 Feb. 1851.

² *Norfolk News*, 1 Feb. 1851.

³ Perhaps this was a consequence of the bitter dispute in 1847 between a group of Norwich Wesleyans and their minister regarding Conference policy over possible government grants to nonconformist schools.

the affairs of Conference had extended over three Saturday editions and it was clear that contentious issues had been debated. At the beginning of July 1849, the *Norfolk News* gave advance notice that Conference would begin at the end of the month and described the forthcoming proceedings as 'momentous' and encouraged its readers to order copies of the *Wesleyan Times*, 'the organ of the liberal wing of the Connexion' and noted for its 'independent position and principles', for full reports of the business that would be undertaken.

It was not surprising that the *Norfolk News* should align itself with the *Wesleyan Times*, a journal which was prepared to take a critical stance towards Conference. The *Norfolk News* had been founded in 1845 specifically to counter the two old established local newspapers, the Tory *Norfolk Chronicle* and the Whig *Norwich Mercury*, both highly favourable to the Established Church. A young Norwich lawyer, Jacob Henry Tillett, felt the need to balance this blatantly one-side reporting. He gathered together a number of nonconformist friends and they set up a newspaper which was committed to civil, religious and commercial liberty. Its controlling committee included the Baptist ministers from St Mary's and St Clement's chapels, the Rev. William Brock and the Rev. Thomas Wheeler, ministers from the Independent chapels of Prince's Street and the Old Meeting, the Rev. John Alexander and the Rev. Andrew Reed, together with lay members from across the dissenting spectrum. Tillett, who wrote many of the first editorials, took over officially as editor in July 1850. He recognised rightly that his readers were very interested in religious matters⁴ and ecclesiastical issues often filled many columns of the paper.

The *Norfolk News*, the only Norfolk newspaper to report the proceedings of Conference during its 1849 sessions, published an extremely lengthy report on 28 July about the expulsion of James Everett for 'contumacy' - his stubborn refusal to answer the question put to him regarding the authorship of the *Fly Sheets* - and the cases of Samuel Dunn, Daniel Walton, John Burdsall and James Bromley. The article was prefaced by an explanation of the Fly Sheet issue for those readers not conversant with the background to the controversy, claiming that these anonymous pamphlets 'have given no small annoyance to the Wesleyan Executive whose administration of affairs has been so unceremoniously questioned.'

⁴ Two years after its inauguration, it reported that its circulation was higher than any other newspaper in Norfolk or Suffolk and for 1850 figures were - 150,000 *Norfolk News*, 144,000 *Norfolk Chronicle*, 105,600 *Norwich Mercury*. See Rex Steadman: 'Vox Populi: The Norfolk Newspaper Press 1760-1900' (unpublished typescript, 1971) p. 186.

Were Wesleyan Methodists in Norfolk aware of the Fly Sheet argument? Certainly every minister had been sent copies and lately they had been reprinted for general circulation and many copies sold nationally. However, there is no evidence as to whether or not the laity in Norfolk had read the *Fly Sheets* apart from one of the Norwich circuit stewards, Alfred Stocks who admitted to having done so when challenged by the Rev. William Sharpe of Norwich⁵ and also Charles Barber, trustee, treasurer, local preacher and bookseller at Yarmouth at a protest meeting for the expelled ministers.⁶ Yet the connexional nature of Methodism meant that such information was likely to have been widely dispersed. Local preachers travelling to different chapels, officials meeting together on circuit and District affairs, chapel events attracting Methodists from surrounding villages and the very many ecumenical meetings such as those of the Evangelical Alliance and the Sunday School Union, all meant that news was likely to travel.

The newspaper article describing the actions of Conference against the recalcitrant ministers was followed by a paragraph explaining that Norwich Wesleyans have 'a strong and general feeling of indignation' about the expulsion of Everett and intend 'to express their opinion' publicly when a decision had been reached regarding the other cases. So, information about the acts of Conference was already circulating in the city.

Then, on 18 August, in the same newspaper, the expulsion was announced of the Revs Samuel Dunn and William Griffith for refusing to cease their publication of the *Wesley Banner* and to stop sending contributions to the *Wesleyan Times*. It also revealed that a public meeting was to be organised in Norwich in the very near future. From this point and for the next three years there was barely a single issue of the *Norfolk News* which did not contain some reference to this continuing dispute.

Such publicity must have had a profound influence upon the readers of the *News*. Detailed reports of all the protest meetings as well as other activities connected with the Reform movement taking place throughout the District, ensured that awareness of what was happening over a wide geographical area could be noted by all who wished to be informed. Many of those unable to attend meetings had details of the addresses presented to them in a manner sympathetic to the Reformers. In this matter, the *Norfolk News* must have moulded opinion and encouraged a unanimity of view. In contrast, after the novelty of reporting the first great general Reform meeting in Norwich, the *Norfolk Chronicle* and the *Norwich Mercury* mentioned few events involving the Reformers and it is

⁵ *Norfolk News*, 25 Aug. 1849.

⁶ *Norfolk News*, 19 Jan 1850.

clear that they had little sympathy with this group, portraying them as factious, manipulative and somewhat uncouth.⁷ In addition, it is clear from the many references in speeches that the national Wesleyan publications as well as the *Times* and the *Patriot* were well known in Norfolk for their reporting of these controversial issues.

Gathering animosity

The first meeting of those concerned at the acts of Conference was called by the Norwich circuit stewards at the Baptist schoolroom in West Pottergate on 17 August 1849. About 60 stewards, trustees, leaders and local preachers were present as well as the four ministers although none of them had received an invitation and had not therefore, been expected to attend. The senior circuit steward, William Ford, took the chair and a lengthy meeting ensued. The speakers discussed whether or not the expulsions were consistent with Methodist law. Other issues were mentioned which later became important in the Reform argument, such as the manner in which some Connexional funds were raised as to make them barely voluntary. Resolutions were passed regretting the ministerial expulsions, pledging forceful yet constitutional effort to gain the repeal of the law of 1835 which permitted such action, supporting the appointment of a voluntary committee to investigate the financial mismanagement of Wesleyan missions, urging that an aggregate meeting of delegates be held in London as soon as possible and initiating a subscription fund for the support of the expelled ministers. These resolutions were to be sent to the President of Conference as well as to the national Wesleyan newspapers as evidence of the strong feeling felt by the meeting. The meeting was clearly a difficult one with the ministers 'whom some present charged with a design of hindering the proceedings'⁸ hotly disputing points of information with the speakers.

Three days later, a gathering of circuit officials of the Holt circuit was held in the town under the chairmanship of William Cozens-Hardy of Letheringsett Hall, principal landowner in the parish, magistrate, lawyer, Wesleyan and mortgagee of the Wesleyan chapel in Holt.⁹ A set of resolutions similar to those of the Norwich meeting was unanimously adopted. Then, before the week was out, Yarmouth officials also met and thirty of them signed almost identical resolutions. Meetings at

⁷ The *Norfolk Chronicle*, 22 June 1850 reported a meeting of Reformers in Norwich where one of the speakers was the editor of the *Wesleyan Times*. Regarding the speeches it stated, 'We do not feel called upon to repeat them as they would have little or no interest for our readers.'

⁸ *Norfolk News*, 25 Aug. 1849.

⁹ Clyde Binfield, *So Down to Prayers*, (1977), pp132-4; Elizabeth J. Bellamy, *Methodism in Holt*, (1988).

Swaffham and Lynn followed shortly after, at Lynn the convenors of the meeting were refused use of the chapel premises and instead met at the Temperance Hall.

Alarmed by this sudden activity of the laity, the Rev. Joseph Portrey and the Rev. Theophilus Pugh, both from the Thetford circuit which had held its own protest meeting in the middle of September, wrote letters of complaint to the local newspapers. Much heated correspondence appeared over the next few weeks in the columns of both the *Norwich Mercury* and the *Norfolk News*, with Joseph Portrey in particular becoming ever more enraged by the opposition. Ministerial opinion was not, however, totally uniform in outlook for William Welborne, supernumerary minister at Lowestoft, who described himself as having been in the Wesleyan ministry for more than fifty years, wrote that Methodism 'is a form of priestly domination as perfect as the world ever saw... of religious liberty it knows nothing... the people are powerless... but he who voluntarily places his neck under the yoke has no right to complain if it galls him.'¹⁰ At this point, however, no other Wesleyan minister in the District publicly expressed his views in this way.

During the years when the controversy was at its height, certain Norfolk ministers stood out as being particularly active in their opposition to the Reformers. These included James Topham of Norwich, Samuel Tindall of Lynn, Richard Tabraham of Walsingham, Charles Povah of North Walsham, James Allen of Yarmouth and Robert Colman of Diss.

Organising opposition

As the dispute developed, it became clear that the main centres of Reform activity were scattered right across the District. Norwich, Lynn and Yarmouth, the main centres of population; the small market towns of Diss, Holt, Swaffham, Downham, North Walsham and Aylsham; the villages of Cawston, Great Witchingham, Horsham St Faith and Horsford; and also Lowestoft and Bungay in Suffolk and Wisbech in Cambridgeshire. Very many meetings were held and were a means of spreading information and opinions and maintaining the momentum of the mutiny.

The first great District meeting was held on 24 October 1849 at St Andrew's Hall in Norwich. Four thousand people were present and this included at least ten ministers of other denominations. Joseph Massingham was unanimously elected to take the chair. The secretary of a Norwich insurance company and bank official, he had been one of the earliest correspondents to the newspapers on Reform issues, was

¹⁰ *Norfolk News*, 1 Sept. 1849.

treasurer of the District Wesleyan Missionary Society and later financial advisor for the delegates to the national gatherings of Reformers in the early 1850s. The expelled ministers, Everett, Dunn and Griffith, were welcomed with enormous enthusiasm and 'the feeling on their behalf was evidently intense and showed plainly that a rent in the coat of Methodism had been made which will eventually separate the garment into various parts.' They rehearsed their positions to rapt attention from the audience. The reporter from the *Norwich Mercury* considered Samuel Dunn was 'the only one of the trio who adhered temperately and without violence to a detail of the tyrannical causes of expulsion' whilst the speeches of Everett and Griffith were described as 'full of violence and language, extending to other subjects than Methodism and were apparently prepared to rouse the people to agitate for political rights using the question before the meeting as a secondary object and a blind only.' Resolutions expressing sympathy with the expelled and support for a proposed meeting in London were passed, the only objections coming from James Wheeler, Wesleyan minister in Norwich, who doubted that the full truth had been told to the meeting and was 'exceedingly temperate in his observations, but both Mr Griffith and Mr Everett treated him with the severest scorn.' Several people, it seems, then called James Wheeler 'a liar' and the correspondent concluded 'these were not the only violent epithets used... and this most unseemly meeting, unseemly indeed as regards the objects for which it was called, did not close until after 12 o'clock.'¹¹ Not surprisingly, the report in the *Norfolk News* was much more favourable to the expelled ministers and their supporters.

In the weeks following this meeting, a flood of letters was received by the newspapers concerned mainly with the content of the speeches. One was from a minister in Nottingham who signed himself 'G.T.'¹² He addressed it to Joseph Colman, circuit steward at Holt, whom he had known during his stationing there and of whom he was critical. He mentioned that Colman had recommended 'stopping the supplies' as a means of checking the mismanagement of Methodist central administrative machinery: this was a proposal which had also been made at Lynn and which soon became one of the main objects of the Reformers.

On 23 October, the day before the great Norwich gathering, Dunn and Griffith had attended a public meeting at Holt whilst Everett spoke at Diss: on the 25th Everett and Griffith were at Lynn and Dunn was addressing a group at Swaffham. The three continued to visit Norfolk during the following years. Dunn was at Lynn in November 1850

¹¹ *Norwich Mercury*, 27 Oct. 1849.

¹² The Rev. George Taylor. *Norfolk News*, 8 Dec. 1849.

preaching two sermons at the Temperance Hall which was used as a chapel by the Reformers; on 30 January 1851 he was lecturing at Yarmouth, moving on to Lowestoft the following day; he preached two sermons at New City chapel in Norwich on 2 February and spoke at a meeting there the next day. He claimed he had travelled in two to three hundred circuits in the cause of Wesleyan Reform. Griffith addressed a public meeting in the large room of the Swan Inn at Loddon on 18 December 1851 and two days later spoke at Calvert Street chapel, Norwich. Everett preached at Ebenezer chapel, Lynn, on 31 January 1852 whilst Dunn was back at New City chapel in March, travelling on to Coltishall the next day. He returned to New City on the 21st where he preached a morning sermon and then an evening sermon at Calvert Street. Griffith lectured and preached at Lynn in March 1853 and also attended gatherings at Rudham, Terrington and Wiggenshall St Germans. Other expelled or suspended ministers visited the county to strengthen the Reform cause: James Bromley spent May 1851 in the District - in Norwich, Lynn, Swaffham and Brandon - returning in October to speak several times in Yarmouth and Lowestoft. William Burnett took part in the services to transfer Calvert Street chapel to the Reformers in October 1851 and gave a rousing address at the Angel Inn, North Walsham in May 1852 whilst the popular Thomas Rowland made a large number of visits to Norfolk after his demotion and banishment.

Sympathy for the expelled ministers was gathering pace in Norfolk and relations between clergy and laity quickly deteriorated. At Holt in December 1849, the anniversary meeting of the Wesleyan Missionary Society saw scenes of chaos. The Rev. Matthew Male from Norwich began peaceably enough by speaking of his successful work in India. Then the Rev. Richard Tabraham chose to lecture his audience about the current controversies and to try and refute the charge of extravagance against the central Missions secretaries. When William Cozens-Hardy, the local treasurer, rose in his turn to speak, the ministers tried to prevent him and uproar ensued with some very bad tempered words from Tabraham. Later, in the vestry, the ministers discussed the possibility of calling in the police, the irony of which was not lost on observers who saw it as highly amusing that the police might be called to deal with a magistrate.

Local expulsions

Across the county at Lynn, John Keed and Robert Burcham, both local preachers and leaders, were the first to be expelled in the District, despite a petition presented by chapel members to the President of Conference when he visited Tower Street chapel, Lynn, in January 1850

and this action was soon followed by many other expulsions elsewhere. By May 1850 more than a hundred had been excluded at Diss although only one of them, it was claimed, had a trial.¹⁴ At Holt, where Cozens-Hardy and Joseph Colman were both expelled, three ministers - Thomas Rowland of Yarmouth and John Budden and Edward Fison of Holt - voted against taking such action. Rowland explained that although he had voted for the exclusion of John Keed, he had since read the pamphlet published by Thomas Jackson, the 1849-50 President of Conference, and as a result had decided that the original expulsions had been wrong.

By December 1850 over 350 people had their membership cancelled, many for refusing to give assurances about their quarterly contributions, a hitherto voluntary offering. Two months later, the revised Wesleyan membership figures for the Norwich and Lynn District were published. A total of 700 members had been expelled, 450 of whom lived in Norwich and 250 in the county; 37 leaders had been removed with only six left, one of whom had no class; 18 preaching places now existed for Reform congregations compared with six for Wesleyans; the Reformers boasted 200 Sunday school teachers with 1100 children, whilst there was not a single Wesleyan Sunday school left in Norwich.

In Yarmouth, the new Chairman of the District, James Allen, began a further series of expulsions in December 1850. Charles Barber, the first to be put out, published and circulated handbills in the town 'appealing to the Christian public, knowing that popular feeling is as much opposed to Popery in a meeting-house as it is to Popery in a cathedral' - the previous week the newspapers had carried a description of the enthronement of Cardinal Wiseman as Archbishop of Westminster which had caused bitter criticism throughout the country and the parallel would, no doubt, not be lost on perceptive readers.

Thomas Rowland's stand did not pass unnoticed. He had listed his reasons for opposing the expulsions of the two on trial at Holt and refused to withdraw his paper when requested to do so by William Sharpe, at that time Chairman of the District, who hinted that there might be serious consequences for him if he ignored the pleas of his colleagues. Indeed, there soon were, for at the Conference of 1850, Rowland's behaviour was condemned and he was demoted to a position of supernumerary with all the financial consequences that entailed; in addition, very severe restrictions were imposed about his place of residence. He was told to leave Norfolk immediately, an order which some in Norfolk took to be a compliment as it suggested that the air of freedom could be breathed in the county beyond the control of

¹³ *Norwich Mercury*, 24 Nov. 1849.

¹⁴ Robert Aldrich said he was the only one who was tried.

Conference. In a letter heavy with criticism of Conference and signed with the name 'Veritas', Rowland was described as 'one of its best, most pious and venerable members' with 'an unblemished Christian reputation' and with crowds of worshippers attending his ministry and 'a vast numbers of personal friends, poor as well as wealthy.' The writer of this letter to the editor of the *Norfolk News* of 17 August 1850 described how the President himself had commented only a few months previously 'I should not like to be the man to impeach such a person of misconduct in any meeting'.

More than a hundred people met Rowland when he arrived at Yarmouth railway station on his return from Conference in London and meetings of support were quickly organised. The first, under the chairmanship of the mayor of Yarmouth, was held at the Independent chapel, a building capable of holding more than 800 people. It was 'densely crowded' and 'vast numbers were unable to gain admittance'¹⁶ so that a parallel meeting was hastily set up at the Methodist New Connexion chapel and as soon as each speaker concluded his address, he repeated himself at the second meeting. Soon afterwards, an informal group gathered at the house of Charles Barber in Yarmouth and presented Rowland with a purse of fifty sovereigns. A public subscription was opened to which the mayors of Norwich and Yarmouth each sent £5 and appreciations of his character and work poured in, when he shared a platform with the Bishop of Norwich as part of the Norfolk and Norwich Temperance Association festival, he was greeted with deafening applause. Fifty pounds was sent to him from the Reformers at Lynn.

The merest suspicion of disloyalty incurred official displeasure. John Budden, superintendent of the Holt circuit, was another who was distrusted. One of those who had never signed the disclaimer of involvement with the *Fly Sheets*, he was closely questioned by President Jackson on his visit to Lynn in June 1850 as to whether he had dined with William Cozens-Hardy since the agitation had begun. When he admitted having done so, he was severely censured by the President.

Rowland's expulsion gave a great boost to the Reform cause in Norfolk and the Norwich Reform Committee decided to take systematic steps to spread their opinions. Reform meetings were held in a number of villages in order to reach those who were not able to travel to meetings in the towns: Barford and Newton St Faith were the first villages to be targeted in this way. In spite of Wesleyan attempts to prevent the meetings taking place and the dismal weather, both meetings were very well attended.

¹⁵ *Norfolk News*, 21 Dec. 1850.

¹⁶ *Norfolk News*, 7 Sept. 1850.

During February, Reform meetings were held in Norwich, Lynn, Diss, Swaffham, Downham, Loddon and Aylsham and this momentum was largely maintained through 1850. Trials and expulsions continued; delegates were appointed to the meeting in London in March and to the subsequent national meeting there in August where Norfolk delegates played a prominent part and Joseph Colman addressed the gathering.

Reform demands coming out of the local meetings varied, but some calls were constant - a revision of the law of 1835 relating to expulsions, the appointment of lay delegates to Conference, re-instatement of those who had been expelled. Memorials sent to Conference from Norfolk circuits appear to have been uniformly rejected and this, together with the constraints governing the very process of memorialising, was resented. Jabez Bunting was felt to be behind the tight control exercised on all sides. He might claim that he stood for 'the just rights of the laity', but people found this hard to believe. No doubt this deep suspicion of Bunting was exaggerated, encouraged by Everett's personal dislike of him, but Everett's anecdotes were not forgotten: 'Well might William Bunting say, when twirling his stick before a friend of mine, "My father can turn the whole Conference like that" and he was right.'¹⁷

Disorderly incidents

It was, perhaps, inevitable that the behaviour of some people contrasted unfavourably with the generally dignified though earnest majority of Reformers whose views were passionately yet peaceably held. Indeed, Charles Barber acknowledged that they had sometimes erred in judgement and sometimes erred in spirit, but it was 'a difficult thing to steer a vessel in a tempest.'¹⁸ Unseemly incidents did occur and occasionally physical intimidation was evident. At Diss in November 1850, the Reformers invaded the chapel during a Sunday school gathering, claiming that as teachers they had a right to attend and Conference resorted to the Court of Chancery to forbid their future entry. In June 1850 also at Diss, a group calling themselves Reformers paraded an offensive placard through the town and a large mob assembled at the superintendent's house and then followed two of the ministers through the streets hooting and shouting and throwing stones and it was not until the police were called that order was restored.

The newspaper report observed 'It is only justice to state that few, if any, of the Reformers themselves were among the vulgar mob.'¹⁹ In the

¹⁷ *Norfolk News*, 27 Oct. 1849. Bunting acknowledged the need for laity to be included on the committee set up after the 1851 Conference to discuss possible administrative changes.

¹⁸ *Norfolk News*, 15 March 1851.

¹⁹ *Norfolk Chronicle*, 22 June 1850.

ensuing court cases, none of those charged with offences claimed to have any religious connections.

The main trouble seems to have erupted in the North Walsham circuit. One of its ministers, James Jones, made a poor impression when he lost his temper during a Reform meeting in March 1850, but conflict centred on another of its ministers, the pedantic Charles Povah. The first major incident resulted in a charge brought by Povah before the Petty Sessions held at Aylsham in October 1850 against John Palmer, an expelled local preacher, for having occupied the pulpit at Cawston chapel and for having molested him. Planned to preach at Cawston, Povah had found the pulpit occupied by John Palmer and the service already begun. The congregation refused to co-operate with the minister and at the suggestion of Palmer withdrew to a nearby barn to continue the service leaving only a handful of people in the chapel. The magistrate dismissed the case amidst cheering from the crowded public gallery. Povah did not like the way the press had reported the case and wrote an angry letter to the editor of the *Norfolk News*. He applied for an injunction from Chancery to prevent disruption of services at Cawston in future, but was back at the Petty Sessions in February 1851 charging four people with maliciously disturbing worship at Cawston chapel. Evidence was brought of them banging doors, throwing dirt, walking about the chapel during the service and barring the door to prevent the congregation leaving. Three of the accused were required to appear at the Quarter Sessions. Two pleaded guilty and promised not to go near the chapel in future, the third insisted on his innocence in spite of many eye witnesses attesting his involvement, was found guilty and, unable to pay the £40 fine, was sent to prison. Although the prosecution had tried to tie this disturbance to the Reformers, it was probably more to do with the unpopularity of the ministers and hostility towards the over-pious respectability of some of their neighbours.

In December 1850, the *Norfolk Chronicle*, which delighted in revealing Wesleyan discomfiture, reported serious disturbances right across the North Walsham circuit. The most serious took place at Lenwade. For some time, ministers had arrived to find Reform local preachers already taking the services. On 24 November Charles Povah managed to conduct a service himself, but feared to leave the chapel at its close as a large and abusive crowd had gathered outside. He remained in the chapel until the evening service which was constantly interrupted by shouts and by stones thrown through the windows. Povah and the congregation were stoned on leaving the chapel. As he set off in his gig, more showers of stones were thrown, he was hit three times, the gig lamp was broken and the driver injured. Later Povah and another minister were burned in effigy. The resulting court case ended with the offenders being bound over to keep the peace.

Wesleyan losses

Although James Everett had urged people not to leave their classes and societies or officials their posts, huge numbers of defections took place across the county. The national Delegates' meeting in August 1852 claimed 47,598 were in direct fellowship with Reform services: in the Norwich and Lynn District Wesleyan membership numbers slumped from 11,277 in 1849 to 6,168 by 1853. Every circuit apart from Thetford showed a decline. In Norwich there was a startling drop from 1,248 to 260 by 1851 and at Holt 646 to 50 while at Swaffham numbers fell from 837 to 300; by 1852 North Walsham had dwindled from 761 to 312, Yarmouth from 668 to 293, Lynn from 949 to 503 and Walsingham from 789 to 410. Many chapels were severely affected. By May 1850 the congregations at Brockdish and Shelfanger had disappeared entirely and the chapels were for sale. William Kemp, key keeper at the Wesleyan chapel at Pentney, stated that there were 17 attenders in the afternoon and 16 in the evening in his return to the 1851 Religious Census and added 'The General congregation of this place used to be about 200 previous to the Conference Division.'²⁰ At Gresham the chapel steward reported that there was no congregation on Census Sunday and that there had been 'no preaching since 3 November... on account of the agitated state of the Society. Previous well attended.'²¹ Many similar statements appeared in the Norfolk returns. The numbers entered on the Census forms show that 11,084 adults and 1,561 children attended a Reform service on that day. An editorial in the *Norfolk News* claimed that the Norfolk figures showed the highest percentage of supporters of Reform in the country whilst figures published in the *Wesleyan Times* on 26 May 1851 placed Norfolk with the London, Bristol, Sheffield and the Nottingham and Derby Districts at the top of the list showing the largest number of defections.

Many Wesleyan chapels in Norfolk took decades to recover. The minister at Holt, Slater Sunderland, reported to a local preachers' meeting in June 1877 that he had written to the General Secretary of the Home Mission Fund to ask that Holt be added to the list of circuits requiring assistance 'as the circuit has been for a long time in an exceptional position and it calls for exceptional treatment.'²²

As early as the beginning of September 1849, the call to stop the supplies of money was made at a meeting at Swaffham. Such action would, it was felt, make those who directed Conference think again

²⁰ *1851 Census of Religious Worship for Norfolk*, Norfolk Record Society, vol.LXII, ed. Janet Ede and Norma Virgoe, (1998), no. 1190.

²¹ *Ibid.*, no. 164.

²² L.P. Minute book, 1838-83, Holt Wesleyan Circuit, Norfolk Record Office FC18/192.

about the path they were following. Income for chapels and circuits plummeted: at Hempnall receipts fell from £14.11.11 in 1849 to £2.2.6 by 1853 and its finances did not recover until 1894.²³ This was a common pattern. It meant that circuit and District responsibilities could not be met. The Rev. James Topham at the Quarterly meeting in 1850 remarked on the dishonesty of those who allowed ministers to come to Norwich without informing them of the state of the finances and was firmly told that 'many could not conscientiously contribute to the support of the agents of Conference without incurring guilt of becoming abettors of their policy.'²⁴ Four months later, it was pointed out that 'Norwich stands alone in her glory, no other circuit in the Connexion having left its ministers altogether without supplies.'²⁵ Indeed, in the stationing list of the 1851 Conference, there were nine ministerial deficiencies in the Norwich and Lynn District alone compared with thirteen for the remainder of the Connexion.

Reform gains

Some Reform congregations soon felt the need for full-time workers. In Norwich a Mr Overton was appointed as an official preacher at a salary of twenty shillings a week. Shortly afterwards a second circuit agent, Thomas Barlow, was engaged and a third, John Mann, was employed for one week in every month. The last two became the first Norwich Wesleyan Reform ministers. John Keed acted as circuit minister at Lynn and then took up a formal ministerial appointment at Chatteris in 1853. Joseph Colman played a similar role at Holt and was officially made minister there in 1858 and then acted as supernumerary in 1878-80.

Like every other new religious group, the Reformers needed premises for worship. The 1851 Religious Census returns record the variety of buildings used; at Aylsham the preaching room was previously a grocer's and draper's shop; at Downham the room was built over stables and a gig house and at Great Witchingham the Reformers used a room at the King's Head public house which met with strong disapproval from some potential members of the society. Cottages and barns were frequently used. Sometimes the defections left the Wesleyan congregation so reduced that the chapel was forced to close. At Gorleston the chapel was offered for sale: it was bought by two who had left the Wesleyans and immediately opened for the Reformers. In the Walsingham circuit eight preaching places were

²³ Hempnall Wesleyan chapel, Trustees and Subscription book, 1829-94, NRO FC17/169.

²⁴ *Norfolk News*, 5 Oct. 1850.

²⁵ *Norfolk News*, 15 Feb. 1851.

closed. In Norwich the large New City chapel had been relinquished by the Wesleyans in 1850, whilst the withdrawal of the majority of the congregation from Calvert Street, the first chapel in the circuit, had caused finances to collapse and the Reformers were then able to rent the chapel themselves from the mortgages. Many groups quickly decided to erect chapels and by the end of 1850 these were to be found at Skeyton, Swanton Abbott, Snettisham, Dersingham, Grimston, Gayton, West Winch, North Runcton, Upwell, Terrington St Clement, Gaywood, Wiggshall St Germans and Philadelphia chapel, Norwich.

The Norwich preaching plan for May-August 1851 showed 22 Reform chapels in the circuit, leaving only five to the Wesleyans.²⁶ The 1851 Religious Census records 64 Reform congregations in the county,²⁷ most of them still meeting in emergency accommodation. This contrasted sharply with neighbouring Suffolk with just three Reform congregations.

By the end of 1850, a 'Reform Committee' had been set up in Norwich and when the superintendent substituted an unofficial house gathering for the official Quarterly meeting, the Reform Committee called the circuit officials together at New City chapel - about 60 attended - and a Reform circuit was set up with James Clark as secretary and Joseph Massingham as treasurer.²⁸ As the ministers had announced their resolve to preach no longer in many places, many local preachers offered their services and the ensuing Reform plan listed 44 local preachers compared with the five ministers and 52 local preachers recorded on the last plan before the dispute began. By the end of 1851 the number of Reform preachers had grown to 54. Class leaders were also organised and future meetings to deal with circuit organisation were arranged.

Other places in the District met to arrange the administrative and spiritual needs of their congregations. The first Quarterly meeting of the Diss Reformers took place as early as 11 September 1850; the January-April 1851 plan for Yarmouth showed that 21 local preachers had volunteered for the Reformers. Then on 6 May 1851, the first District meeting of the Reformers was held in Norwich when 40 delegates reported on their numbers and finances. The meeting was judged to have been 'marked with great moderation, judgement and unanimity' and was 'full of encouragement and hopeful promises.'²⁹

Public support for the Reformers was expressed at a grand soiree

²⁶ The Reformers' plan is headed 'Wesleyan Methodist Preachers' Plan', has the same style as the earlier plans and the same printer has been used perhaps to give the impression of the seamless continuity of true Methodism. NRO FC17/100.

²⁷ The official tables of Religious Census returns give the number as 44.

²⁸ On the 1853-4 plan he is described as 'President'.

²⁹ *Norfolk News*, 10 May 1851.

held in St Andrew's Hall in March 1851. An influential committee headed by the mayor and sheriff and including the leading nonconformists from various city congregations made the arrangements. It was estimated that 1200 people attended the event. Tea for all was provided, organ music was played and speeches from several of the well-known Reformers from across the county were greeted with enormous enthusiasm. John Keed declared that 'a friend in the neighbourhood of York told him he'd been in a company where two or three Wesleyan ministers were present and one observed "It was a fearful thing this coming meeting in Norwich" because it told the world that the man whose rights were trampled on would find many a friend in Norwich.'³⁰ Reading this report, the Wesleyans at Aylsham were stung into action. A party was held where several ministers making speeches hostile to the Reformers were greeted with bursts of applause from a large and supportive crowd and music was provided by members of the Aylsham Choral Society.

Support for the Reformers came from other denominations. Many Independent and Baptist ministers in particular made speeches of support and sometimes offered them their pulpits - amongst others, Joseph Massingham preached at the Old Meeting Independent chapel in Norwich in January 1851 and John Keed at the Countess of Huntingdon's chapel in Lynn in August 1850 - and they generously made their buildings available for Reform services and meetings.

Clearly the success of the Reformers in Norfolk was partly due to the qualities of those who emerged as leaders. William Cozens-Hardy, Joseph Colman, Joseph Massingham, Charles Barber, James Clark, John Keed played crucial roles locally and were all important on the national Reform stage and in the birth of the United Methodist Free Churches in 1857. Yet it was also the support and determination of so many ordinary chapel-goers that gave such success to the Wesleyan Reformers. The editorial of the *Norfolk News* on 27 October 1849 perhaps touched the core of the Reformers' determination and vitality when it asserted 'a solitary spark has kindled a conflagration because it fell on the most combustible of all materials, on men's consciences and their sense of right.'

NORMA VIRGOE

(Norma Virgoe has written widely on East Anglia Nonconformity)

³⁰ *Norfolk News*, 15 March 1851.

THE SCOPE OF EARLY LONDON 'METHODISM': WALTER WILSON'S EVIDENCE

Walter Wilson's *History and Antiquities of Dissenting Churches and Meeting Houses in London, Westminster and Southwark* is an indispensable source of information regarding Protestant Nonconformity in the metropolitan area. Wilson published four volumes of his *History* between 1808 and 1814. These books referred primarily to the older Dissenting bodies, the Baptists, Congregationalists (Independents), and Presbyterians, although Wilson also fitted in several chapels belonging to Calvinistic Methodists. He also projected a comprehensive description of Methodism in the London region. This larger treatment would have formed the fifth volume of his work. However, Wilson never published volume five, presumably because he could not secure enough subscribers for it.¹ Fortunately, he brought together in a single manuscript on 'Methodist Places' (his phrase) the data which he had collected. This document, under the terms of Wilson's bequest, now belongs to Dr. Williams's Library, London.²

Wilson described approximately eighty 'Methodist' congregations which were active during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. His manuscript, therefore, is a valuable record of London 'Methodism'. I have enclosed the words 'Methodist' and 'Methodism' in quotation marks for a reason. Wilson used these terms in ways to which we are unaccustomed. He understood them in a broad sense; we define the words more narrowly. What then distinguished a 'Methodist' chapel, in Wilson's estimation? Often the chapel is related somehow to a leading personality who is recognizably Methodist, an individual such as George Whitefield, Alexander Kilham, the Countess of Huntingdon or John Wesley. Wilson lists chapels belonging to Whitefield's Connexion, such as the Tabernacle and Tottenham Court Road. Gibraltar Chapel, Church Street, Bethnal Green Road represents the Methodist New Connexion. The relationship between a chapel and Lady Huntingdon could take several forms. Perhaps the chapel belonged to the countess's Connexion (Spa Fields, for example). Perhaps she contributed money to the construction of the chapel building.³ Or perhaps the minister was the link with the Countess; the

¹ XXI, II 615-16.

² Press mark MS. 63. E. Dr. Williams's Library has granted permission to quote from the manuscript upon which this paper is based.

³ Edwin Welch, 'A Forgotten Thread in Congregational History: The Calvinistic Methodists', *Transactions of the Congregational Historical Society* 21. pp. 86-7, p. 89.

chapel trustees had called to the pulpit a graduate of Trevecca College. As for Wesley, the manuscript lists several chapels which were parts of his Connexion. But Wilson also mentions congregations led by persons whom Wesley had excluded from his societies, men such as George Bell and Thomas Maxfield.⁴ Given Wesley's role in the Fetter Lane Society, the identification of the Moravians as 'Methodists' is understandable. Inadvertently, Wesley may have prompted some of his followers to turn to the Swedenborgians. Although he criticized Swedenborg severely,⁵ Wesley could also say, Swedenborg 'has strong and beautiful thoughts, and may be read with profit by a serious and cautious readers.'⁶ The ex-Wesleyan, Robert Hindmarsh, was an early leader of the New Jerusalem Church in London.⁷

Even after we stretch a point, and relate as many chapels as possible to well-known Methodist leaders, several congregations on Wilson's list are left over. These include a proprietary chapel belonging to a pair of Anglican clergymen; a congregation to which a German Lutheran, Christopher Frederick Treibner, ministered (presumably Treibner was a Pietist); and chapels associated with the Calvinistic Methodists, James Relly and William Huntingdon. (Relly was an early Universalist; Wesley called him an 'antinomian'.)⁸ What then is the characteristic which these eighty chapels, connexional and otherwise, have in common? In the final analysis, 'Methodism', as Wilson understands it, seems to stand simply for 'experimental' or 'experiential' religion.

One might infer that Wilson offers little to the historian of the Wesleyan movement, since he lists so few chapels belonging to Mr. Wesley's Connexion. Such an inference would be premature, in my judgment, for the following reasons, among others. Contemporary authors and political figures referred from time to time to the actions and beliefs of Methodists. Wilson's manuscript reminds us that

⁴ On the exclusion of George Bell and Thomas Maxfield from the Wesleyan Connexion, see *The Letters of John Wesley* (Standard Edition), IV pp. 192-4, pp. 200-1, pp. 208-11; *Journal* (Standard Edition), V, pp. 5-7, 10-13, 40, 155. These events occurred in 1763. Despite their earlier differences, Wesley preached at Maxfield's Chapel (Princes Street, Moorfields) on 2 February and 16 November 1783 (*Journal*, VI, pp. 389-90, p. 460). Another ex-Wesleyan, Lawrence Coughlin, preached at Holywell Mount; see *Journal*, IV, p. 297 for a note on his career.

⁵ *Journal*, VI, pp. 230-1; 'Thoughts on the Writings of Baron Swedenborg', *Works* (1872 edition), XIII, pp. 425-28.

⁶ *Letters*, VI, p. 340.

⁷ For the life of Robert Hindmarsh, see *Documents concerning the Life and Character of Emanuel Swedenborg*, ed. R. L. Tafel (London, 1890), II, p. 1182-7. is an important account of the relationships between Methodists, Swedenborgians and the Church of England (*Schism, Heresy and Religious Protest*, ed. Derek Baker (1972), pp. 303-9).

⁸ For information concerning Huntingdon and Relly, see the X, pp. 309-11; XVI, p. 893-4. Huntingdon is not mentioned by Wesley; for his judgment regarding Relly, see *Works*, VIII, p. 349.

'Methodist' does not necessarily mean 'Wesleyan'. The public's perception of 'Methodism' may owe more to non-Wesleyans than Wesleyans. Furthermore, Wilson illuminates, at least indirectly, the controversies in which Wesley was engaged, especially his controversies with the Calvinists. The gravity and magnitude of these disputes are driven home by the sheer quantity of non-Wesleyan chapels and preachers in the London area. And again, Wilson illustrates a problem which Wesleyans encountered as they tried to increase their membership. The historical record seems to show that the number of persons attracted to an 'experiential' version of Christianity is relatively limited. The Wesleyans of London faced tremendous competition from other 'Methodists', Wilson implies, as they worked to recruit members from this limited pool of prospects.

Later, I will describe Wilson's manuscript in greater detail. At this point, however, a word regarding its composition may be in order. The document at hand is the penultimate stage in producing a book. Wilson's manuscript is a digest of his notes, which he could use in writing the text which would be submitted to the publishers. Internal evidence suggests that most of the manuscript was written around 1815, although it refers to events which occurred during the previous forty years. Wilson added a few entries to the manuscript at a later date, apparently in the hope that the fifth volume might be published eventually. These additions are relatively unimportant, however. The last date mentioned in the manuscript is 1840, seven years before Wilson's death.

Wilson provides a range of information regarding each chapel, although the amount of detail varies from one congregation to another. He describes, for example, the premises which the congregation occupied. These included purpose-built chapels, constructed specifically for Methodists; redundant meeting houses, taken on lease; large enclosed spaces, such as an assembly room or a riding school, converted to other uses; the upper floors of multi-story structures; and rooms created by developers as they remodelled old buildings. Wilson also states the theological position adopted by certain congregations, and describes the styles of worship practised by others. Sunday services ran the gamut from the Book of Common Prayer to Dissenting orders of worship. Wilson offers a little information regarding the size of several congregations, usually no more than 'large' or 'small', and the socio-economic status of certain groups, either 'poor', 'genteel', or 'opulent'.

In addition, Wilson lists the ministers of most of the chapels and frequently sketches the course of their careers. Some of them entered the ministry upon graduating from Trevecca College or one of the universities.⁹ For others, the ministry was a second career.

These men began to preach full-time after they had reached middle age. William Brown had been a silversmith; Benjamin Smith, a tailor; and William Braithwaite, a printer. A few of the ministers inherited money or married well, but sometimes the pastor of a poverty-stricken chapel would have to hold a second job in order to support himself. All of the ministers whom Wilson identifies were males.

In order to appreciate fully London 'Methodism' as Wilson describes it, one would have to establish the context in which Methodism developed and collect additional data regarding the chapels which he lists. Since many of these chapels disappeared rather quickly, securing further information could be rather difficult. (The names of the chapels and some facts about them are to be found in the appendix to this paper.) Meanwhile, certain observations can be made, based upon the material which Wilson has provided. I will comment on (1) the apparent popularity of Calvinistic Methodism and (2) gradual changes in Methodist worship.

I

Edwin Welch has written, 'The early Methodists were a very mixed group in which Arminian views seemed unlikely to prevail for many years.'¹⁰ Wilson tends to support this generalization. During the period to which his manuscript primarily refers, that is, the years down to c. 1815, Calvinistic Methodists in the London area probably outnumbered the Arminians, slightly but perceptibly. This inference, let me hasten to say, is somewhat tentative. Part of the problem is the shortage of membership statistics. As noted above, Wilson does not provide figures. Indeed, it would be next to impossible, I suspect, to secure numbers for some of the congregations which he describes. Furthermore, Wilson did not record certain chapels which fit his image of Methodism. Some of these congregations were Calvinist; others were Arminian. For example, he mentions just one chapel (Norwood) built by the London Itinerant Society, a Calvinistic organization. However, between the years 1796

⁹ Wilson names in his manuscript at least fifteen graduates of Trevecca College. Geoffrey F. Nuttall provides biographical information regarding most of them ('The Students of Trevecca College, 1768-1791, *Transactions of the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion* [1967] pp. 269-77). Dr. Nuttall's lecture, *The Significance of Trevecca College 1768-91*, (1969), helps to explain the point of view which these graduates brought to the ministry.

John Bradford, John Cottingham and Thomas Wills attended Oxford; Rowland Hill and Richard Povah (Wilson misspells his name), the University of Cambridge; A. M. Toplady, Trinity College, Dublin.

¹⁰ Edwin Welch, ed., *Two Calvinistic Methodist Chapels 1743-1811: The London Tabernacle and Spa Fields Chapel* (London Record Society, 1975), viii; see also Welch, 'Forgotten Thread', p. 87.

and 1847, this Society sponsored a total of fifty-five chapels and preaching stations.¹¹ In the earlier part of this period, the Society's chapels could be regarded as 'Methodist places', although in the long run, the survivors usually became Congregationalists. Isolated examples of Calvinistic Methodist chapels, missed by Wilson, can be found in the *Victoria County History of Middlesex* and other reference works. As for the Arminians, Wilson mentions only nine Wesleyan chapels (three of these succeeding one another in Snow Fields). On the other hand, *The Protestant Dissenters' Almanack*, referring to the year 1810, lists forty-four Wesleyan places in or near London.¹² Having entered these *caveats*, I return to the point stated towards the beginning of this paragraph. Calvinists probably outnumbered Arminians. The sheer number of Calvinistic chapels noted by Wilson is impressive, forty-two by my count (and five or more other chapels could probably be included here as well). Furthermore, Wilson tells us, some of these chapels attracted 'numerous' hearers.

Why was Calvinistic Methodism more popular than the Arminian variety? This is an important question. In order to answer it, we would need more information than Wilson's manuscript provides. Let me turn, therefore, to a different but related point. All the chapels named by Wilson were voluntary associations. As men and women are weighing the alternatives and choosing a chapel, he reminds us, they may be influenced by non-theological factors as well as doctrinal positions. For example, Wilson mentions six Welsh language chapels. In all likelihood, these chapels were Calvinistic by profession. Presumably the members were sincere Calvinists. However, the chapels were not only expressions of their members' faith; they were also the means whereby persons living in an alien environment could affirm their national identity and maintain a link with their homeland. To take another case: the majority of the chapels listed by Wilson were 'independent' Methodist. They were not affiliated with a Methodist connexion or related to any other ecclesiastical body, such as the Moravians. Wilson states the doctrinal position of some of these independent congregations. With one exception, they were Calvinists, not Arminians. I suggest that polity as well as doctrine was a reason why certain persons joined an independent Methodist chapel. To them, local control of chapel affairs was a matter of vital importance. This was an issue even in the

¹¹ 'The London Itinerant Society', *Transactions of the Congregational Historical Society* 7: p. 313. Deryck W. Lovegrove, *Established Church, Sectarian People: Itinerancy and the Transformation of English Dissent, 1780-1830* (Cambridge, 1988) places the work of the Society in a larger context.

¹² 'London Nonconformity in 1810', *Transactions of the Congregational Historical Society* 6 p. 132-3. The Wesleyans' London plan for 1792 lists thirty two preaching places (Leslie F. Church, *More about the Early Methodist People*, [1949], p. 229).

Wesleyan connexion, as the fierce disputes following Wesley's death, among preachers, trustees, leaders, and people, and a series of schisms, both large and small, illustrate.

To take a further case: the power of personality should not be discounted. Wilson refers again and again to religious 'entrepreneurs', preachers who built or rented a place to meet and then entered the competition for hearers. For example, Benjamin Worship of Norwich and William Hervey, nephew of the author of the *Dialogue between Theron and Aspasio*, built a chapel at their own expense in St. Dunstan parish, Stepney. As this example suggests, most of these preachers were Calvinists. No doubt their theology was acceptable to their audiences, but the preachers' manner and style help to account for their ability to attract and hold a congregation.

II

Wilson's manuscript illustrates a transition in Methodist worship, from the use of the Book of Common Prayer to a type of service based upon Dissenting models. The Jewry Street Chapel, an independent Methodist chapel committed to a Calvinistic theology, is an example of this trend. The congregation occupied its premises in 1774. The first minister, a Trevecca graduate named Henry Mead, used the Prayer Book each Sunday. He left Jewry Street after two years and took orders in the Church of England. The second minister, William Aldridge, was also a Trevecca graduate. He may have used the Prayer Book at Jewry Street. The next minister, Richard Povah, certainly did. Povah is interesting since he began his career as a Methodist preacher, and eventually, was ordained as an Anglican priest. Povah served at one and the same time as curate and lecturer, St. James's Church, Durke's Place and minister to the Methodist chapel in Jewry Street. He wanted to place the chapel under the jurisdiction of the Bishop of London. Objections were raised, and Povah resigned his post at the chapel. The majority of the congregation then chose as its pastor a 'Dissenting minister', John Ball. Apparently the congregation wanted to continue using the Prayer Book, but Ball, as a matter of conscience, refused to read the service. A compromise was agreed to; Ball would preach and the liturgy would be read by someone else. Wilson says nothing about the qualifications of this individual, but I am reminded of the Anglican 'reader' who officiated at City Road Chapel.

While a broad trend can be perceived, from Prayer Book to Dissenting worship, a great deal of variety can be observed as well. Wilson identifies certain congregations which worshipped in a Dissenting manner from the beginning of their existence. In some congregations

which used the Prayer Book, the same individual read prayers and preached, while in others an Anglican clergyman read the liturgy and a second person delivered the sermon. (Wilson specifically mentions Union Chapel, Compton Terrace, Islington; perhaps this was also the case at Jewry Street; see above.) Elsewhere the mode of worship depended upon the time of day. The morning service was conducted according to the Book of Common Prayer. Worship in a Dissenting style was held on Sunday evenings. Wilson mentions a Methodist chapel of the independent type which was using the Prayer Book exclusively, even in the 1830s.

Why was the Prayer Book used less and less frequently? Alan Harding has offered a sociological answer to this question. His argument runs as follows. The social status of early Methodists was ambiguous and unclear. Methodists hovered between the 'respectable' and the 'unrespectable'. They were determined to claim respectability for themselves. The Church of England was a highly prestigious institution; using its Prayer Book was a way of claiming the Church's respectability for oneself. In due time, thanks to their own efforts, Methodists came to be accepted as respectable persons. Once this happened, they had no further need for the Prayer Book.¹³ Harding has made a valuable point, but perhaps it could be stated in a different way. Minimizing the differences between Methodism and the Church of England might work to the Methodists' political advantage. Leaders in both Church and State regarded them with suspicion. In 1800, and again in 1811, legislation was proposed which would have restricted the licensing of nonconformist chapels and restrained the movements of itinerant preachers.¹⁴ Using the Prayer Book could be a kind of 'protective colouration'. It was a way of emphasizing the similarities between Methodism and the Church, and suggesting that Churchmen had little to fear from the Methodist movement.

Over and beyond these considerations, the manner in which the Church service was performed is significant. Students of Anglican and Methodist worship, understandably enough, have focused their attention on written texts, either liturgies, sermons, or hymns, as the case may be. They have not studied, in the same detail, the ways in which congregational worship is done, in part because the evidence is so

¹³ Alan Harding, 'The Anglican Prayer Book and the Countess of Huntingdon's Connexion', *Transactions of the Congregational Historical Society* 20 (1970): p. 365.

¹⁴ *A Narrative of the Proceedings of the General Committee of the People called Methodists, ... Of Protestant Dissenters, and Other Friends to Religious Liberty, Respecting the Bill introduced into the House of Lords, by Lord Viscount Sidmouth* (London, 1811); John C. Bowmer, 'A Proposed Disabling Bill of 1800', *Proceedings* 46: 174-6; David Hempton, *Methodism and Politics in British Society 1750-1850* (1984), pp. 77-80, pp. 98-104.

difficult to obtain. The Prayer Book services can be enacted in a variety of ways; this was as true in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries as it is today. I suggest that the way the liturgy was performed in Methodist chapels, either connexional or independent, probably contributed to the gradual decline in its use.

Generalizations in this area are difficult, but the Prayer Book was often employed in a mechanical and dispirited way. The minister 'read prayers'. While some ministers were praised for the devout manner in which they read the liturgy, others were faulted for rushing through the prayers or stumbling over the words. Furthermore, 'reading prayers' could mean that the congregation did not take an active part in the service. The people might not say the prayers and make the responses which were assigned to them in the Prayer Book. Under these circumstances, the Book of Common Prayer, for numbers of Methodists, was a stumbling block rather than an aid to worship. Early leaders of the Methodist movement, persons such as John Wesley, Howell Harris, and the Countess of Huntingdon, were committed to the Book. They encouraged their followers to attend the Church services or to use the Prayer Book in their chapels. Given the prestige and authority of these leaders, early Methodists were disposed to follow their example. However, the next generation was less inclined to do so. The leadership had not conveyed, or could not convey, to many members of the rising generation its devotion to the Prayer Book. Once these leaders had passed away, the Book began to be set aside.

* * * * *

The eighty two chapels mentioned in Wilson's manuscript, plus a couple of others, are listed below. I have added two chapels (nos. 83, 84) which Wilson described in his book but omitted from his manuscript. The locations of the chapels are those which Wilson gives; I have inserted the phrases in brackets. The direct quotations come from Wilson's manuscript. I have identified as 'Calvinistic Methodist' only the chapels which Wilson named as such; it is clear from his descriptions, however, that many of the other chapels belong to this group.

JOHN C. ENGLISH

(Dr. John English is Professor of History at Baker University, Kansas, USA. He delivered the WHS Lecture in 1991.)

ABBREVIATIONS USED IN LIST OF CHAPELS

Besant	Walter Besant, <i>London in the Eighteenth Century</i> (1903)
DNB	<i>Dictionary of National Biography</i>
Gwynn	Robin D. Gwynn, 'The Distribution of Huguenot Refugees in England, II: London and Its Environs', <i>Huguenot Society of London. Proceedings</i> 22 (1976)
Hindmarsh	Robert Hindmarsh (ed. Edward Madeley), <i>The Rise and Progress of the New Jerusalem Church in England, America, and Other Parts</i> (1861)
Jones	Robert T. Jones, <i>Congregationalism in England 1662-1962</i> (1962)
Middlesex	<i>Victoria History of the Counties of England: A History of the County of Middlesex</i>
PWHS	<i>Proceedings of the Wesley Historical Society</i>
Survey	<i>Survey of London</i> (many volumes)
TCHS	<i>Transactions of the Congregational Historical Society</i>
Welch	Edwin Welch, ed., <i>Two Calvinistic Methodist Chapels 1743-1811: The London Tabernacle and Spa Fields Chapel</i> (1975)
White	James G. White, <i>The Churches and Chapels of Old London</i> (1901)
Whitley	William T. Whitley, <i>The Baptists of London 1612-1928</i> (1928)
Wilson	Walter Wilson, <i>History and Antiquities of Dissenting Churches and Meeting Houses in London, Westminster and Southwark</i> (1808-14)
Wilson MS.	MS. 63. E. (Dr. Williams's Library)

FOOTNOTES TO LIST OF CHAPELS

- ^a Wilson says 'Wapping' instead of Southwark in the table of contents to his MS. After the Wesleyans left this chapel, it was used by Calvinistic Methodists and then by an Arian preacher (Wilson MS., p. 472).
- ^b *Survey*, XXVII, 266, 267 puts this chapel in Mile End, New Town.
- ^c Land at rear of Nos. 93 and 95 Wilkes Street, formerly called Hope Street (*Survey*).
- ^d Location also described as Upper Street, opposite Wells's Row.
- ^e Also described as Leading Street Chapel, Shadwell Market.
- ^f Back premises of No. 8, St. James's Square, fronting York Street.

Location of Chapel	Name of Chapel (if different from location)	Denominational Affiliation (if any)	Further Information	References
1. Upper Moorfields [east side of Windmill Hill, later Tabernacle Street]	Foundery	Wesleyan	used by Methodists from 1739	Wilson MS., 404 (brief) Stevenson, <i>City Road Chapel, London</i> , 13-60
2. City Road	[New Chapel]	Wesleyan	built 1777	Wilson MS., 404 (brief) Stevenson, <i>op. cit.</i>
3. Grey Eagle St., Spitalfields [corner of Grey Eagle and Black Eagle Streets]	also known as Black Eagle St. Chapel	Wesleyan	former Huguenot chapel	Wilson MS., 404 (brief) <i>Survey</i> , XXVII, 112-3 Gwynn, 526 under heading "L'Eglise de l'Hospital"
4. Old Gravel Lane, Wapping		Wesleyan	'built about 30 years ago'	Wilson MS., 404 (brief)
5. West St., Seven Dials		Wesleyan	former Huguenot chapel	Wilson MS., 404 (brief) Gwynn, 554-5 Reeve, "West Street Chapel, St. Giles, Seven Dials", PWHS 16 (1928): 137-41

Location of Chapel	Name of Chapel (if different from location)	Denominational Affiliation (if any)	Further Information	References
6. Lincoln's Inn Fields, Great Queen Street		Wesleyan	former chapel of ease, St. Giles- in-the-Fields	Wilson MS., 404 (brief) <i>Survey</i> , V., 86-8
7. Snow Field, Southwark* [Meeting House Walk]		Wesleyan	first chapel in Snows Field, occupied 1743-63	Wilson MS., 472 Vickers, 'John Wesley's Third London Chapel,' PWHS 43 59-61.
8. Snows Field, Southwark [Crosby Row]		Wesleyan	second chapel in Snows Field, occupied 1764-1808	Wilson MS., 404 (brief) Vickers, <i>op. cit.</i>
9. Long Lane, Southwark	Southwark Chapel	Wesleyan	built 1808; succeeded Crosby Row	Wilson MS., 472 Vickers, <i>op. cit.</i>
10. Glass House Yard [Pickaxe Street]			former General (Arminian) chapel	Wilson MS., 407
11. Bartholomew Close [Middlesex Court, Middlesex House]			former Presbyterian chapel; Wesley preached here in 1763; occupied by James Relly (1764-9)	Wilson MS., 408 White, 85-6 DNB, XVI, 893

Location of Chapel	Name of Chapel (if different from location)	Denominational Affiliation (if any)	Further Information	References
12. Jewry Street [Crutched Friars meeting house]			former Presbyterian chapel; Calvinistic Methodist	Wilson MS., 409 Wilson, printed text, I, 128-34, White, 29, 31
13. Three Cranes Thames Street			former Independent chapel, 'built for Dr. Ridgley; Calvinistic Methodist from 1798	Wilson MS., 410 Wilson, printed text, III, 67-99, White, 61 Jones, 159-60
14. Silver Street [Wood Street]			former Presbyterian chapel; Calvinistic Methodist	Wilson MS., 411 Wilson printed text, III, 115-25, White, 67-70 Welch, paragraph 219
15. Grub Street	also known as the 'City Chapel'		built 1788	Wilson MS., 412 White, 69
16. Holywell Mount			built 1779 Lawrence Coughlin preached here	Wilson MS., 413 Welch, paragraphs 215-6, 260
17. White's Alley, [Little] Moorfields			chapel formerly occupied by Baptists Moravians and a clergyman of the Church of England	Wilson MS., 414 Whitley

Location of Chapel	Name of Chapel (if different from location)	Denominational Affiliation (if any)	Further Information	References
18. Rope Makers Alley [Little Moorfields]			former Independent chapel; Thomas Maxwell preached here, 1765-74	Wilson, MS., 415
19. Bunhill Row				Wilson MS., 416 Whitley, 123
20. Cumberland Street			separation from Thomas Maxfield; built c. 1767	Wilson MS., 417
21. Windmill Hill 'formerly part of St. Luke's Hospital'	Trinity Chapel		used by Universalists (followers of James Relly) and Baptists	Wilson MS., 418 Whitley, 123
22. Little Zoar, Windmill Hill [later Tabernacle Street]			'built about 50 years ago'	Wilson MS., 419
23. Hunt Street, Spitalfields ^b				Wilson MS., 420
24. Hope Street, Spitalfields ^c			Huntingtonian c. 1785; apparently entrance to chapel lay through houses called Sauer's Buildings	Wilson MS., 421 <i>Survey</i> , XXVII, 112, 113

Location of Chapel	Name of Chapel (if different from location)	Denominational Affiliation (if any)	Further Information	References
25. Church St., Mile End, New Town [later part of Hanbury Street]				Wilson MS., 422 <i>Survey</i> , XXVII, 281-2; information under heading, Trinity Congregational Church and Schools, Hanbury St.
26. Chapel St., Mile End New Town				Wilson MS., 423
27. Bethnal Green Road	Bethlehem Chapel		'built a few years ago'; 'Independent Methodist'	Wilson MS., 424
28. Bethnal Green, Church Street	Gibraltar Chapel	Methodist New Connexion	built 1798	Wilson MS., 425 Rose, 'The Methodist New Connexion in London, 1797-1907', PWHS 36: 177.
29. Gee Street, Gosnell Street				Wilson MS., 426
30. Aldersgate St. 'opposite to Westmorland- building	Shaftsbury Chapel (may have dropped this name when new building was constructed)		opened in 1804; Calvinistic Methodist	Wilson MS., 427 Wilson, printed text III, 357-8 White, 86-7

Location of Chapel	Name of Chapel (if different from location)	Denominational Affiliation (if any)	Further Information	References
31. Cross Street Hatton Garden	Hatton Chapel	Swedenborgian (1797-1803)		Wilson MS., 428 Hindmarsh, 21, 169-74
32. Baker's Court, Holborn			Calvinistic Methodist; George Bell 'preached here a number of years'	Wilson MS., 429 Wilson, printed text, III, 418-20
33. Gate Street, Lincoln Inn's Fields				Wilson MS., 430
34. Titchfield St. [Oxford Market]	Providence Chapel		built for William Huntington	Wilson MS., 431 DNB, X, 310
35. Shepherd's Market Piccadilly				Wilson MS., 432
36. Tottenham St.				Wilson MS., 433
37. Lant Street, Southwark				Wilson MS., 434 Wilson, printed text, IV, 320-1
38. Chapel Court, Southwark		Methodist New Connexion (1800-6)	built c. 1775	Wilson MS., 435 Wilson, printed text IV, 319-20

Location of Chapel	Name of Chapel (if different from location)	Denominational Affiliation (if any)	Further Information	References
39. Portland St., Ratcliff			built 1790	Wilson, MS., 436
40. Pell Street, Ratcliff	New Mulberry Garden Chapel		built 1802	Wilson MS., 437
41. Old Mulberry Gardens, Wapping		Countess of Huntingdon	temporary wooden building replaced by substantial brick building (1779)	Wilson MS., 438 Welch, see index
42. Shadwell High St., Ratcliffe Highway	Ebenezer Chapel		built c. 1792	Wilson MS., 439
43. Gun Street, Limehouse	Bethesda Chapel		built c. 1790	Wilson MS., 440
44. Greenland Dock Rotherhithe			opened 1800	Wilson MS., 441
45. Capel Court, Batholomew Lane, 'near the Royal Exchange'				Wilson MS., 442

Location of Chapel	Name of Chapel (if different from location)	Denominational Affiliation (if any)	Further Information	References
46. Friars St., Old Change		Swedenborgian	opened 1803	Wilson MS., 443 Wilson, printed text, II, 165-71, Hindmarsh, 142-4
47. Grange Street, Bermondsey	Paragon Chapel			Wilson MS., 444
48. Hackney Road 'on the right hand from Shoreditch Church'				Wilson MS., 445
49. Islington, Chapel Street			built c. 1790; Methodist connection begins in 1793; Calvinistic Methodist	Wilson MS., 446 James Bennett, <i>History of the Church in Silver St.</i> (1841) on first two preachers here
50. Highbury Grove			former Unitarian chapel; re-opened 1799	Wilson MS., 447
51. Kingsland			opened c. 1788	Wilson MS., 448
52. Hoxton [Independent] Academy			chapel erected in 1796	Wilson MS., 449

Location of Chapel	Name of Chapel (if different from location)	Denominational Affiliation (if any)	Further Information	References
53. West Lane, Walworth				Wilson MS., 450
54. Paradise Row, Lambeth [later called Old Paradise St.]	Union Chapel (Wilson's name) The Evangelical Church (minute book)		Evangelical Church organized 1794; building completed several years earlier	Wilson MS., 421 MS 38. 44. Dr. Williams's Library (minute book)
55. Westminster	New Way Chapel		'originally an episcopal chapel, under the jurisdiction of the Bishop of London'	Wilson MS., 452
56. Pimlico	Buckingham Chapel			Wilson MS., 453
57. Moorfields 'near the Foundry in Windmill Hill'	Tabernacle	Whitefield's Connexion	temporary shed of 1741 replaced by permanent building in 1753	Wilson MS. 454 Welch, xiii-xvi, etc
58. Tottenham Court Road	Whitefield's Chapel	Whitefield's Connexion	opened 1756	Wilson MS., 455 Welch, xiv <i>Survey</i> , XXI, 67-74

Location of Chapel	Name of Chapel (if different from location)	Denominational Affiliation (if any)	Further Information	References
59. Spa Fields	Northampton Chapel	Countess of Huntingdon	opened for worship in 1777	Wilson MS., 456 Welch, xvi-xviii, etc Welch, 'Lady Huntingdon and Spa Fields Chapel', <i>Guildhall Miscellany</i> 4 (1972): 175-83.
60. [Whitechapel]	Sion (Zion) Chapel	Countess of Huntingdon	opened for worship c. 1775	Wilson MS., 457 Welch, see index
61. [Strand]	Adelphi Chapel		built c. 1777; occupied by Methodists c. 1789	Wilson MS., 458
62. Orange Street [Leicester Sq., Westminster]			former Huguenot chapel; taken over by A. M. Toplady in 1777; Calvinistic Methodist	Wilson MS., 459 Wilson, printed text, IV, 22-3 Gwynn, 528-9, under heading 'Leicester Fields', <i>Lex Benigna, Being the History of Orange Street Chapel</i> (1888)
63. [Blackfriars Road]	Surry (sic) Chapel		opened 1783; Rowland Hill, son of Sir Rowland, the minister	Wilson MS., 460 Charlesworth, <i>Rowland Hill</i> , 35-47, 156-9

Location of Chapel	Name of Chapel (if different from location)	Denominational Affiliation (if any)	Further Information	References
64. Newington Butts				Wilson MS., 461
65. White Lion Yard, Lambeth, 'opposite Lambeth Church'			opened 1791; Welsh language congregation	Wilson MS., 462
66. Woolwich 'near the Dock Yard Wall'			Welsh language congregation	Wilson MS., 462
67. Pardon Passage, Wilderness Row			built c. 1780; Welsh language congregation	Wilson MS., 463
68. Pardon Church Yard			opened 1787; Welsh language congregation	Wilson MS., 463
69. Camberwell	Camden Chapel		built 1796	Wilson MS., 464
70. Hornsey Lane, Highgate			built 1791	Wilson MS., 465 MacFayden, 'Echoes of Past Pastors in Highgate', TCHS 5 (1911-12): 9-10 (congregation to which Edward Porter ministered)

Location of Chapel	Name of Chapel (if different from location)	Denominational Affiliation (if any)	Further Information	References
71. Nine Elms, Vauxhall			opened 1797	Wilson MS., 466
72. Battersea, New Town			opened 1799	Wilson MS., 467
73. Brown's Lane, Spitalfields [later part of Hanbury St.]			former Huguenot chapel; German Lutheran minister	Wilson MS., 468 <i>Survey</i> , XXVII, 190-1; information under heading, Christ Church Parish Hall Gwynn, 517, 537
74. Norwood			built 1806	Wilson MS., 469 'The London Itinerant Society', TCHS 7 (1916-18) : 313.
75. Compton Terrace, Islington	Union Chapel		opened 1806	Wilson MS., 470
76. Little Guildford Street, Southwark			opened 1807; Welsh language congregation	Wilson MS., 471
77. Southwark	Zoar Chapel		former Independent chapel; Samuel Larwood preached here	Wilson MS., 472 <i>Survey</i> , XXII, 93 Besant, 626
78. Layton Street, Shadwell*	Salem Chapel		built 1747	Wilson MS., 473

Location of Chapel	Name of Chapel (if different from location)	Denominational Affiliation (if any)	Further Information	References
79. Woolwich, Green's End			built 1785; Wesleyan, then Baptist, then Wesleyan again	Wilson MS., 474
80. 'on high road from Battle Bridge to Islington'	Pentonville Chapel		built 1788	Wilson MS., 482
81. York Street, Westminster'		Swedenborgian		Wilson MS., 406 Wilson, printed text, IV, 54-5, <i>Survey</i> , XXIX, 117-8
82. Fetter Lane, [between Nevill's Court and New Street]		Moravian		Wilson MS., 405 Wilson, printed text, III, 420-6
83. Crosby Square			former Presbyterian chapel; followers of James Rely (1769-78)	Wilson, printed text, I, 358-61, Besant, 626 DNB, XVI, 893
84. Shoe Lane, 'upper room in Eagle and Child Alley, leading from Fleet Market into Shoe Lane'			Calvinistic Methodist	Wilson, printed text, III 416-7

GIDEON'S ARMY - 200TH ANNIVERSARY

Gideon's Army! Why was that nickname given to Methodists in the Alderney Militia in the 1790s? It is a story worth the telling.

The Methodist cause in Alderney, Channel Islands, was newly born: it began with the visit of Adam Clarke in 1787, and his first service in a home in the town of St. Annes. A Jurat was sent to vet him, to make sure that he wasn't preaching heresy or inciting a riot.¹ (In those days a Jurat was a member of both the Judicial and the Legislative Administration of the island.) The Jurat's eight-year-old son, Amice Ollivier, accompanied him, and he and other members of the family soon embraced the Methodist faith. Later that year John Wesley visited briefly - he was 84!²

Numbers grew too large for house meetings and another venue had to be found. One of the Ollivier family owned a dance hall in what was then called Corner Street. When he became a Methodist he did not wish it to continue as such, and allowed the Methodists to use it instead.³ A different kind of music was heard! Then on 9 March 1790 a purpose-built Methodist Church was opened: children attended with their parents. A month later, on 7 April, the Governor of Alderney, Le Mesurier, called an Extraordinary Meeting of the States of Alderney to consider the foundation and support of a Public School on the island. There were many reasons why a school was deemed necessary: education would enable islanders to take advantage of the opportunities now available to them, and especially their children. However in the rules of the proposed school 'the emphasis on religious instruction and the close association with the Established Church are striking. Le Mesurier was not only a devout Christian, but a staunch Churchman, and was deeply disturbed by the increasing influence of Methodism on the island'.⁴ The opening of the Methodist Church may have proved a catalyst - St. Anne's School also was opened later in 1790!

Methodists from the other islands had already started missionary work in France.⁵ Alderney Methodists longed to do the same, but the fledgling Church was thwarted. The French Revolution had begun, and non-juring priests and bishops were being murdered.⁶ It was not the time for foreigners to travel and settle in France, especially Churchmen on mission. That plan was put on hold. Colonel Peter Le Mesurier succeeded his father as Governor in 1793. Soon it became obvious that Alderney could be invaded by the French at any moment: activity had increased in the Channel, following the declaration of war made on England by the French revolutionaries on 1 February 1793. So,

¹ Letter from Adam Clarke to John Wesley: 16 March 1787.

² *Standard Journal*, VI, page 122f. 14 August 1787.

³ Francois Guiton: *Histoire du Methodisme Wesleyan dans Les Iles de la Manche*: (1846) pp. 283-4.

⁴ 'Governor Le Mesurier and the foundation of Alderney School' by Dr. Margaret Brown. *Alderney Society Bulletin*, Vol XXV (1991) pp. 72-76.

⁵ Henri de Jersey: *Vie du Rev. Jean de Queteville*: (1847) Chapter 9.

⁶ Paul Johnson: *History of Christianity*.

to protect the island, Peter sent to England for a garrison of 300 soldiers. In addition he had at his disposal the Alderney Militia.⁷ (As in the other islands, the Militia was an island defence force recruited from the men of the island, and had been in existence for centuries.) From 1777 Peter had re-organised the Militia on an efficient military basis. Service and drills were made compulsory for all men between the ages of 16 and 60; 200 stand of arms were supplied by the British Government; and uniforms were adopted for officers and men. In the 1790s its contribution could be the most important in all its history. Training exercises and parades took place - on Sundays.

This brought Peter and the Methodists into confrontation. They believed that Sunday should be a day of rest, set aside for worship and prayer. Yet they were expected to train on that day. They were not against military service as such, and offered to train on weekdays instead. This was refused at first. In response, many of the men refused to turn out on Sundays. A number of them were fined. As well as falling foul of the authorities they were badly treated by their neighbours. Nicholas Le Ber, Jean Pezet and Thomas Martel said to their officers: 'We cannot submit to doing what our conscience tells us is a profanation of the Sabbath'.⁸ They had to pay a fine, and work without pay on the fortifications; they were also threatened with banishment. Martel was especially victimised. For absence on parade on 3 November 1793 he was fined, then arrested, and in the following month he appeared in Court and was fined again. His family belongings were confiscated and sold on the following Sunday - in the cemetery at the exit of the Church. The amount raised was not sufficient to cover the fine and costs so he was imprisoned (probably illegally) until the following May. Then a friend paid everything, including expenses incurred during his imprisonment.⁹

To solve this stalemate, in 1797 Peter Le Mesurier permitted military service for the Methodists to take place on weekdays. They became a separate group within the Militia and he appointed the Greffier, Frederick Williams, to be Captain. Peter gave them the nickname: 'Gideon's Army', which they accepted with pride. Obviously Peter thought the name appropriate.¹⁰

But this was not Law - it was a concession which could be cancelled at any time. In addition, Militia men in other Channel Islands, especially Jersey, had been, and still were being persecuted for not training on Sundays, and the nickname 'Gideon's Army' was used also in those islands.¹¹ The States of Jersey passed a law imposing banishment on all who refused to conform to the Militia Act, but it was so drawn up that there was no mention of Methodists or liberty of conscience: on the face of it, it seemed a most patriotic measure. However, this law required Royal Consent in Privy Council.¹² Methodists

⁷ Colin Partridge and Trevor Davenport: *The Fortifications of Alderney* (1993).

⁸ Francois Guiton: *Histoire du Methodisme Wesleyan dans Les Iles de la Manche* (1846) p. 284.

⁹ *Ibid* p. 285.

¹⁰ *Ibid* p. 286.

¹¹ *Ibid* p. 95.

¹² *Ibid* p. 99.

travelled to London to lobby the Privy Council; a letter was written to Adam Clarke, who contacted his friend William Wilberforce. The matter was referred to Pitt, the Prime Minister, and to King George III, who stated: 'I must not have my subjects oppressed in this way'.¹³ The outcome was that, at the meeting of the Privy Council, a Royal Edict was enacted which achieved the opposite of the Jersey Act: it allowed dissenting Militia-men to parade on weekdays. This Royal Edict took effect in 1799 - and was the charter of Methodist liberty in the Channel Islands. Two quotations from that Edict follow.

In Your Majesty's Islands of Guernsey and Alderney... people of their persuasion showed the same conscientious reluctance to exercise on the Sabbath Day, and the governments of those Islands consented that they should form a separate corps, and their scruples of conscience should not be resisted... humbly praying that Your Majesty would disallow the said (Jersey) Act, and would prevent the like severities being used against them in future...' His Majesty is hereby pleased, with the advice of His Privy Council, to disapprove the said Act and doth hereby declare the same to be void and of no effect.¹⁴

What about Amice Ollivier, that eight-year-old boy who heard Adam Clarke? It was in 1799 that he committed himself to membership of the Methodist Church. He had just been appointed to the staff of the Alderney Signalling Station, but this involved working on a Sunday! He resigned - invoking the anger of his father, and the Governor. Soon he began training for the Methodist ministry - the first Alderney man to do so. By now the Napoleonic wars were taking place. There were 20,000 prisoners of war (mainly French) at Plymouth, and Amice was asked to take up work amongst them as a Chaplain. On Tuesday, 10 March 1812 he set sail to give spiritual comfort and what we would call counselling, to these prisoners. These wars had also impeded the work the Methodists wished to do in France itself. But in January 1815, before the Battle of Waterloo had taken place, Amice was fulfilling his call: he began a distinguished ministry 'at Beuville in Normandy'. He continued 'with great success at Cherbourg, Caen, Conde sur Noireau, Montilly and Athis', before returning to conclude his ministry in the Channel Islands.¹⁵ 'Gideon's Army' was still on the march!

ARTHUR C. T. MIGNOT

(The Rev Arthur Mignot is a retired Methodist minister in Alderney. He is Crown representative to the States of Alderney and chaplain to the Alderney Militia)

¹³ Matthieu LeLievre: *Histoire du Methodism dans Les Iles de la Manche* (1884) pp. 370-374.

¹⁴ Francois Guiton op. cit 110.

¹⁵ *The Jersey Methodist*: June 1932.

THE MAKING OF AN EARLY BIBLE CHRISTIAN CIRCUIT

(continued from p. 49)

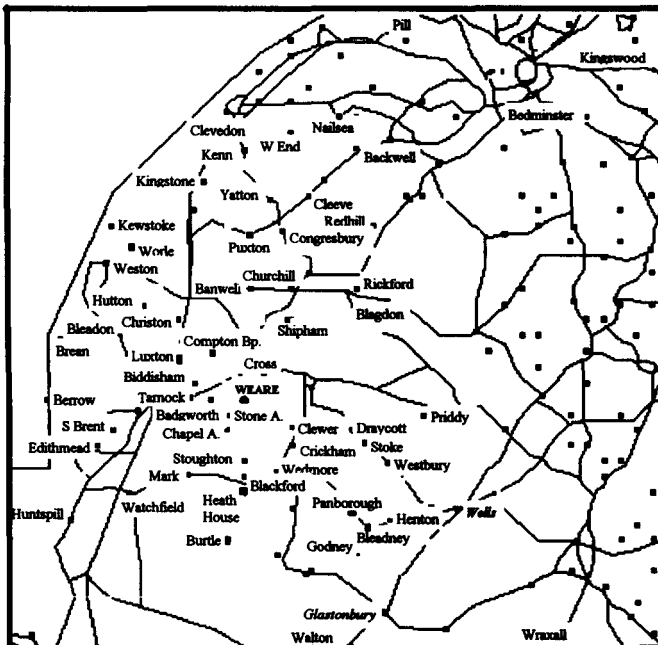
One source of expense, at least as late as 1827, was not an unmixed trouble. In most quarters there was an account such as that for Ladyday 1823: 'Wm Mason's expences to and in Bristol £1.14.6'. At Midsummer 1824 the account was 'Wm O'Bryan's expences from Wales 15/2', and the following quarter 'Harry Major's expences from Wales 4/6' (one notes how much more expense O'Bryan incurred!). After each of these entries, at the end of the accounts, are notes such as at Ladyday 1824: 'Deficiency answered by Wm Mason £8.11.1'; and the following quarter when there was, unusually, a balance in hand 'To Gen' Account by Wm O'Bryan £4.16.3/4'. Two or three facts perhaps help to explain what the practice was. William O'Bryan was General Superintendent of the Connexion, with a roving commission; in the relevant years William Mason and Harry Major were District Superintendents. Examination of the accounts shows that the balances, whether debit or credit, were never carried forward to the next quarter; and as the visits of the superintendents were made at the time of the quarterly meetings (this is stated expressly in the accounts for Michaelmas 1825), it is clear that they made themselves responsible for the balances, paying the deficiency, when there was one, and taking charge of the credit balance on behalf of the 'General Account'. And though the quarterly visits had long since ceased before the time of the final entries in the Circuit Book in June 1853, each quarter saw the balance credited to the General Account. One may perhaps sum it up by suggesting that the Connexion was run as one mission, and that the general funds made up circuit deficiencies and benefited from circuit balances when they occurred.

But at times the Connexion itself was in financial straits. This, rather than local circumstances, may have led to the drop in the ministers' stipend from £3 to £2 from Christmas 1823. There was again a connexional crisis in 1830 when the Conference, and that of the following year, decreed that each preacher should subscribe a specified sum towards the extinction of the debt on the general account. Consequently the Weare circuit accounts show in September 1830 'donation from William Courtice' of 10s.0d and from Abraham Morris and Ann Brown of 5s.0d each; these donations were repeated in the following quarter, and the first two again in March 1831. Although the friends of the Connexion had also been asked to assist, the total donations from societies and individuals over four quarters totalled only 19s.6d. At the Conference of 1852 a similar suggestion was made, but the following Midsummer the Circuit quarterly meeting passed a resolution 'That the District Meeting and Conference be requested to reconsider the regulations made at the last Conference, requiring the Preachers to give up part of their Salaries to meet the General account debt. And we would suggest to the Conference, if the year's estimates could not be made up at the end of each year and the expenditure of the connexion be divided among the Circuits according to the number of members, so that each Circuit may know the amount

they have to raise, to meet the expences of the current year, and that where there is a deficiency, that each Circuit be allowed to use their own means to raise the necessary sum'. As that is the last quarterly meeting report in the volume we do not know what happened as a result. But, as we have seen, those subscriptions in 1830 and 1831 were not the first time the preachers had dipped into their meagre pockets. They had done so in 1823; at Michaelmas 1827 the deficiency of £3.2.0 was 'advanced by A. Cory' - more than his quarter's stipend; and at Midsummer 1828 he had subscribed £1 as had his colleague William Wakeham, while his two other colleagues, Philip James and Elizabeth Courtice had subscribed 10s.0d and 5s.0d respectively. They certainly set a shining - and apparently unheeded - example to their flock. One wonders how they managed it. It may be that the preachers came largely from the yeoman class of farmers - such might be assumed to have had some education that qualified them for leadership in the itinerancy - and that therefore they had a small private income but it in no wise diminishes their self sacrificing loyalty to their work and their church.

Stipends increased indeed very slowly. A married preacher in 1839 received £7.10.0 (presumably £4 was for his wife and housekeeping), with £1.10.0 for the first child and £1.7.6 for the second; a probationer still received £2.10.0 and a female preacher 35s.0d. For some reason the children's 'salary' was reduced to

Ware Bible Christian Circuit, 1823-49



Places marked in italics do not appear in circuit records, but are marked simply as guides.

£1.17.6 (the plural 'children' implies more than one child?) from 1846 to 1850, in which year it rose to £2.5.0, and these figures remained to the end of the accounts in 1853.

Salaries were of course fixed by Conference; but other heavy expenditure arose also. We have seen that the Weare Circuit started off by being a Bristol circuit; and that Bristol no longer figured in the accounts at Ladyday 1824. From Ladyday 1831 to Midsummer 1832, however, Bedminster makes a brief reappearance with some 25 to 30 members, but contributing little to the circuit's income - in June 1832 the amount was sixpence! The society thus still remained a liability to the circuit. From Michaelmas 1827 until Midsummer 1829 'deficiency at Bristol' figured in the accounts, with sums ranging from £1.11.11 to £4.2.11¹/₂; and even when that problem no longer existed, the care still did; at Midsummer 1836, the quarterly meeting requested the appointment of a third preacher 'as the labour is too much for two, especially as we have to supply Bristol', and an 'itinerant female' was appointed in September in the person of Mary Ann Taylor, who remained three years; and in December 1838 the question was asked 'Does this meeting consider it proper that the Missionary Society allow a portion of the Preachers' Salary, considering that this Circuit supplies the Bristol Mission with Preachers?' And it was answered, 'Yes, we think that One Pound ten Shillings per quarter should be allowed.' But there is no indication in the following quarter's accounts of any adjustment. Bristol, in the shape of Bedminster to be precise, continued to be a problem. At Midsummer 1839 the quarterly meeting concurred with a request that Bedminster Mission be separated from the circuit, but that, should Conference agree, Weare would request another preacher, presumably to replace the preacher detached for Bedminster. It would seem that nothing came of this, as no separate circuit is listed in the *Minutes*, and the request that the two places 'be worked separately' was repeated in 1841: then the circuit could manage with two preachers. But the request again fell on deaf ears. The following year there was a little more acerbity in the resolution: 'That as the Bedminster Friends have petitioned to the conference that Brother Prior be sent to labour almost exclusively among them, we confidently hope that this conference will throw that petition overboard.'

Brother Prior remained in Weare - but the Bedminster Mission circuit was established, and Bristol was at last off Weare's back. There is one other interesting detail. In December 1829 the accounts show £5.5.0 from 'goods sold at Bristol', but there is no indication whether that represented the furnishings of a chapel or of a preacher's house. The proceeds went to the general account.

The circuit was certainly generous - unless they had no option. For expenditure was imposed upon them not only, as we have seen, when a preacher fell ill, but also when a preacher was completely out of action for a period. Mary Urch, whose home was in the circuit, returned home after one year's service in Monmouth, and at Ladyday 1826 the circuit paid £1.10.0 'for doctor's bill while ill at her father's in Weare circuit'. Somewhat similarly, in September 1826 James Roberts should have proceed from Weare to Kingsbrompton but prolonged illness had supervened; consequently he remained ill in the circuit and for two quarters the circuit paid his salary of £2 per

quarter, plus a 4s.0d doctor's bill and £2.6.0 for his lodgings; happily, friends rallied round and a total of £2.10.0 was raised towards these sums; how much of that was contributed by his colleagues?

O. A. BECKERLEGGE

(To be continued)

THE ANNUAL MEETING AND LECTURE

The 1999 Annual Tea, Meeting and Lecture was held at Ainsdale Methodist Church, Southport on Monday, 28 June. After tea, provided by the church, 26 members attended the Annual Meeting and there were 8 apologies. The meeting remembered the 8 members who had died during the past year.

The 1998 minutes having been approved were signed and all the serving officers were re-appointed. Each section of the Society presented its report, but particular mention was made in the Treasurer's Report (see page 131) of the Library Appeal which at 31 December had raised £4,811 and the Librarian's Report, indicated how the money had been used to rebind books which could now be made available to researchers. Our target is £10,000, so any further donations would be very welcome. The Registrar urged members to encourage both individuals and institutions to join the society. The *Proceedings* itself really constitutes the report of the Editor, but this year Mr. Rose expressed thanks to Dr. Clive Field who for 25 years has produced his invaluable *Bibliography of Methodist Historical Literature*. The Report of the Local Branches Secretary was as printed in the May *Proceedings* and Dr. Newton invited members of those branches present to say a brief word. The President expressed thanks to all the officers for their hard work during the year.

The 1999 Annual Lecture, 'Methodism and the First World War', chaired by the Rev. Dr. Henry Rack, was given by the Rev. Dr. Stuart Mews. Dr. Mews started by referring to the war memorial in Cheltenham Methodist Church and showed that all named were ordinary young men and volunteers. He observed that the war forced many Methodists to make difficult decisions - whether to be a pacifist or a combatant because of Germany's violation of Belgium's neutrality. Dr. Mews highlighted the way in which many church leaders reacted, how their opinions developed and in a number of cases changed, citing such as Arthur Guttery, J. E. Rattenbury, Frank Ballard and J. H. Moulton to illustrate his points. Some found themselves in a 'no win' situation, being first reviled for their initial pacifism and then for deserting that stance.

Parallels were noted between events which sparked off the First World War and the present crisis in the Balkans with Dr. Mews commenting that the twentieth century seemed likely to end much as it had begun. It is hoped the lecture will be published in *Proceedings*.

E. DOROTHY GRAHAM

WESLEY HISTORICAL SOCIETY — FINANCIAL STATEMENTS, 1998

Income and Expenditure Account for the Year ended 31st December 1998	Balance Sheet as at 31st December 1998	Notes to the Accounts																																																																																																																																																																																																															
<table style="width: 100%; border-collapse: collapse;"> <tr> <td colspan="2" style="text-align: center;">INCOME.</td> <td style="text-align: right;">£</td> </tr> <tr> <td style="padding-left: 20px;">Subscriptions (Note 1)</td> <td style="text-align: right;">6,550</td> <td></td> </tr> <tr> <td style="padding-left: 20px;">Donations</td> <td style="text-align: right;">8</td> <td></td> </tr> <tr> <td style="padding-left: 20px;">Irish Branch</td> <td style="text-align: right;">713</td> <td></td> </tr> <tr> <td style="padding-left: 20px;">Sales of <i>Proceedings</i> (back numbers)</td> <td style="text-align: right;">77</td> <td></td> </tr> <tr> <td style="padding-left: 40px;">,, other Publications, etc. ...</td> <td style="text-align: right;">210</td> <td></td> </tr> <tr> <td style="padding-left: 40px;">,, Index to <i>Proceedings</i> ...</td> <td style="text-align: right;">801</td> <td></td> </tr> <tr> <td style="padding-left: 20px;">Library—Tickets, Donations, Sales</td> <td style="text-align: right;">—</td> <td></td> </tr> <tr> <td style="padding-left: 20px;">Annual Lecture Collection ...</td> <td style="text-align: right;">56</td> <td></td> </tr> <tr> <td style="padding-left: 20px;">Advertisements</td> <td style="text-align: right;">155</td> <td></td> </tr> <tr> <td style="padding-left: 20px;">Bank and Building Society Interest</td> <td style="text-align: right;">397</td> <td></td> </tr> <tr> <td style="padding-left: 20px;">War Stock Dividend</td> <td style="text-align: right;">8</td> <td></td> </tr> <tr> <td></td> <td style="text-align: right; border-top: 1px solid black;">8,975</td> <td></td> </tr> <tr> <td colspan="2" style="text-align: center;">EXPENDITURE.</td> <td style="text-align: right;">£</td> </tr> <tr> <td style="padding-left: 20px;"><i>Proceedings</i> and distribution</td> <td style="text-align: right;">3,903</td> <td></td> </tr> <tr> <td style="padding-left: 20px;">Other Printing (incl. Index)</td> <td style="text-align: right;">1,123</td> <td></td> </tr> <tr> <td style="padding-left: 20px;">Library</td> <td style="text-align: right;">730</td> <td></td> </tr> <tr> <td style="padding-left: 20px;">Annual Lecture</td> <td style="text-align: right;">120</td> <td></td> </tr> <tr> <td style="padding-left: 20px;">World Methodist Historical Soc.</td> <td style="text-align: right;">70</td> <td></td> </tr> <tr> <td style="padding-left: 20px;">Administration Expenses</td> <td style="text-align: right;">276</td> <td></td> </tr> <tr> <td style="padding-left: 20px;">Advertising</td> <td style="text-align: right;">116</td> <td></td> </tr> <tr> <td style="padding-left: 20px;">Bank Charges (Foreign Chqs.)</td> <td style="text-align: right;">156</td> <td></td> </tr> <tr> <td style="padding-left: 20px;">Subscriptions and Donations</td> <td style="text-align: right;">53</td> <td></td> </tr> <tr> <td></td> <td style="text-align: right; border-top: 1px solid black;">6,547</td> <td></td> </tr> <tr> <td style="padding-left: 20px;">Excess of Income over Expenditure</td> <td style="text-align: right; border-top: 1px solid black;">£2,428</td> <td></td> </tr> </table>	INCOME.		£	Subscriptions (Note 1)	6,550		Donations	8		Irish Branch	713		Sales of <i>Proceedings</i> (back numbers)	77		,, other Publications, etc. ...	210		,, Index to <i>Proceedings</i> ...	801		Library—Tickets, Donations, Sales	—		Annual Lecture Collection ...	56		Advertisements	155		Bank and Building Society Interest	397		War Stock Dividend	8			8,975		EXPENDITURE.		£	<i>Proceedings</i> and distribution	3,903		Other Printing (incl. Index)	1,123		Library	730		Annual Lecture	120		World Methodist Historical Soc.	70		Administration Expenses	276		Advertising	116		Bank Charges (Foreign Chqs.)	156		Subscriptions and Donations	53			6,547		Excess of Income over Expenditure	£2,428		<table style="width: 100%; border-collapse: collapse;"> <tr> <td colspan="2" style="text-align: center;">ASSETS EMPLOYED (Note 2)</td> <td style="text-align: right;">£</td> </tr> <tr> <td style="padding-left: 20px;">£225 3¼% War Stock (at cost) (Note 3)</td> <td style="text-align: right;">225</td> <td></td> </tr> <tr> <td colspan="2" style="text-align: center;">Current Assets—</td> <td style="text-align: right;">£</td> </tr> <tr> <td style="padding-left: 40px;">Sundry Debtors</td> <td style="text-align: right;">401</td> <td></td> </tr> <tr> <td style="padding-left: 40px;">Income Tax recoverable</td> <td style="text-align: right;">1,532</td> <td></td> </tr> <tr> <td style="padding-left: 40px;">Leeds & Holbeck Bld. Soc.</td> <td style="text-align: right;">11,200</td> <td></td> </tr> <tr> <td style="padding-left: 40px;">T. S. B.—Conference Sec.</td> <td style="text-align: right;">1,388</td> <td></td> </tr> <tr> <td style="padding-left: 40px;">H. S. B. C. Bank—Treas.</td> <td style="text-align: right;">1,389</td> <td></td> </tr> <tr> <td style="padding-left: 40px;">Cash in hand</td> <td style="text-align: right;">60</td> <td></td> </tr> <tr> <td></td> <td style="text-align: right; border-top: 1px solid black;">15,970</td> <td></td> </tr> <tr> <td colspan="2" style="text-align: center;">Current Liabilities—</td> <td style="text-align: right;">£</td> </tr> <tr> <td style="padding-left: 40px;">Sundry Creditors</td> <td style="text-align: right;">54</td> <td></td> </tr> <tr> <td style="padding-left: 40px;">Subscript'ns paid in advance</td> <td style="text-align: right;">6,660</td> <td></td> </tr> <tr> <td></td> <td style="text-align: right; border-top: 1px solid black;">6,714</td> <td></td> </tr> <tr> <td style="padding-left: 20px;">Net Current Assets</td> <td style="text-align: right; border-top: 1px solid black;">9,256</td> <td></td> </tr> <tr> <td colspan="2"></td> <td style="text-align: right; border-top: 1px solid black;">£9,481</td> </tr> <tr> <td colspan="2" style="text-align: center;">REPRESENTED BY</td> <td></td> </tr> <tr> <td style="padding-left: 20px;">Balance at 1st January 1998</td> <td style="text-align: right;">4,507</td> <td></td> </tr> <tr> <td style="padding-left: 20px;"><i>Add Excess Income over Expenditure</i></td> <td style="text-align: right;">2,428</td> <td></td> </tr> <tr> <td></td> <td style="text-align: right; border-top: 1px solid black;">6,935</td> <td></td> </tr> <tr> <td style="padding-left: 20px;">Conference Fund Surplus</td> <td style="text-align: right;">1,388</td> <td></td> </tr> <tr> <td style="padding-left: 20px;">Library Appeal Fund</td> <td style="text-align: right;">1,158</td> <td></td> </tr> <tr> <td></td> <td style="text-align: right; border-top: 1px solid black;">£9,481</td> <td></td> </tr> <tr> <td colspan="2" style="text-align: center;">(Signed) RALPH WILKINSON, <i>Honorary Treasurer.</i></td> <td></td> </tr> </table>	ASSETS EMPLOYED (Note 2)		£	£225 3¼% War Stock (at cost) (Note 3)	225		Current Assets—		£	Sundry Debtors	401		Income Tax recoverable	1,532		Leeds & Holbeck Bld. Soc.	11,200		T. S. B.—Conference Sec.	1,388		H. S. B. C. Bank—Treas.	1,389		Cash in hand	60			15,970		Current Liabilities—		£	Sundry Creditors	54		Subscript'ns paid in advance	6,660			6,714		Net Current Assets	9,256				£9,481	REPRESENTED BY			Balance at 1st January 1998	4,507		<i>Add Excess Income over Expenditure</i>	2,428			6,935		Conference Fund Surplus	1,388		Library Appeal Fund	1,158			£9,481		(Signed) RALPH WILKINSON, <i>Honorary Treasurer.</i>			<table style="width: 100%; border-collapse: collapse;"> <tr> <td colspan="2" style="text-align: center;">1—SUBSCRIPTIONS</td> <td style="text-align: right;">£</td> <td style="text-align: right;">£</td> </tr> <tr> <td colspan="2">Unexpired Subscriptions at 1st January 1998—</td> <td></td> <td></td> </tr> <tr> <td style="padding-left: 40px;">Ordinary Members ...</td> <td style="text-align: right;">7,321</td> <td></td> <td></td> </tr> <tr> <td style="padding-left: 40px;">Life Members (estimated)</td> <td style="text-align: right;">140</td> <td></td> <td></td> </tr> <tr> <td></td> <td style="text-align: right; border-top: 1px solid black;">7,461</td> <td></td> <td></td> </tr> <tr> <td colspan="2">Received during year*</td> <td></td> <td style="text-align: right;">5,499</td> </tr> <tr> <td colspan="2">Income Tax recoverable</td> <td></td> <td style="text-align: right;">250</td> </tr> <tr> <td></td> <td></td> <td></td> <td style="text-align: right; border-top: 1px solid black;">13,210</td> </tr> <tr> <td colspan="2">Less Unexpired Subscriptions at 31st December—</td> <td></td> <td></td> </tr> <tr> <td style="padding-left: 40px;">Ordinary Members ...</td> <td style="text-align: right;">6,540</td> <td></td> <td></td> </tr> <tr> <td style="padding-left: 40px;">Life Members (estimated)</td> <td style="text-align: right;">120</td> <td></td> <td></td> </tr> <tr> <td></td> <td style="text-align: right; border-top: 1px solid black;">6,660</td> <td></td> <td></td> </tr> <tr> <td></td> <td></td> <td></td> <td style="text-align: right; border-top: 1px solid black;">£6,550</td> </tr> </table> <p>*No account has been taken of subscriptions in arrears at 31st December 1997, whether or not recovered since, but any previous arrears received during the year are included in the above figures.</p> <table style="width: 100%; border-collapse: collapse;"> <tr> <td colspan="2" style="text-align: center;">2—ASSETS EMPLOYED</td> </tr> <tr> <td colspan="2">The Library and stocks of Publications have not been valued, and are not included in these financial statements.</td> </tr> </table> <table style="width: 100%; border-collapse: collapse;"> <tr> <td colspan="2" style="text-align: center;">3—WAR STOCK</td> </tr> <tr> <td colspan="2">Market value at Balance Sheet date ... £148</td> </tr> </table>	1—SUBSCRIPTIONS		£	£	Unexpired Subscriptions at 1st January 1998—				Ordinary Members ...	7,321			Life Members (estimated)	140				7,461			Received during year*			5,499	Income Tax recoverable			250				13,210	Less Unexpired Subscriptions at 31st December—				Ordinary Members ...	6,540			Life Members (estimated)	120				6,660						£6,550	2—ASSETS EMPLOYED		The Library and stocks of Publications have not been valued, and are not included in these financial statements.		3—WAR STOCK		Market value at Balance Sheet date ... £148	
INCOME.		£																																																																																																																																																																																																															
Subscriptions (Note 1)	6,550																																																																																																																																																																																																																
Donations	8																																																																																																																																																																																																																
Irish Branch	713																																																																																																																																																																																																																
Sales of <i>Proceedings</i> (back numbers)	77																																																																																																																																																																																																																
,, other Publications, etc. ...	210																																																																																																																																																																																																																
,, Index to <i>Proceedings</i> ...	801																																																																																																																																																																																																																
Library—Tickets, Donations, Sales	—																																																																																																																																																																																																																
Annual Lecture Collection ...	56																																																																																																																																																																																																																
Advertisements	155																																																																																																																																																																																																																
Bank and Building Society Interest	397																																																																																																																																																																																																																
War Stock Dividend	8																																																																																																																																																																																																																
	8,975																																																																																																																																																																																																																
EXPENDITURE.		£																																																																																																																																																																																																															
<i>Proceedings</i> and distribution	3,903																																																																																																																																																																																																																
Other Printing (incl. Index)	1,123																																																																																																																																																																																																																
Library	730																																																																																																																																																																																																																
Annual Lecture	120																																																																																																																																																																																																																
World Methodist Historical Soc.	70																																																																																																																																																																																																																
Administration Expenses	276																																																																																																																																																																																																																
Advertising	116																																																																																																																																																																																																																
Bank Charges (Foreign Chqs.)	156																																																																																																																																																																																																																
Subscriptions and Donations	53																																																																																																																																																																																																																
	6,547																																																																																																																																																																																																																
Excess of Income over Expenditure	£2,428																																																																																																																																																																																																																
ASSETS EMPLOYED (Note 2)		£																																																																																																																																																																																																															
£225 3¼% War Stock (at cost) (Note 3)	225																																																																																																																																																																																																																
Current Assets—		£																																																																																																																																																																																																															
Sundry Debtors	401																																																																																																																																																																																																																
Income Tax recoverable	1,532																																																																																																																																																																																																																
Leeds & Holbeck Bld. Soc.	11,200																																																																																																																																																																																																																
T. S. B.—Conference Sec.	1,388																																																																																																																																																																																																																
H. S. B. C. Bank—Treas.	1,389																																																																																																																																																																																																																
Cash in hand	60																																																																																																																																																																																																																
	15,970																																																																																																																																																																																																																
Current Liabilities—		£																																																																																																																																																																																																															
Sundry Creditors	54																																																																																																																																																																																																																
Subscript'ns paid in advance	6,660																																																																																																																																																																																																																
	6,714																																																																																																																																																																																																																
Net Current Assets	9,256																																																																																																																																																																																																																
		£9,481																																																																																																																																																																																																															
REPRESENTED BY																																																																																																																																																																																																																	
Balance at 1st January 1998	4,507																																																																																																																																																																																																																
<i>Add Excess Income over Expenditure</i>	2,428																																																																																																																																																																																																																
	6,935																																																																																																																																																																																																																
Conference Fund Surplus	1,388																																																																																																																																																																																																																
Library Appeal Fund	1,158																																																																																																																																																																																																																
	£9,481																																																																																																																																																																																																																
(Signed) RALPH WILKINSON, <i>Honorary Treasurer.</i>																																																																																																																																																																																																																	
1—SUBSCRIPTIONS		£	£																																																																																																																																																																																																														
Unexpired Subscriptions at 1st January 1998—																																																																																																																																																																																																																	
Ordinary Members ...	7,321																																																																																																																																																																																																																
Life Members (estimated)	140																																																																																																																																																																																																																
	7,461																																																																																																																																																																																																																
Received during year*			5,499																																																																																																																																																																																																														
Income Tax recoverable			250																																																																																																																																																																																																														
			13,210																																																																																																																																																																																																														
Less Unexpired Subscriptions at 31st December—																																																																																																																																																																																																																	
Ordinary Members ...	6,540																																																																																																																																																																																																																
Life Members (estimated)	120																																																																																																																																																																																																																
	6,660																																																																																																																																																																																																																
			£6,550																																																																																																																																																																																																														
2—ASSETS EMPLOYED																																																																																																																																																																																																																	
The Library and stocks of Publications have not been valued, and are not included in these financial statements.																																																																																																																																																																																																																	
3—WAR STOCK																																																																																																																																																																																																																	
Market value at Balance Sheet date ... £148																																																																																																																																																																																																																	

AUDITOR'S REPORT—I have audited the financial statements in accordance with approved auditing standards. The amount of subscriptions paid in advance by members includes estimates based upon a reasonable interpretation of the available data. No account has been taken of possible arrears of subscriptions. Other assets and liabilities have been independently verified.

Subject to the matters mentioned above, in my opinion the financial statements give a true and fair view on an historical cost basis of the state of affairs of the Society as at 31st December 1998, and of its overall surplus for the year then ended.

(Signed) J. R. L. HUDSON,
Chartered Accountant.

York, 4th June 1999.

BOOK REVIEWS

Doctor of Souls: A Biography of Dr Leslie Dixon Weatherhead by John Charles Travell. (Cambridge: Lutterworth Press, 1999. pp. 327. £19.50. ISBN: 0 7188 2991 3)

Leslie Weatherhead (1893-1976) was one of the greatest Methodist ministers and Free Churchmen of the twentieth century, indeed of all time. He was renowned for a highly successful but often controversial pulpit and pastoral ministry exercised locally (following his decisive rejection by the Methodist Conference for stationing at Wesley's Chapel) at the Congregational City Temple in London for almost a quarter of a century, and nationally and internationally through his travels, radio and television broadcasts and more particularly his extensive list of publications (the sales of which regularly ran into tens of thousands and, in one or two cases, exceeded 100,000 copies). He was ahead of his age in many ways, not least as regards his pioneering use of psychology and the advocacy of alternative medicine and non-physical methods of healing. The subject of two biographies in his lifetime, by Christopher Maitland in 1960 (written for young people) and Kingsley Weatherhead (his son) in 1975, he has been somewhat neglected since his death, doubtless a reflection of the fact that the age of great preachers (and the fashion for reading books of sermons) has long since gone, that the academic revival of evangelical theology underlined the out-moded nature of Weatherhead's liberalism, that many aspects of his thought on and interests in the psychic and the paranormal came to be regarded as eccentric and gullible, that some of his end-career views were extremely conservative (not least those on sexual mores), and that he was relatively unconcerned (in the active campaigning sense) with issues of social justice. Together with Lynne Price's *Faithful Uncertainty* of 1996, which offers a study of Weatherhead's methodology of evangelism and its implications for contemporary mission and theology, Travell's new life and times (and his 1996 University of Sheffield doctoral thesis on psychology and ministry, with special reference to Weatherhead, from which the book derives) represents a long overdue renaissance in Weatherhead studies.

John Travell is uniquely qualified to be Weatherhead's biographer. Brought up in the Methodist National Children's Home, Travell worshipped at the City Temple during the final years of Weatherhead's ministry there, had both his children baptised by Weatherhead, was effectively the last person to enter the Congregational ministry directly from Weatherhead's influence, and regularly corresponded with him between 1958 and 1975. Travell thus readily acknowledges that he began his research 'out of a deep sense of gratitude and obligation to Leslie Weatherhead for his personal kindness to me, and for his

ministry, which has been one of the major influences on my life'. Under Weatherhead's will, Travell was left his principal books, files, notebooks, letters and press-cuttings. This resource, together with the main Weatherhead archive at the University of Birmingham library, sundry smaller public archives, papers in private hands, Weatherhead's writings, and the reminiscences of those who knew him (expressed in interviews or by correspondence) have been used by Travell to build up an excellent account of Weatherhead's varied and long career, as well as coincidentally a part-history of the City Temple itself, both of which it will be hard to surpass, either in terms of the breadth and depth of the research or the quality of the writing.

Travell's overall approach, in his twenty-eight chapters, 'is chronological rather than thematic, since this shows how Weatherhead's ministry developed from his background in a nineteenth-century Wesleyan Methodist family and was influenced by his interest in psychology and healing, and his experiences in India and in two world wars'. A particularly useful and very prominent feature within this chronological arrangement is a summary of each of Weatherhead's principal books as they were published and of the judgements on them of the reviewers; this treatment extends to individual chapters on his three most influential and controversial works, *The Mastery of Sex through Psychology and Religion* (1931), *Psychology, Religion and Healing* (1951), and *The Christian Agnostic* (1965). Travell is also good on the context, on the times (secular and religious) as well as the life of the man, although, Weatherhead's year as President of Conference in 1955-56 (when the Anglican-Methodist Conversations were initiated) apart, his leanings were too supra-denominational and his associations with official Methodism too remote during his City Temple days for this biography to cast much light on inter- and post-war Methodism. As Travell comments: 'Weatherhead's career was that of an exceptional individual who, although clearly belonging to the Methodist tradition, was unrepresentative of his denomination as a whole'.

In spite of the very many qualities of the work, there are just a few grounds for regret. Given Travell's close association with Weatherhead, it will come as no surprise to learn that his treatment and overall assessment of the great man are sympathetic and reverential; whilst there is an occasional implied questioning of Weatherhead's judgement, and whilst Weatherhead's many critics are noted, the author's personal commitment to his subject does cause him to skip somewhat on the detailed evidence for 'the prosecution', from the time of Weatherhead's arraignment for heresy before the Wesleyan Methodist Conference following the publication of *After Death* in 1923 to the furore surrounding *The Christian Agnostic* in 1965. Few glimpses are given into Weatherhead's family life, especially after the 1930s; Travell's focus is on Weatherhead's public ministry and career, with an implication in the

preface that Kingsley Weatherhead's biography should be the source for more 'intimate' detail. There is also a good deal less than might have been expected about Weatherhead's friendship with the two other members of the contemporary Methodist ministerial triumvirate, Edwin Sangster and Donald Soper, and certainly no systematic attempt to consider Weatherhead's outlook and achievements in relation to theirs. The chronological framework inevitably means that, on occasion, it is hard to pick out from scattered references, even with the help of a fairly full index, the key thematic strands in his life and the evolution of his thought on any particular topic. The generous quotations from Weatherhead and others are perhaps a bit too generous, in terms of both length and frequency, to an extent where they can become a distraction and destroy Travell's flow, not helped by the fact that they are set in exactly the same typeface and point size as the main text. Finally, there are inconsistencies in the form for the citation of dates, a fair number of proof-reading errors, and only a rather summary bibliography of Weatherhead's writings, omitting especially his articles in newspapers and periodicals and his sermons in *City Temple Tidings*.

CLIVE D. FIELD

Beyond the Boundaries: Preaching in the Wesleyan Tradition Sykes, Richard (ed.) (Westminster Wesley Series No. 8, Applied Theology Press, Oxford, paperback, 154pp., 1998. Available from the Administrator, The Wesley and Methodist Studies Centre, Westminster College, Oxford, OX2 9AT, £9.95)

This volume contains the text of seven of the thirteen lectures delivered at the WMHS/WHS Conference held at Hartley Hall (formerly Hartley Victoria College) in April 1996 under the title *God's Extraordinary Messengers: Preachers and Preaching*. Both this title and that chosen for the printed version are noticeably broad in scope and the lecture topics (chosen presumably by the speakers themselves) range widely in their subject matter. As one who attended that 1996 Conference I am grateful to have memory of the spoken word refreshed by this collection, which is pleasantly printed and admirable for the quality and interest of its contents. The omissions (which include lectures of some importance, as well as any index) are however regrettable and one must conclude that cost was a factor here.

Whatever 'the Wesleyan tradition' might or might not be it is the first two chapters which address Wesley himself most directly. In his analysis of the principles and practices of Wesley's preaching Richard Heitzenrater reminds us that though Wesley preached primarily to the societies, he kept up the call for field preaching to the end, emphasising

also the need for piety and simplicity among his preachers, and indeed embodying those qualities consistently himself. The late Donald English (who gave the opening 'keynote' lecture) delivers an impassioned call to historians to help preachers interpret what it means today that Wesley's preaching was universal, rooted in scripture, and addressed primarily to the poor.

Peter Barber concludes that in fulfilling this task Wesley sat very lightly to his chosen texts: 'In a number of Wesley's sermons texts are allowed to float free of their moorings and assume a life of their own, supported and guided by other texts'. He goes on to compare and contrast this approach with the preaching of Sangster and the modern approaches of David Buttrick.

The remainder of the book is given over to examples of Methodist preachers at work in specific and mainly unusual circumstances: women preachers in Wesleyan Methodism in an age when they were officially discouraged (John Lenton); early Deaconess evangelists (Dorothy Graham); the work of Revd George Scott (1804-1874) a Wesleyan missionary to Sweden (G. Peter Borgen); and the remarkable story of pioneer African preachers in the Transvaal throughout much of the nineteenth century (Joan Millard).

The entire symposium stirs mind and heart, and is an encouraging demonstration of research done by members of the WMHS/WHS, and of the value of our periodical conferences.

GEOFFREY MILBURN

NOTES AND QUERIES

1529 THE PROVIDENCE SOCIETY CONNEXION

At the William Salt Library in Stafford there is a copy of the Primitive Methodist *Large Hymn Book*, printed at Bemersley in 1825. Pasted inside the back cover is a printed Quarterly Ticket for the 'Providence Society Connexion, Established March 29th 1849'. The ticket appears to be dated September 1850 but the month has been heavily crossed out and 'December' written in. The text is Matthew 5:11: 'Blessed are ye, when men shall revile you, and persecute you, and shall say all manner of evil against you falsely, for my sake'. The ticket was issued to Mary Laurence. The date suggests Reformers who seceded before the 1849 Conference and clearly they maintained a separate existence for at least eighteen months, but so far no other reference to this body has been found. Any information will be very welcome.

RANDLE KNIGHT
Brookside, Milwich, Stafford ST18 0EG

1530 PORTRAITS OF 'THE EXPELLED'

Among the small collection of portraits in the WHS Library are four portraits of the 'three expelled' of 1849 (Everett, Griffith and Dunn), together with James Bromley, who was expelled the following year. These finely painted canvases present something of a mystery: they are unsigned, and there is no associated documentation besides labels on the back to identify each sitter. Does anyone know anything more of these? Who painted them (could it have been Everett's friend, Henry Perlee Parker?), for whom; and how did they come into the WHS Library collection?

(Responses to Martin Astell, Archivist, WHS Library, Westminster College, Oxford)

PETER FORSAITH

1531 WESLEY COLLEGE ARCHIVES HAVE MOVED

The Library at Wesley College provides a major resource for the study of Methodist history. In particular the Special Collections and Archives are notably rich in Wesley letters, documents and other memorabilia related to the early history of Methodism, and also include tracts and pamphlets largely devoted to Methodist divisions and controversies including anti-Methodist material.

In 1967, the College chapel was converted into the Library with the addition of a mezzanine floor, part of which contains a secure area affectionately known as the 'Cage'. It was in this Cage that the Special Collections and Archives were housed, but it had long been felt that this was unsatisfactory mainly because of its over-exposure to light and heat, especially in the summer months. Also, with the stock of the Library expanding at its present rate, the need for extra shelf and study space within the main Library building, was becoming urgent.

As the first part of a three stage development to improve our Library facilities, plans were drawn up to create a separate Archive Centre in the room situated behind the kitchen that was formerly the Resource Centre. The building work was completed in 1997, and a security alarm system and heat/humidifier installed. As an extra security aid, two TV cameras have also been installed in the Centre which are linked to a monitor on the Librarian's desk in the Main Library. The planning and organizing of the shelving had to be thought out carefully, as the shelving system needed to remain in its fixed location sequence otherwise it would be impossible to find items using the card index.

The shelving was finally installed in August 1998, and thanks to the help of a small but extremely enthusiastic band of volunteers from the College Community, the move of the books and archives was completed

within one day at the end of October 1998, with every item in its correct place on the new shelves.

Hopefully the next phase of the Library development will be to build a linking corridor between the Library and the new Centre, thus avoiding the need to access it from outdoors. In the meantime however, Wesley College can be justifiably proud of its new secure, environmentally controlled Archives Centre, and we look forward to welcoming more research scholars who can avail themselves of the resources and facilities offered here.

JANET HENDERSON
Librarian

1532 DAVID SIMPSON REMEMBERED

The bicentenary of the death of the Rev. David Simpson MA on 24 March 1999 was celebrated with an evening quarter peal at the church built for his ministry - Christ Church, Macclesfield. A member of the 'Cambridge Methodists', Simpson was ejected from two curacies for his direct Gospel preaching. However, the bustling silk town recognised his integrity and local entrepreneur, Charles Roe, provided the wherewithal for his remarkable 24-year ministry to flourish. Wesley considered him a 'model minister' and preached himself at the 'New Church' on at least twelve occasions - the only church in Cheshire to which he was openly invited.

Simpson truly practised what he preached: unstintingly serving all levels of the newly emerging industrial society via charity schools, providing basic medicine and representing the poor before the magistrates, instigating friendly societies etc. Shortly before his death he wrote a heartfelt resignation address to leave his post in the Established church - it was never delivered.

Three small exhibitions in the church, Heritage Centre and Town Library displayed his published works as well as a letter from his great, great, great granddaughter - Mrs Jean Wilson - who lives in Australia. A commemorative tablet was installed in the recently landscaped graveyard. The wording is as follows: To commemorate/ the bicentenary of the / death of / The Revd DAVID SIMPSON MA / 1745-1799 / for whose Evangelical / ministry this church / was built.

TIM BRINTON

LOCAL HISTORIES

Bible Christian Methodist Church, St Ives, Cornwall: A History by J. C. C. Probert (11pp. A4). Copies, £1.50 from Matthew Care, Waves End, Beach Road, St Ives, Cornwall TR 26.

Charlestown [Cornwall] Methodist Chapel 1828-1998. A Social History by J. C. C. Probert. (12pp A4). Copies, £2.80 post free, from the author at 1 Penventon Terrace, Redruth, Cornwall, TR15 3AD.

Two Hundred Years of Methodism in Germoe [Cornwall] (24pp). Copies, £3.00 post free from Miss J. Browne, Trennal Cottage, Germoe, Penzance, TR20 9RZ.

100 Years of Witness from Central Methodist Church, Preston, East Yorkshire by Gwen and Richard Agar (56pp). Copies, £5.00 post free, from the authors at 52 Souttergate, Hedon, Hull, HU12 8JS.

Your Love Has Called Us: The first 100 Years of Burley Methodist Church 1898-1998 (40pp). Copies, £3.00 plus postage, from Rev G. Hall. 43 Ash Grove, Leeds, LS6 1AX.

Memories of Oxford Place [Leeds] 1897-1997 by Joan Oliver (40pp). Copies, £2.50 plus postage from The Administrator, Leeds Methodist Mission, Oxford Place Centre, Leeds, LS1 3AX.

Centenary History of Addlestone Methodist Church 1899-1999. (44pp). Copies, £3.00 post free from D. E. Gray, 59 Rowtown, Addlestone, Surrey, KT15 1HJ.

Monton Methodist Church. Together Travel On, A Brief History 1899-1999 by David S. Walton (33pp). Copies, £2.25 from the author at 24 Ellesmere Road, Eccles, Manchester M20 9FD.

The Story of Dawlish Methodist Church by A. R. Thompson (64pp, illus). Copies £2.75 post free from the author at Mount Hill House, West Cliff, Dawlish, Devon, EX7 9EF.

Forward with Christ. The Story of the Bourne Methodist Circuit (1801-1995) by Gerry Burrows. Copies, £5.00 post free from the author at 50A Westwood Drive, Bourne, Lincs PE10 9PY.

Methodism in the Allen Dales by Evelyn Charlton (28pp). Copies £2.50 from Rev D. Thomson, The Manse, Lonkley Terrace, Allendale NE47 9BZ.